A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages

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A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages

Edited by

Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr.
Philip Edward Phillips

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To Sharmila Patel
for her love, support, and encouragement

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PREFACE

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius was a scholar and political figure in Italy during the late 5th and early 6th centuries. It is of Boethius the scholar, of his scholarship, and primarily of the influence of Boethius's scholarly work that the contributors to this volume have written. That influence, although extensive for a millennium, has declined during the last five centuries, and it is studied today primarily by historians of the period in which Boethius lived and in the disciplines he once defined by the books that comprise his intellectual legacy. His work of principal interest today, of course, is his final statement to the world, his *De consolatione philosophiae*. Among the "lost works," a geometry (fragments of which seem to survive today) and an astronomy (now lost) are attested. We no longer possess these two translations, or Latin adaptations, if indeed they were produced and circulated for general audiences. We do, however, retain the Greek originals from which, we presume, Boethius worked: Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and certain other resources he may have consulted. We possess Boethius's *De arithmetica* and a fragmentary *De musica*, which represent for readers today his dedicated interest in the disciplines of the *quadrivium*—the four mathematical sciences of his time. We also possess his translations and commentaries on logic, which represent for readers today the focus of his systematic interest in the *trivium*—the three basic language-arts courses of study in the period. Apart from Boethius's Latin textbooks on Greek knowledge, we possess five theological texts, which seem to have served a more limited audience. Then, most prominently, there is the *Consolatio*.

The Focus of This Volume

Speaking in the *Consolatio* to Lady Philosophy concerning the dismal environment of the prison cell of his confinement near the end of his life, Boethius asks, both ironically and sardonically:

> Do you not recognize the library, which you once chose for yourself as a secure dwelling-place in my house—the very room in which you used often to sit with me discoursing on the knowledge of all things human and divine? Was this how I looked, was this my expression, when I used to seek out with you the secrets of Nature? When with your rod you drew for me the paths

> of the stars? When you shaped my character and the whole manner of my life according to celestial models?[1] (1p4)

In these most unfortunate circumstances, Boethius recalls his earlier, more fortunate situation—sequestered in his library with his books.

Later, to Lady Philosophy's question, "[...] what is a man?" Boethius-the-prisoner responds: "Are you asking me if I know that I am *a mortal, rational animal*? I do know that, and admit to being such" (1p6; emphasis added).[2] Boethius, therefore, perceives the universe not only through sense data and images but also through reason[3] (5p4 and 5p5). Nature for Boethius was neither the mystical and verdant realm, uncontaminated by civilization, sung about by the Romantics of the late 18th century, nor the physical realm of flora and fauna, seemingly timeless in its origin, studied by the scientists of the 19th century. It was a mathematical realm to be apprehended abstractly, by reason, and understood through mathematical and musical proportions. Boethius was neither a naturalist nor a biologist. He inhabited his well-apportioned library, and he invited into that private space those compatible associates who shared his intellectual interests. He was a human (a mortal, rational) thinker who was aware of the epistemological chain from the mollusks to the quadrupeds below him, but who also could contemplate the divine understanding that he assumed to occupy an epistemological level above him.

The chapters in this volume do not dwell upon Boethius's lost works, which—as evidenced by significant passages in the *Consolatio*—might reveal important dimensions of his mind and learning. Such a study would require speculation upon circumstantial evidence, which is beyond the scope of this book. The chapters presented here focus upon the Boethian works that exist today and, as stated above, the influence that those works have exerted through the centuries. The chapters examine the center of Boethian thought, the hub of its wheel, and the effects that Boethian thought has exercised upon the learning of later generations of scholars—

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[1] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 147 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*). Throughout this volume, references to passages in the *Consolatio* will be abbreviated thus: 1p1.1–4 (Book 1, Prose 1, lines 1–4) and 3m9.6–8 (Book 3, Meter 9, lines 6–8).

[2] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 169.

[3] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 411 and 417.

including, to a degree, even scholars of the 21st century. In most cases, the titles of the chapters are descriptive of their content.

The Chapters

"Introduction: The Times, Life, and Works of Boethius" (Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr.) provides a general summary of scholarship that places Boethius in the context of his historical period. The events that define the age in which Boethius lived and that influenced his writings are discussed under various rubrics (Life versus Legend, Boethius and Theodoric, Religious Divisions within the Late Empire, etc.), and the numerous notes provided on the material presented should lead scholars to further information on topics of their particular concern.

"Boethius's Astronomy and Cosmology" (Stephen C. McCluskey) provides an introduction to one of the more fascinating aspects of Boethius's thought: his remarkable attempt, sustained throughout his highly productive intellectual life, to synthesize a unified understanding of the universe and of his place within it. The chapter examines the sources that Boethius would have consulted as well as the cosmology that he constructed out of those sources. It concludes that, in spite of the loss of texts, "it is quite clear that Boethius's works contributed greatly to the transmission of important cosmological principles to his successors and thereby laid the foundations for subsequent developments in astronomy and cosmology."

"The Latin Commentaries on Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* from the 9th to the 11th Centuries" (Rosalind C. Love) focuses very precisely upon "the manuscripts dateable from the period up to around the year 1100 which transmit commentary and glosses on the *Consolation* in Latin." Particularly useful is a listing and partial description of all manuscripts in which comment upon the Latin text is found. The chapter defines the meaning of the word *commentary* as it applies to the *Consolatio*, lists the manuscripts in which annotations occur, and examines the origin and development of the annotations. It also credits the scholars who have devoted many years of their careers to this significant area of Boethian studies.

"Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* and its Influence on Posterity" (Jean-Yves Guillaumin) provides a lucid (and, for most readers, necessary) introduction to the concepts that guided Boethius's systematic approach to understanding the relationships between numbers and between various classes of numbers; it also shows effectively how Boethius conceived

arithmetic to be the cornerstone of all mathematical studies. It then traces the influence that Boethius's ideas have had upon later theory and practice in the study of numbers.

"Boethius's Influence on Theology and Metaphysics to *c.*1500" (Siobhan Nash-Marshall) begins its argument by observing that "what is meant when one claims that Boethius taught the medievals logic, vocabulary, and a theological method is that Boethius transmitted to the medievals what Luca Obertello calls the *universo Boeziano*—the *Boethian universe*—by which he means the 'organic set of doctrines' concerning reason, knowledge, and being, which comprised the 'mental universe.'" The chapter proceeds to clarify what this observation actually implies. It also specifies the major problems that arose out of Boethius's methods and ideas. Great detail is given to Boethius's influence upon Scholasticism and other intellectual developments in the later Middle Ages.

"Boethius's Works on Logic in the Middle Ages" (John Patrick Casey) defines Boethius's major contributions to the study of logic, and it draws attention to some persistent misconceptions concerning his work. It begins by differentiating Aristotelian from Stoic approaches to logic. It then devotes separate sections to "the primary avenues of Boethius's influence on medieval logic: his translations, commentaries, and original logical treatises," focusing on specific points developed in those works—such as the problem of universals, which developed into an independent intellectual discussion during the later Middle Ages. The chapter concludes with the observation that Boethius "not only helped Aristotle's logic [...] to dominate [the Middle Ages], but he also helped bring that dominance to an end."

"Boethius's Influence in Anglo-Saxon England: The Vernacular and the *De consolatione philosophiae*" (Paul E. Szarmach) not only provides a comprehensive study of the Old English renditions (prose and alliterative verse) of the Latin *Consolatio* and the various and diverse occurrences of Boethian influence in Anglo-Saxon literary culture but also supplies careful analysis of the scholarly comment upon them. It gives insightful clarification to the on-going discussion of King Alfred's actual involvement in the project of rendering Latin texts into an Anglo-Saxon collection "that otherwise bears his name." The discussion of Boethian influence (or possible influence) upon *Beowulf* is particularly welcome. As the title promises, the chapter shows that Boethius's *Consolatio* "was a text that had an existence in the vernacular," and it shows that that existence was significant.

"Boethius's Influence on German Literature to *c.*1500" (Christine Hehle) gives very thorough analysis to just about all aspects of Boethian recep-

tion in the German-speaking regions of Europe, throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. Glossings and translations of the Latin text are treated extensively, as are Boethian influences upon the historical, religious, and secular literature of the period. The discussion presents material chronologically, and it culminates in an analysis of *Der Ackermann* by Johannes von Tepl. The chapter is thorough, and it stands as an essential reference for all specialists in Germanic studies, as well as a resource for non-specialists.

"Boethius in Medieval France: Translations of the *De consolatione philosophiae* and Literary Influence" (Glynnis M. Cropp) traces Boethian influence through the various types of translations of the *Consolatio* into vernacular dialects of medieval French, and it also traces in very lucid fashion the complex affinities between these numerous renderings. Coverage is provided on the prologues that precede many of the translations. The chapter concludes with a study of some of the major points of literary influence of the *Consolatio* upon medieval French authors.

"Readers and Interpreters of the *Consolatio* in Italy, 1300–1550" (Dario Brancato) provides a history of the Italian reception of Boethius's final work during the Gothic and Renaissance periods. The chapter identifies and traces "different attitudes towards Boethius's text distributed in different periods and intellectual communities." It treats doctrinal readings, critical considerations in works by Italian humanists, medieval reading practices found in a translation by Anselmo Tanzo, and three translations published in Florence in the 16th century, each in separate sections. As the title suggests, the chapter represents an important reference study on Boethian reception in late medieval and Renaissance Italy.

"Making the *Consolatio* in Middle English" (Ian Johnson) traces the various threads of *Consolatio* translation in the later Middle Ages of England. The chapter begins with the well-known Chaucerian rendering, the *Boece*, noting recent studies of Chaucer's "reference sources" and discussing Chaucer's use of Boethian passages in his *Troilus and Criseyde*. It gives thorough consideration to John Walton's translation, pointing out the work's intrinsic merits as a "fresh translation" of the *Consolatio*. This section concludes with comment on later Middle English renderings and uses of the *Consolatio*, in which consideration is given, for example, to *The Boke of Counfort of Bois, The Testament of Love, The King's Quair*, and Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Euridice*.

"The Enduring Legacy of Boethian Harmony" (Mark T. Rimple) examines the influence of Boethius's theory of musical harmony from the early medieval period down to the present, indicating derivative ideas,

especially in Jungian and post-Jungian understandings of the cosmos and of the place of humanity within it.

"The *Quadrivium* and the Decline of Boethian Influence" (Ann E. Moyer) details the shift from Boethius's theoretical approach to arithmetic and music toward the more practical, down-to-earth approach preferred in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was this shift of emphasis, according to Moyer, that led to the eclipse of almost all interest in the Boethian corpus, but for the study of the *Consolatio* in university curricula.

"Afterword: Boethius in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages" (Fabio Troncarelli) concludes the studies presented in this volume with a meditation upon the life and times of Boethius and upon the influence his works had on the intellectual life of the Middle Ages.

"Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius: A Chronology and Selected Annotated Bibliography" (Philip Edward Phillips) provides, under several headings, lists of the works by Boethius, of major secondary sources of information on those works, and of related Boethian studies. The annotations allow readers to select specific materials for further reading in their areas of interest. Most of the works cited in the chapters are listed in this bibliography, and some other selected works are included.

Lenvoy From the Editors and Contributors

Boethian Studies is blessed with a continuous history of works that treat either the entire Boethian tradition or major elements within it. The editors and contributors offer this volume with the hope that it might provide new insight and information and that it might further general understanding of the life, works, and influence of the great scholar of the late 5th and early 6th centuries, Boethius.

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The editors gratefully acknowledge the many debts incurred during the five years devoted to the production of this multidisciplinary *Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*. Research grants from the Professional Development Committee at Troy University afforded Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., the opportunity to access important materials in libraries and archives across the United States and to study Boethian sites in Italy. Research grants from the Faculty Research and Creative Activity Committee at Middle Tennessee State University provided Philip Edward Phillips with funding and release time necessary for research, writing, and collaboration with all the contributors to the Companion. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., is especially grateful to Dr Jack Hawkins, Chancellor of Troy University, for his generous support and considerate understanding through the years during which this project has been developing. Philip Edward Phillips is grateful to †Dr John McDaniel, former Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Dr John Vile, Dean of the University Honors College, and Dr Tom Strawman, Chair of the Department of English, Middle Tennessee State University, without whose support and encouragement the completion of this book would not have been possible. The editors extend special thanks to Julian Deahl, Unit Manager and Senior Acquisitions Editor at Brill Academic Publications, for his broad vision, practical recommendations, and remarkable patience throughout this productive journey. Just as this book may serve as a companion to those engaged in the study of Boethius, Julian has served as our constant guide and companion. We are most fortunate to have been able to work with such a knowledgeable and amiable colleague, and we are grateful to him for his advice and friendship.

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INTRODUCTION: THE TIMES, LIFE, AND WORK OF BOETHIUS

Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr.

People living in Italy experienced the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. as years of destructive chaos relieved intermittently by quieter periods of relative stability, in contrast to previous Roman centuries characterized generally by economic and military success. Historians of subsequent eras perceive the 5th and 6th centuries as decades of often-painful transition from late Roman Antiquity to the early European Middle Ages. The "fall of the Roman Empire" traditionally is set in A.D. 476. James O'Donnell elucidates how an event of that year, occurring shortly prior to the year of Boethius's birth, came to be identified as the actual moment of this shift.[1] For this period of change, O'Donnell also attempts to dispel a potential misunderstanding, that historians know relatively little about occurrences during the reign of Theodoric, by enumerating various Latin documents that survive from the time:

> Considering the devastation that would strike his Italy in the decades after his death, and the long history of political disunity and disarray that would follow, the survival of so many books and artifacts of his time is a testimony to the ambitions of the man and to his posthumous good fortune.[2]

The interpretations by historians and other researchers of the surviving evidence that relates specifically to the times, life, and work of Boethius comprise the subject matter that follows.

Boethius: Life versus Legend

Boethius was born *c.* A.D. 480, making him an exact contemporary of such notables as Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus and Benedict of Nursia,

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[1] James J. O'Donnell, *The Ruin of the Roman Empire* (New York, 2008), pp. 213–15.

[2] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 128. In making this observation, O'Donnell is addressing the view expressed occasionally by Thomas Hodgkin and other scholars of the period that too few official records have survived to allow historians to make certain judgment on single incidents, due to a lack of factual details, which too often is true. For a general assessment of the larger picture of the period, O'Donnell is correct: documentation providing circumstantial evidence does exist in the sources he lists. However, official documents that provide direct evidence are scarce.

who probably were born the same year. He was also a close contemporary of the historical figure whom early histories and later legends refer to as Arthur of Britain, whose victory over the Saxons at Mount Baden generally is set in A.D. 516, when Boethius was in his mid-thirties. Arthur, of course, has become the focus of many tales since that battle was waged and won. Geoffrey Ashe ascribes the enduring appeal of Arthurian legend in part to its place in the larger context of the universal mythology of a golden age. "[Arthur] bestows a British shape on the perennial dream of a long-ago, long-lost golden age. This is a constant that runs as a haunting undercurrent through different versions [of the legends]."[3] In 2m5 of the *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*] (following 2p5 in which she begins to apply her stronger medication to cure her ailing patient, Boethius the prisoner), Lady Philosophy sings her paean to the lost Saturnian era:

> How happy was that earlier age
> When men content depended on the thirsty land,
> And not yet sunk in idle luxury
> Sated their hunger only at their need
> With acorns gathered with ease.
> They had not learned to mix
> Wine with clear honey;
> Nor to dye shining silken stuffs
> With Tyrian purple.[4]

Boethius himself certainly never subsisted on acorns, but the shape of his life, as posited by his own biographical statements and by Lady Philosophy's argument in the *Consolatio*, requires his "return" to a prelapsarian mind set, undistracted by the tempting but superficial preoccupations of wealth, power, fame, position, and pleasure that his final governmental situation had bestowed upon him among its several rewards. In broad outline, the tragic life of Boethius, as constructed in the *Consolatio*, suggests an archetypal return to a "golden period" in his own private life, such as the one to which Geoffrey Ashe refers in his discussion of the "golden era of Arthur" in British national lore, as the goal toward which Boethius

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[3] Geoffrey Ashe, *King Arthur: The Dream of the Golden Age* (London, 1990), p. 11.

[4] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 207 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*). All English quotations used in this chapter from the *Consolatio* are from this edition, in which the Latin text faces its English translation. The translation of the *Consolatio* is by Tester alone.

must aim, if he is to overcome his grief at the apparent losses of Fortuna's gifts. Related to this philosophical or psychological return is a spiritual return that also is explicit in the *Consolatio*: the return of the wayward spirit to its divine origin, the model for which Boethius inherited from his neo-Platonic and Christian forebears.[5] As in the case of accounts of the deeds of Arthur of Britain, part of the attraction of Boethius's story derives from the well-crafted articulation of this universally appealing structure in his complex, final statement to the world.

The life of Boethius in Italy, like that of his famous contemporary in Britain, has become, at least to some degree, elaborated into legend. Three pervasive legends entered the early *Vitae* provided for editions or translations of Boethius's works, which are unsubstantiated by recorded fact. The first legend concerns Boethius's early education. The close affinities between Boethius's theological tractates or the final books of the *Consolatio* and the writings of the neo-Platonists of Athens and Alexandria, which were the principal centers of neo-Platonism during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., are noted often.[6] Edward Gibbon states authoritatively that "there is no evidence that Boethius had ever visited Athens,"[7] and Thomas Hodgkin,[8] Hugh Fraser Stewart,[9] James O'Donnell,[10] and other Boethian scholars generally concur. As recently as the 1980s, however, Edmund Reiss, relying on the work of Pierre Courcelle, states that "it is [...] possible, perhaps even probable, that [Boethius] studied in Alexandria, which after 485 [the date of the death of Proclus of Athens] replaced Athens as the center of Hellenistic studies."[11] Reiss's statement is offered only as speculation, but he bases his conclusion concerning the possibility that Boethius either studied or visited in Alexandria upon two theoretical propositions:

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[5] Henry Chadwick, "Introduction," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), p. 11.

[6] See, for example, Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 17–20; see also John Marenbon, *Boethius*, (Great Medieval Thinkers) (Oxford, 2003), passim. (Hereafter, *Consolatio*)

[7] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols (1909; repr. New York, 1979), 4:212, note 102.

[8] Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders: 376–814*, 8 vols (1880–89; repr. New York, 1969), 3:526–27.

[9] Hugh Fraser Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay* (1891; repr. New York, 1979), p. 96, note 1.

[10] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 115.

[11] Edmund Reiss, *Boethius*, (Twayne's World Authors Series) 672 (Boston, 1982), p. 8.

> first, that it would have been wholly in accord with Symmachus's interests and, second, that in his later writings Boethius cites several Neoplatonic philosophers—notably Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblicus, and Proclus—whose ideas were particularly available at Athens [and subsequently in Alexandria] in the late fifth century.[12]

Boethius's status as a young, adopted member-of-the-family in the household of the senator Symmachus certainly would have afforded him access to highly qualified Greek tutors in Rome. Bringing his typically thorough scholarship to bear on this problem, Edward Gibbon locates the origin of the "study-abroad" legend in two sources: 1) the *De disciplina scolarium*,[13] which alleges that Boethius studied at Athens for eighteen years, but that source has proved "spurious"; and 2) a letter by Cassiodorus written for Theodoric (*Variae* 1.45), which seems to have been misread by later historians.[14]

A second legend holds that Boethius was married to a woman named Helpes (occasionally spelled *Helpis* or *Elpis*) prior to his marriage to Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus. This Helpes, a Sicilian by birth, is referred to by H.F. Stewart as the daughter of Festus, the Senator,[15] and she is noteworthy as the author of hymns.[16] The origin of this legend lies in an epitaph inscribed originally on a tombstone, now lost, but preserved in manuscript transcriptions.

> In the later Middle Ages [the epitaph] was added to MSS of the *Consolatio Philosophiae of Boethius* (in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries) with the following lemma: *Epitaphium uxoris Boetii, Symmachi v.c.* [*vale conjux*] *f*(*iliae*), *quod erat in porticu sive vestibulo Templi divi Petri, sed et legitur in calce multorum codicum Boethii praecipue in bibliotheca S. Augustini* [Epitaph of the wife of Boethius, farewell wife to the daughter of Symmachus [*sic*], which was in the portico or vestibule of the Church of St Peter, but also written at the foot of many codices of Boethius, especially in the library of St Augustine.][17]

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[12] Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 8.

[13] See J.-P. Migne, ed., *Boetii, Ennodii Felicis*, 2 vols, (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 63 (Paris, 1847), 2:1223–38 [hereafter PL]. The text of the *De disciplina*, noted by Gibbon, is printed in full in this volume.

[14] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 4:212, note 102.

[15] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 24. For further information on this Festus, see O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 119.

[16] Two of the hymns by this Helpes survive, and they appear in some early editions of the Latin *Consolatio*, such as one produced by one Josephus Cominus; see also J.-P. Migne, ed. *Boetii, Ennodii Felicis*, 2 vols, PL 64 (Paris, 1891), 1:537, for the Latin texts.

[17] J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), 2:536–38.

The suggestion has been made that, "if she was genuinely the wife of a Boethius, her husband may have been the [younger] son of the writer [of the *Consolatio*] [...] but this is only conjecture."[18] Some of the early *Vitae* present the marriage to Helpes as factual, and their authors occasionally describe, with touching eloquence, Boethius's grief at her loss.

A third legend derives from a search for motives behind the execution of Boethius in A.D. 524. H.F. Stewart summarizes the events leading to the development of the legend or myth of Boethius's martyrdom for the Roman Catholic cause with skepticism:

> A series of dogmatic tracts [written by Boethius], a close intimacy with certain Christians of his time, and a tragic death almost coincident with threatened persecution, had all helped to invest Boethius with a halo of sanctity to which he had in reality but little claim.[19]

Most recent historians hold the view that Boethius's execution was politically motivated. Nevertheless, Henry Chadwick draws the political and religious positions together in a plausible way: Boethius apparently desired reconciliation between the Roman and the Greek Orthodox churches, which would strengthen the political ties within the divided empire.[20] Therefore, Boethius's conservative attitude toward a reunited empire might have threatened Theodoric's dynastic ambitions toward the end of his lengthy reign, and Boethius's respected political voice, along with that of his admired father-in-law Symmachus, was silenced. The legend of martyrdom persisted in northern Italy, where a cult of St Severinus (Boethius) "as a saint for the diocese of Pavia" was sanctioned by Pope Leo XIII in 1883.[21]

As with the historical figure behind the legends of Arthur of Britain, myths developed around the historical figure of Boethius, but to a lesser degree: with Boethius, interest in the legends never really eclipsed scholarly interest in the historicity of the person.

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[18] Martindale, *The Prosopography*, 2:538.

[19] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 2.

[20] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 68.

[21] See "Patron Saints Index: Blessed Severinus Boethius," catholic-forum.com/saints/saintsog.htm.

Boethius and Theodoric: Historical and Biographical Backgrounds

Ultimately, the lives and deeds of Boethius and Theodoric are linked to each other, just as their fates are inseparable from the larger historical processes that directed events in the late Roman Empire. One major reality of the 5th and 6th centuries devolved from a decision made in 286 under Diocletian (emperor, 284–305) to divide the empire into eastern and western administrative units, and then in 293 to divide it further into four prefectures, theoretically under the corporate rule of four partners in government but in fact under Diocletian's direct rule in the east and Maximian's (co-emperor, 285–*c.*310) in the west.[22] A second major reality was the establishment by Constantine of Christianity as the empire's state religion in the 320s; and a third major reality was the dedication of Constantinople by Constantine as the second Rome and new seat of the empire in A.D. 330. Early in the 5th century A.D., the strategic vulnerability of the first Rome was made clear to the world when Alaric succeeded in breaching its defenses during his third siege of the city. After eight hundred years of rarely challenged security, Rome was sacked by Alaric's Visigoths in A.D. 410. Thomas Hodgkin designates this event as the "real end of old Rome" and "the real beginning of modern history."[23] Given the military and political developments in the empire up to that date, Hodgkin's interpretation is a reasonable assessment of the historical evidence. The circumstances that characterized life in Roman Antiquity no longer prevailed, and the historical processes that would define the European Middle Ages were becoming ever more apparent during that invasion and a subsequent series of invasions.

As noted above, the last Roman emperor in the west, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed at Ravenna and replaced by the first ruler in Italy of Germanic origin, Odovacar, in September of A.D. 476. A few years after this event, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius was born at Rome, perhaps in the year 480. His names have been of long-standing interest to editors, translators, and commentators. His patronymic *Anicius* places him in the *gens Anicia*, which entered Roman history as early as the 3rd century B.C. The name *Manlius* connects him with Manlius Torquatus, a figure of importance in Rome's pre-imperial period, "but the connec-

[22] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:16.
[23] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:369.

tion was probably of that vague and shadowy kind which is met with in manufactured genealogies."[24] *Severinus* probably indicates the Christian affiliation of his family at the time of his birth, associating him in name with "one of the holiest names of the fifth century, the saintly hermit of Noricum."[25] Some editions and translations of Boethius's works have added the name *Torquatus* after Manlius, even into the modern period, which can be explained by the historical association suggested above.[26] Translators and commentators have interpreted his names in many and various ways through the centuries.[27] Boethius's father was "N(onius) Ar(rius) [or An(icius) Aur(rilius)?] Manl(ius) Boethius,"[28] who had served twice as *praefectus urbi*, once as *praefectus praetorianus*, and finally as the western consul of 487, under the reign of Odovacar. Boethius's paternal grandfather probably was the Boethius who served as a prefect in 454 and who died at Ravenna with the Roman general Aetius the following year. As Gibbon states, the Anicii were conspicuously wealthy,[29] and the family was impressively well connected and aligned with other prominent and powerful families. "The several branches to whom it was communicated united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian and the Olybrian houses; and in each generation the number of

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[24] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:523.

[25] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:523. According to Gibbon, "[t]he Anician family excelled in faith and in riches; they were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity [...]" (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 3:291).

[26] See, for example, *John Bracegirdle's Psychopharmacon*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Jason Streed (Tempe, 1999). Bracegirdle, an early 17th-century translator of the *Consolatio*, refers to the author of the Latin text as Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius.

[27] See, for example, Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, eds., "*The Boke of Comfort of Bois* (Bodleian Library, Oxford MS AUCT. F.3.5)," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2007), pp. 223–79, here, p. 227. The translator and the manuscript, also referred to as "The Anonymous of Oxford" (Bodleian Library, Oxford MS AUCT. F.3.5), explicates Boethius's names in a strikingly peculiar way:

> *ffurst he was callide Annycius, for he my3t no3t be bowed fro*
> *ri3twisnes nether by prise ne be p^er^ier* [*i.e., purgery*]. *He was callide Bois þ^t^*
> *is on Engelisch an helper, for he halp evere pore men in here*
> *ry3t and nede. He was callide Severyne, and that is men sais was his*
> *p^ro^pir name, for he lefte nevere in iuggement the treuthe nother*
> *for love drede p^ro^fit ne mede, he was callide Manlius of the ky^n^—*
> (MS: Recto 198–Verso 198)

This, probably, is the most idiosyncratic of all such commentaries on Boethius's names in the *Vitae*.

[28] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 5. Here, Chadwick transcribes the full name of Boethius's father from an ivory diptych portrait held today in the Museum at Bresica. For a photographic image of the diptych, see John Matthews, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, p. 27.

[29] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 3:308.

consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim."[30] O'Donnell notes that "one sprig of the ancient Anicii of Rome," Olybrius, went from Constantinople, his place of residence, to Italy, where he ruled briefly as emperor in the west in 472.[31] According to Stephen Mitchell, Olybrius died apparently of natural causes after only a few months in power.[32]

Boethius's father died while Boethius was still a child, "perhaps not long after the year of his consulship in 487."[33] Thereafter, the youth was brought into the household of his kinsman, the senator Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, one of the most respected men of Rome at the time. Symmachus was appointed consul in the west under Odovacar in 485, two years prior to the consulship of Boethius's father in 487. He later was appointed *praefectus urbi* under Theodoric, which granted him the rank of an *illustris*.[34] Symmachus is the author of a seven-volume history of Rome, which now is lost but from which quotations appear in later historical writings by Jordanes and Marcellinus.[35] He was a major supporter of Nicene orthodoxy,[36] and he supported the election of Pope Symmachus when it was contested by proponents of Laurentius, who was elected by another group in an alternative conclave only hours later. Ironically, Symmachus's seniority placed him as head of the senate in 524, the year of his son-in-law's arrest and execution, ostensibly by vote of the senate.[37] Years earlier, Boethius had married Symmachus's daughter Rusticiana, and they had two sons, Fl. Symmachus and Fl. Boethius, who became co-consuls in 522, one representing the east and the other the west.

Hugh Fraser Stewart, basing his understanding of the period in early histories and the later works of such authorities as Hodgkin, states that "[t]he history of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century is the his-

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[30] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 3:307.

[31] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 185. O'Donnell also describes at length the fortunes of Juliana, daughter of Olybrius and Placidia, who was daughter of Emperor Valentinian III (emperor, 425–55), as Juliana lived conspicuously in luxury at Constantinople (pp. 185–92).

[32] Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Late Roman Empire: A.D. 284–641* (Oxford, 2007), p. 116.

[33] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 8.

[34] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:525.

[35] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 8. O'Donnell (*The Ruin*, p. 115) notes that Symmachus "was too lofty to spend much time in public office, preferring to devote himself to writing the history of Rome." It seems, therefore, that Symmachus, very much like his young ward Boethius, was devoted to his library.

[36] Thomas Hodgkin, *Theodoric the Goth: The Barbarian Champion of Civilization* (New York, 1891), 264.

[37] See Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation* (1p4), p. 155.

tory of the rivalry between Huns and Vandals, Visigoths and Ostrogoths, for the prize of Italy."[38] As a succinct observation on the major historical movements of the period, this is valid, because it identifies the principle causes of much of the military and political chaos that characterizes the period. The Ostrogoths were unusual among these invading tribes because, under the leadership of their king, Theodoric, they entered Italy to settle permanently rather than to pillage and then depart. Between *c.* A.D. 270 and 365, the Gothic peoples established themselves in Dacia, the only Roman territory north of the Danube, near the river's estuary at the Black Sea, and they gradually became Romanized: they "put on [the character] of a settled people, still fierce, still delighting in war, but thinking more of occupying the country and less of roaming over it, more of the cornfield and less of the forest, than their fathers had done."[39] They were Christianized through the efforts of Ulfilas (*c.*311–*c.*382). Ulfilas evidently was of Cappadocian ancestry, but either taken captive as a child and raised by the Goths or born in captivity to Cappadocian parents. "He was however himself, in heart and by speech, a Goth, and in the course of his life he became master both of the Greek and Latin languages."[40] While serving on some type of ecclesiastical mission to Constantinople, he came under the influence of Arians living there; while residing among them, he also seems to have invented the Gothic alphabet, which he used to translate the New Testament and much of the Old Testament. These translations of the Bible, along with the Arian creed, he took back with him to the Goths. "To Christianize and to civilize the Gothic people was the one great and successfully accomplished aim of his life."[41] Another nomadic tribe, the Huns, arrived north of the Black Sea, to the west of the Sea of Azov, *c.*374. In a battle waged in 451 against the Huns, the forces of the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths were under the leadership of Aetius, the Roman general in Gaul. By the assessment of O'Donnell, the leader of the Huns, Attila, "was one of several opportunists who flourished in the late 440s."[42] On the Catalaunian Fields near the Rhine in Northern Gaul, a decisive battle in 451 ended in the defeat of Attila, who withdrew his forces beyond the Rhine, and he died the following year. For reasons that remain obscure, Emperor Valentinian III killed Aetius in 454 "with his own hands" at

[38] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 16.
[39] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:64.
[40] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:66.
[41] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:70.
[42] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 92.

Ravenna, where Aetius had come to deliver a report on the finances of his army.[43] As noted previously, it was in this murderous scene that Boethius's supposed grandfather, *praefectus* for the year 454, also perished. Such was their reward for public service during that chaotic year.

When the defeat of Attila and his Huns was achieved in July of 451, the Ostrogothic forces were under the command of the Amal Gothic leader Walamir, who sent news of victory back to his brother Theudemir. It was on that same day of Ostrogothic military success that a son was born to Theudemir and his concubine Ereliva: Theodoric. Theudemir was an Arian Christian, but Ereliva adhered to the Roman creed, and at her baptism, she took the Roman Christian name Eusabic.[44] Following the death of Theudemir in 474, she continued to receive the dignities due a Gothic queen, which indicates that her status as concubine, rather than wife, was not a stigma, either to her or to her son.[45] Theodoric's name comprises two significant Gothic stems, *thiuda* and *reiks*, which together mean "ruler (*rex*) of the people."[46] Epitomizing the impression that Theodoric has left on historians and on the pages of history that they have written, O'Donnell observes: "seeing the world hidden behind the scrims of performance and masquerade that he created has challenged the best historians, and none has escaped unenthralled."[47] O'Donnell well might be referring here to the great Thomas Hodgkin, whose biography, *Theodoric the Goth*, bears the descriptive and telling subtitle, *The Barbarian Champion of Civilization*. Through a series of incidents deriving from the Ostrogoths' status as a client state within the territory of the eastern Roman Empire, Theodoric was sent at the age of seven or eight to live under the protection and supervision of Emperor Leo (emperor, 457–74) at Constantinople.[48] Holding political hostages in order to assure client loyalty was not an uncommon practice at the time, and the young Gothic prince seems to have become a favorite of the emperor.[49] Theodoric remained at Constantinople for ten years, or from *c*.461–*c*.471.[50] At the age perhaps of eighteen, he was returned to his father, with gifts and good-will from the emperor and

[43] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 96.
[44] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 3.
[45] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:15.
[46] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 33.
[47] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 106.
[48] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 37; see also Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:19.
[49] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 37.
[50] Helen M. Barrett, *Boethius: Some Aspects of His Times and Work* (1940; repr. New York, 1965), p. 19.

his court. Theodoric's father Theudemir was the last of the three sons of Wandalar who ruled by popular acclaim over the Ostrogoths (or eastern Gothic peoples), and publically he had designated his son Theodoric as his heir. Theudemir died in 474, and Theodoric succeeded him as king. In his mid-twenties, Theodoric became the legitimate and sole ruler of his Amal Goths. Undoubtedly, the formative decade he spent in Constantinople had taught him the advantages that the rule of law and the development of urban institutions could bring to his people: "Sprung from a race of hunters and shepherds, having slowly learned the arts of agriculture, and then perhaps partly unlearned them under the over-lordship of the nomad Huns, the Ostrogoths at this time knew nothing of a city life."[51] Before his own death about fifty-two years later, he would transplant his people from their fields near the Black Sea to farmland and cities in Italy and teach them the principle of *civilitas*, which he had learned in Constantinople. Because of his experiences in "the new Rome," Theodoric certainly had become aware enough of the usefulness of advisers educated in the sciences, and of political allies well connected within the society, to cause him to appreciate the value of a person like Boethius, once he took power in Italy.

The death of Emperor Leo I in January of 474 initiated a power struggle between Tarasicodissa the Isaurian, called Zeno in his imperial titles, and Basiliscus, the brother of Zeno's mother-in-law. Zeno first ruled as co-emperor with the young Leo II, until the seven-year-old died nine months later, after which he ruled alone. He was forced to flee to his native Isauria in Asia Minor by a faction backing his rival Basiliscus, who then ruled from 475 until his own removal in 477, when Zeno returned to the throne. Basiliscus and his family were exiled to Cappadocia, where they died ignominiously of "cold and hunger."[52] Following these incidents, Zeno ruled uncontested as emperor until his death in 491. During the period of political dissension, however, Theodoric supported Zeno, and for his commitment, he was elevated to the rank of patrician and rewarded with the position of master of the soldiery after Zeno returned to power. He also was named, either at the same time or shortly thereafter, *filius in arma* [son in arms], which entailed his informal adoption by the emperor. In 484, Theodoric was appointed consul for the east, so he obviously had mastered many useful political skills and gained the genuine respect of

[51] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 45.
[52] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 2:537–38.

powerful individuals while residing in the empire's eastern capital. However, "at another time, Theodoric is openly at war with the empire, seizing its cities, ravaging its provinces and leading his troops to the very walls of Constantinople."[53] Thus, Theodoric's early career in the east had its "ups and downs."

Following the very brief reign in the western empire of Boethius's distant kinsman, Olybrius (ruler, 472), Glycerius (ruler, 473–74) held power for a short period, but he soon was replaced by Julius Nepos (ruler, 474–75), who was recognized by Constantinople. Julius Nepos was deposed after a reign of only fourteen months and exiled to Dalmatia by the general and master of the soldiers, Orestes, who placed Romulus, his son, on the western imperial throne at Ravenna,[54] "a young man whose insignificance led some people in the next generation to call him—as now he is regularly known—Augustulus, 'little Augustus' [...]"[55] Romulus occupied the throne for about ten months while his father actually ruled in the west. With the promise of land for veteran soldiers, Odovacar, a Germanic general, gained the support of the army on 3 August 476, and twelve days later he deposed and exiled Romulus to a palace near Naples and executed Orestes, who had taken refuge in Pavia.[56] In this way, Italy passed from Roman to Germanic leadership. Odovacar ruled in the west from 476 until he was replaced by Theodoric in 490—and ruled well, according to most authorities.[57]

In the late autumn of 488, Theodoric, after serving Emperor Zeno (emperor, 474–91) under generally peaceful but occasionally adversarial circumstances, embarked from his base at Sistova, near the Black Sea, to make the lengthy and exhausting journey to Italy. He departed with his entire Ostrogothic nation, estimated to have been around 200,000 men, women, and children, among whom could be counted about 40,000 men-at-arms.[58] He probably waited to start the journey until the end of the harvest season so that his people could begin their traverse reasonably well provisioned. Theodoric's leadership skills were tested and proved as he successfully managed the massive exodus of his people, along with their

[53] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 21.
[54] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 2:508–09.
[55] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 100.
[56] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 2:533.
[57] See, for example, Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 18.
[58] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:202; Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 112.

livestock and cartloads of supplies and moveable possessions from the eastern to the western empire:

> His road was the same taken by Alaric and by most of the barbarian invaders; along the [southern bank of the] Danube as far as Belgrade, then between the rivers Drave and Save or along the banks of one of them till he reached the Julian Alps [...], then down upon Aquileia and the Venetian plane.[59]

Paved in part with stone at least since Trajan's acquisition of Dacia (today's Romania) between A.D. 102 and 106, this route long had served as a Roman thoroughfare. Battles were waged against the Ostrogoths by hostile tribes along the way, but Theodoric arrived in the north-eastern provinces of Italy in July of 489. There is no record of why Zeno granted Theodoric permission to initiate this massive migration. Italy was stable under the rule of Odovacar, who administered justice under Roman law, so Zeno would not have been pressured by Italians to replace Odovacar with another ruler of Germanic origin, and Odovacar conscientiously had shown deference to the primary political authority of the emperor at Constantinople. It is possible that Zeno wanted the Ostrogoths settled farther from Constantinople, and it also is possible that Theodoric wanted to hasten the civilization or urbanization of his now agrarian, rather than nomadic, people by removing them to Italy, which was the traditional heartland of the Roman Empire. Theodoric, very likely desiring to give his people the benefits that he had discovered as a youth living in metropolitan Constantinople, would have realized that acquisition of these advantages would be possible in Italy, weakened already by the invasions and pillaging of the Visigoths in 410 and the Vandals in 455, but highly unlikely in the more securely fortified territories of Byzantium.

For nearly four years, Theodoric attacked the forces loyal to Odovacar in Italy and laid siege to Odovacar's capital, Ravenna. Finally, on the Ides of March, 493, Theodoric invited Odovacar to a banquet, ostensibly to celebrate the beginning of their joint rule in Italy, but at that banquet, Theodoric murdered his rival with his own hands and emerged as sole ruler of the western empire.[60] Hodgkin refers to this event as "a crime by the commission of which Theodoric sank below the level of the ordinary morality of the barbarian, breaking his plighted word, and sinning against the faith of hospitality."[61] The end of Theodoric's generally just and peaceful rule in

[59] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 112.
[60] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 21–22.
[61] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 125.

Italy over thirty years later would be marked by similar acts of violence. The propensity for occasional irrational response to disagreeable political realities is part of the fascination that historians have found in the Amal ruler in the west.

Following the death of Odovacar, the Ostrogoths "confirmed Theodoric to themselves as king," but he ruled the Romans of the western empire for Zeno as "*locum tenens*."[62] After becoming the second Germanic viceroy in Italy, Theodoric continued the "prudent plan of government" that Odovacar had followed before him.[63] Anastasius (emperor, 491–518) succeeded Zeno as emperor in the east, and he officially acknowledged Theodoric's position as ruler in the west, but only in 497.[64] Hodgkin describes the new emperor as "the handsome but elderly officer of the household whom [...] the favor of Ariadne, widow of Zeno, raised to the imperial throne."[65]

Religious Divisions Within the Late Empire, I: Boethius's Religious Position

Theodosius (emperor, 378–95) issued an edict to stop "traditional [pagan] sacrifice and religious ritual" within the empire: "[h]enceforth, Christianity was a matter of requirement, and persuasion was irrelevant."[66] Nevertheless, the culture of the empire continued to follow the earlier, established traditions, at least for the educated classes who continued to appreciate the literature and art of Greek and Roman Antiquity. Chadwick rightly states that

> [the] Christian love of the past, even when associated with some of the external forms of pagan ceremony, is of some importance as background for estimating the position of Boethius and his circle between Classical culture and Christian belief. He belonged to a community which values both and does not wish to be told that they ought to be making a choice.[67]

During the 4th and several subsequent centuries, it was not only the issue of conversion to Christianity from paganism that created distractions; it was also the issue of rivalries between various competing approaches to

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[62] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 132–33.
[63] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 22.
[64] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 25.
[65] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:420–21.
[66] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 153.
[67] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 15.

Christianity that preoccupied the spiritually inclined and those who governed them. By the assessment of most scholars, Boethius was a professing Christian, and a Christian of the Roman Catholic persuasion.[68] Evidently, he at least was culturally a Christian, but he seems also to have been intellectually a Classical humanist. Hodgkin writes that "[t]here is no hint of opposition [in the *Consolatio*] to any Christian doctrine; but on the other hand there is no willingness to accept the special Christian explanation of the central difficulty of the world."[69] Chadwick surmises that Boethius's theological tractates were produced by one who approached ecclesiastical matters as a logician for a small circle of friends who shared his interest in logic.[70] The emperor in Constantinople at the time, Anastasius, was "like most of the Byzantine nobles, a Monophysite," but he probably held the subtleties of the logical problem of "whether Christ ought to be said to *subsist in* two natures or to *consist of* them" to be non-essential to the tactical and logistic difficulties of maintaining order in a vast and crumbling Roman empire.[71] It was just such a logical question as this, however, that attracted the scholarly attention of Boethius, the younger protégé of Symmachus and his associates.

Boethius authored the five theological tractates that have come down to us, which are referred to also as the *Opuscula sacra*.[72] In the order in which they appear in the manuscripts, they are: 1) *De Trinitate*, 2) *Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus*, 3) *Quomodo substantiae*, 4) *De fide catholica*, and 5) *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*. Generally, the tractates are referenced according to this numbering system.

Tractate 5, according to Chadwick, is the earliest in its production in the series of tractates, and he dates that composition to *c*.513.[73] Boethius's tractate treats the Christological issue just alluded to: what differences can there be "between *unions formed from two natures* and *unions which consist in two natures*" (emphasis added).[74] He addresses his text to John the Deacon, who possibly later became Pope John I, and he states the aim

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[68] See, for example, Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 104.

[69] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:566.

[70] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 2; see also Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 27.

[71] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:448.

[72] Concerning the authenticity of authorship of the more controversial tractates, see, for example, Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 11–13; Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 7; John Mair, "The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, p. 206.

[73] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 8; see Boethius, "Contra Eutychen et Nestorium," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 72–73, where the work is dated to 512.

[74] Boethius, "Contra Eutychen," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 75.

of his argument in his prefatory note: to clear "away the extreme and self-contradictory errors of Nestorius and Eutyches" and to "set out in order the middle way of the Christian faith."[75] Chadwick refers to this treatise as Boethius's most original work,[76] and Stewart notes that it "shows more real religious feeling than the rest of the tractates [...]"[77] The argument is brilliant and elegant in its logical simplicity, but perhaps deceptively so, because Boethius reduces the very complex theological issues to categories that appear too neatly as polar opposites when in fact they are not. Eutyches (mid-300s–*c*.454) and Nestorius (*c*.381–*c*.452) were contemporaries (both flourishing at Constantinople) who propounded sharply differing Christological views. As Boethius explains, from a position of Roman orthodoxy: "Nestorius, rightly holding nature to be double [in] Christ, sacrilegiously professes the persons to be two; whereas Eutyches, rightly believing the person to be single, impiously believes that the nature also is single."[78] Although Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (412–44), is credited with initiating the Monophysite heresy, Eutyches is sometimes referred to as "the true Father of Monophysitism," a doctrine that, as noted earlier, appealed to Emperor Anastasius, and also to the upper classes of Constantinople, during the period in which Boethius was developing arguments either to justify or to clarify the Roman Catholic position in the controversy. In response to this problem, Boethius succinctly formulates a statement of the middle, Catholic, way between the extreme positions taken by the Eutyceans and the Nestorians:

> Since [...] the Catholic Faith confesses that both natures continue in Christ and that they both remain perfect, neither being transformed into the other, it says with right that Christ consists both in and of the two natures; *in* the two because both continue, *of* the two because the one person of Christ is formed by the union of the two continuing natures.[79]

Boethius's attraction to the logic of the Roman Catholic formulation is apparent in this clearly stated and balanced statement. His prefatory note to the tract, describing a historical meeting he had attended, and his immediate surprise over reactions to the Christological views expressed

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[75] Boethius, "Contra Eutychen," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 77.
[76] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 8.
[77] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 152.
[78] Boethius, "Contra Eutychen," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 103.
[79] Boethius, "Contra Eutychen," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 117.

there by the Eutyceans and Nestorians, gives credence to Chadwick's opinion that Tractate 5 was the first in his series of theological texts.[80]

Mair, after first acknowledging the earlier work of Victor Schurr, gives the order of composition of the three tractates that are numbered 1, 2, and 3 as: Tractate 2 (the *Utrum Pater et Filius*), a letter addressed to John the Deacon; Tractate 1 (the *De Trinitate*); and Tractate 3 (the *Quomodo substantiae*), also a letter addressed to John the Deacon. Chadwick, with some hesitation, agrees with the ordering of Tractates 2 and 1, and he places them last in the order of composition of the five in the series.[81] In the *De Trinitate*, Boethius defends the Trinitarian view, as formulated by the Council of Chalcedon, that the divinity is one deity in three persons and that the union allows no difference. To this proposition, he adds a seemingly gratuitous observation: "difference cannot be avoided by those who add to or take from the Unity, as for instance the Arians, who, by graduating the Trinity according to merit, break it up and convert it to Plurality."[82] The Arians were followers of the doctrine of Arius (*c.*250–336), who maintained that the Father and the Word (the Son) were of two substances. Because Theodoric and his Ostrogoths were Arians, the thesis of Tractate 1 would have put Boethius's position on the matter at odds with that held by the king in Italy at the time. Although Tractate 1 is dedicated to Symmachus, the second and third, as pointed out above, are letters addressed to John the Bishop, and both are thematically related to the *De Trinitate*.[83] Chadwick's and Mair's arguments suggest that the composition of Tractate 4 followed that of Tractate 5 but was completed prior to that of the first three.[84] Tractate 4 (*De fide catholica*), appears in the manuscripts without title or ascription,[85] so it long was considered spurious by many authorities,[86] until the *Anecdoton Holderi* was discovered in the late 1800s, substantiating the authenticity of authorship of the fourth tractate.[87]

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[80] See Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 181, for information on the survival of the letter read at that meeting.

[81] Mair, "The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*," p. 207. Chadwick, *Boerthius: The Consolations*, pp. 211–12.

[82] Boethius, "De Trinitate," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 7.

[83] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, pp. 211–12.

[84] See Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 127–38, for his numbering and assessment of the tractates.

[85] See, for example, Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 149; Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 175.

[86] See Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 138–41; cf. *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 52–53).

[87] See H. Usener, *Anecdoton Holderi* (Bonn, 1877).

Barrett's general assessment of the significance of the tractates seems to be accurate: "The general purpose then of the tracts is to justify to the reason, with the help of philosophy, the doctrines already received 'by faith.' "[88] In them, Boethius proves himself to be a philosopher, a Roman, and a masterful logician through the arguments that he constructs.

Religious Divisions Within the Late Empire, II: Theodoric's Religious Constraints

Theodosius II (emperor, 408–50) favored the Eutychean position in Christology. The Council of Ephesus that he called together reinstated Eutyches after an earlier assembly had excommunicated him, and Theodosius's council often is referred to as "the Robber Synod." Following Theodosius's death,[89] his daughter Pulcheria shared the throne with Marcian (emperor, 450–57), and the Council of Chalcedon that they assembled promulgated a formulation of the orthodox Roman Catholic view on the Trinity. By the time that Anastasius acceded to the throne somewhat later, in 491, the general population of Constantinople, like most of the Roman population of Italy, accepted the Chalcedonian formulation on the nature of the Trinity. Interestingly, as Anastasius was of mildly Monophysite or even Eutychean thinking (viewing Christ as primarily divine), and Theodoric in Italy was an Arian (viewing Christ as primarily human), both rulers held religious opinions that differed from those of the majority of their subjects.[90]

In 482, Emperor Zeno had issued a document, the *Henotikon*, as "a religious formula aimed at reconciling theological differences in the eastern church," but it in fact generated even greater dissent within the empire. Attention focused on the *Henotikon* (which failed to refer to the number of natures in Christ), and on the ruling emperor, Anastasius (who favored the Monophysite party at Constantinople), caused Theodoric's Arianism in Italy to be perceived as "less obtrusive than it would otherwise have

[88] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 145.

[89] He died at the age of fifty, in the forty-third year of his lengthy reign.

[90] See Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:486–88. Hodgkin also discusses here the general geographical distribution of the religious beliefs of the period: Egypt was Eutychean; Syria, Nestorian and Monophysite; Alexandria, Monophysite; Constantinople and Italy, Chalcedonian. Thus, the political centers of the empire were of orthodox Roman persuasion while the less central regions were otherwise.

been."[91] In politics, both Anastasius and Theodoric, however, wished to rule in a political climate of religious tolerance.[92] In religion, the bishops of Rome and Constantinople were more confrontational; each excommunicated the other in 484, initiating the Acacian Schism, which continued throughout the reign of Anastasius and ended only in 519, a year after his death, at the beginning of the reign of Justin I (emperor, 518–27), who was pro-Chalcedon in his theology. With the accession of Justin I, the political and theological balance that had prevailed during most of Theodoric's rule in Italy came to an end. As Chadwick accurately notes, "[a]fter 519 to be pro-Byzantine in Italy meant the opposite in theology to what it had meant previously."[93] The resolution of the Acacian Schism "reopened communications not only in the church but also in secular affairs, and therefore reduced Italian independence."[94] Justin's policies aimed toward religious reconciliation of the empire, which his successor and nephew Justinian would pursue with military might.[95] It is within this context of religious and political division in the later empire that Boethius's career, both in letters and public service, must be considered.

Throughout the reign of Anastasius, Zeno's *Henotikon* continued to represent the basis, although highly contested, for acceptance of individuals into Christian communion throughout the empire, but, problematically, as noted above, it avoided direct reference to the theological settlement reached by the Council of Chalcedon.[96] At Rome, on 22 November 498, during the period of schism, two popes were elected only hours apart by two separate groups of electors. Symmachus, a native of Sardinia, who had converted from paganism and was a voice for the anti-Byzantine faction, was elected first, and Laurentius, who was a voice for the pro-Byzantine policy of accepting the formulation in the *Henotikon* for church unity, and who was supported by a majority of the senators and many of the parish clergy, was elected somewhat later.[97] In the painful dispute that followed, the king "was definitely requested to act as arbitrator in the disputed election [. . .]"[98] Theodoric decided for Symmachus, basing his decision upon

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[91] John Matthews, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, p. 33.
[92] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:422.
[93] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 28.
[94] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 45.
[95] See Chadwick, "Introduction," pp. 7–8.
[96] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 7.
[97] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 31.
[98] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 32.

two considerations: 1) the candidate *first elected* should be judged legitimately elected; and 2) the candidate *receiving the majority of votes* should be acknowledged to be duly elected. Each approach used by Theodoric to solving the problem clearly placed Symmachus on the papal throne. Furthermore, through large expenditure, Symmachus had gained the support of the Roman commoners and of Ravenna's officials. (Laurentius later was granted an ecclesiastical position near Naples.) The issues involved in this papal election were complex and various, and Symmachus's selection was not secure until September of 506, after eight years of often heated controversy, when Theodoric's final verdict was delivered and all people of Italy were instructed to accept that verdict. Nevertheless, Theodoric made an historic visit to Rome in 500, where he remained in residence for six months,[99] and Boethius must have met him then, for the first time. During his visit, the king, an Arian, was received by Symmachus at St Peter's, and Theodoric showed "every sign of devotion" due to the See of Rome.[100] Chadwick makes a significant observation concerning Theodoric's leadership through the course of these potentially explosive events: "The senate in effect had suffered a substantial defeat, leaving the position of both the king and pope enhanced."[101]

It should be noted here that the Arian community was separated into two groups: the Anomoeans, who were strict adherents to the doctrine of two substances, holding that the Father and the Word (the Son) were of different substances; and the Homoeans, who were less dogmatic, holding that the Word was of a substance only like or similar to that of the Father. Neither group believed that the Father and Son were of one being. Ulfilas was of the latter, more liberal, persuasion, and so were the Gothic peoples who were converted to Christianity through his assiduous work. Since Theodoric's mother was baptized in the Roman Catholic tradition, his personal, tolerant attitude toward theological subtleties is understandable.

Theodoric's reputation for rendering sound and fair judgment was tested in this papal selection process, and his final decision favored Italian political and religious sovereignty. Hodgkin also refers to another event in the reign of Theodoric that possibly provides a truer index of the king's actual impartiality in making legal judgments in religiously charged

[99] See, for example, Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:309; Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 44.
[100] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 31.
[101] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 41.

matters. Around 515 and 522, when Jewish subjects complained that their religious centers had been violated and destroyed by Christian zealots, Theodoric found in favor of the Jews and imposed a severe penalty upon the Christians. "[A]ny offense against *Civilitas* was punished with equal severity, whether Jew or Christian complained of its perpetration."[102] This decision did not endear the king to his more firmly sectarian, Christian constituents, but it indicates the depth of his commitment to religious tolerance.

Boethius's Intellectual Interests and His Scholarly Agenda

The early course of Boethius's intellectual development well may have been set by his father, but the most significant guidance and mentoring toward his future work would have come from his guardian, Symmachus, who was a proponent of Greek learning. Furthermore, Boethius from his youth was surrounded in Rome by well-educated friends and associates who were very conversant in the Greek language and very knowledgeable in the Greek sciences and arts. During the period of Theodoric's rule, "[t]he 'units' of intellectual activity [...] were personal contacts within a restricted intellectual circle."[103] Such an observation is corroborated by Boethius in his writings. The readership specified by the author for his *De Trinitate*, for example, is limited: the author himself, Symmachus, and perhaps a few other initiates who might be capable of grasping his meaning.[104] Concerning ideas expressed in the work, he writes: "The rest of the world I simply disregard since those who cannot understand seem unworthy even to read them."[105] Unless this statement is purely rhetorical, intended only to flatter Symmachus, it implies a very narrow group for the circulation of copies of his essay, and probably all the others in his series of theological texts. In the opening paragraph of Tractate 3, the *Quomodo substantiae*, Boethius admonishes John the Deacon, "do not you take objection to obscurities consequent on brevity, which are the sure treasure-house of secret doctrine and have the advantage that they speak

[102] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:490.
[103] Helen Kirby, "The Scholar and his Public," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, p. 47.
[104] See also Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 2, for other figures who may have been part of Boethius's small group of intellectual intimates.
[105] Boethius, "De Trinitate," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 5.

only with those who are worthy[,]"[106] which carries undeniably elitist overtones. In this same paragraph, he also mentions twice the *Hebdomads* (the "groups of seven"). About this appellation, *Hebdomads*, Barrett reports:

> The name may refer merely to an arrangement of the author's minor works into groups of seven [...] But the word 'Hebdomads' has suggested to some interpreters of Boethius that these theological pamphlets may have been prepared for reading at a Society of that name which met once a week for the discussion of literary, philosophical or theological questions, a society which numbered among its members Boethius, Symmachus, John the Deacon and perhaps Cassiodorus.[107]

The actual existence of such a society, either formally or informally established, is purely hypothetical, but a restricted reading audience intended for the tractates undeniably is specified by the author. Chadwick sees political as well as intellectual implications in Boethius's educational preparation in Greek as well as Latin, and in his production of the five tractates. Symmachus and his political associates apparently wanted to maintain a close relationship with Constantinople and the Greek portion of the empire,[108] and Boethius's tractates address the religiously contentious issues that signal points of deeply entrenched divisions both between and within the Greek and Latin regions of the empire.[109] Considering the fates suffered by Boethius, Symmachus, Pope John I (probably Boethius's John the Deacon), and perhaps others associated with them, some credence should be given to both Barrett's and Chadwick's considerations.

A letter to Symmachus that prefaces Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* refers to arithmetic as "the first of the four mathematical disciplines,"[110] in a passage that often is understood to imply that the author intended to produce books on the other three disciplines subsequently.[111] Cassiodorus confirms this assumption in his *Variae* (1.45), where he praises Boethius for his works in the sciences: "For it is in your translations that

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[106] Boethius, "Quomodo Substantia," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 39.

[107] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 145–46. Barrett provides a note on the word *interpreters* in this passage, in which H.F. Stewart and A. Hildebrand are named (note 4, p. 145). Again, see also Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 2, for other figures who may have been part of Boethius's small group of intellectual intimates.

[108] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, pp. 15–16.

[109] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 10.

[110] Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the* De Institutione Arithmetica (Amsterdam, 1983), p. 67; see also Jean-Yves Guillaumin, ed. and trans., *Boèce: Institution Arithmétique* (Paris, 2002).

[111] See, for example, Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 102.

Pythagoras the musician and Ptolemy the astronomer are read as Italians; that Nicomachus on arithmetic and Euclid on geometry are heard as Ausonians [Italians] [...]"[112] Thus, Boethius is credited with works in each of the four mathematical disciplines—enumerated by Cassiodorus in the sequence: music, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry. Boethius, however, divided the four disciplines into studies first of multitude and then of magnitude: "On this classification, Arithmetic studies multitude itself, while Music studies it in relation to something else (*ad aliquid*). Geometry studies immovable magnitude, astronomy movable."[113] Thus, Boethius's own sequencing is: arithmetic, music; geometry, astronomy. In the opening paragraph of the book on arithmetic, Boethius coins the term *quadrivium* as a rubric for these four mathematical studies, which comprise a four-part approach to philosophy or wisdom.[114] These translated books are probably Boethius's earliest works, produced while he was in his twenties,[115] between the time of Theodoric's residency in Rome (500) and the year of Boethius's consulship (510). It is possible, however, that a work on logic, the *Isagoge*, preceded the appearance of his four books, but that possibility is questioned.[116] The four translated books epitomize Greek knowledge in these disciplines in 5th- and 6th-century Rome; they do not contain new contributions to the mathematical sciences. Therefore, they should be considered as textbooks for Latin students of the Greek sciences.[117] The production of such Latin textbooks implies an audience having a practical as well as theoretical need for such knowledge in Latin sources.[118] Unlike the five theological tractates, the early translations obviously were intended for a broader readership, beyond the small group of political and ecclesiastical scholars whom Boethius counted as his inner circle of friends. For that smaller, elite group of intellectuals, such translations may not have been required.[119] The success of the more well-known translations, however, in contrast to the success of Boethius's later books

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[112] Cassiodorus, *Cassiodorus: Variae*, trans. S.J.B. Barnish (Melksham, Eng., 1992), p. 21.

[113] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 73.

[114] See Masi, *Boethian Number System*, p. 71; see also Masi's notes 1–5, p. 71, in which he points out that the earliest manuscripts use the spelling *quadruvium*.

[115] See, for example, Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 39. Reiss dates the work on the Arithmetic to *c*.503 (see *Boethius*, p. 12).

[116] See, for example, Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 55.

[117] Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 20.

[118] Chadwick points out that music and astronomy are "applied sciences" while arithmetic and geometry are "pure sciences (*Boethius*, p. 73).

[119] Kirby, "The Scholar and his Public," p. 54.

on logic, must be judged negligible.[120] The loss today of all but the volume on arithmetic and a fragment of the volume on music,[121] which remained standard textbooks on those subjects during the Middle Ages, probably both reflects and affirms this assessment. Some fragmentary translations of Euclid into Latin exist today, but their ascription to Boethius is inconclusive.[122] The influence of Euclid's thought and method is apparent in Tractate 3, in which Boethius, like Euclid in his *Elements*, begins "by laying down axioms and postulates which have the status either of geometrical axioms [...] or of such principles as are self-evident to all educated minds."[123] The influence of Ptolemy can be found in derivative passages in the *Consolatio*, such as in 1p7, where Boethius mentions Ptolemy by name and paraphrases a brief passage from his *Almagest*.[124] Boethius's remarkable internalization and use of material from Euclid and Ptolemy supports the proposition that he, indeed, either read very carefully or translated their major works. In the *Consolatio* (1p4), Boethius asks Lady Philosophy if she remembers his former work as a student of her wisdom, "When with your rod you drew for me the paths of the stars? When you shaped my character and the whole manner of my life according to celestial models?"[125] This implies that Boethius's interest in astronomy and his knowledge of the subject was significant. His famous description of the appearance of Lady Philosophy (1p1) may, in fact, derive from his reading of the first book of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, where similar descriptive phrasing is found in Ptolemy's opening sentence, in which he mentions "those who have been true philosophers," who "have very wisely separated the theoretical part of philosophy from the practical."[126] Stewart is justified in suggesting that greater appreciation of Boethius's knowledge of geometry and astronomy could lead to "a fuller view of Boethius."[127] Unlike Aristotle, Boethius appears to have devoted little or no attention to the biological sciences. Cassiodorus credits him, however, with a translation of "Archimedes

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[120] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 107.

[121] See Calvin M. Bower, trans., Claude V. Palisca, ed., *Fundamentals of Music: Anicius Manlius Evereinus Boethius* (New Haven, 1989).

[122] See David Pingree, "Boethius' Geometry and Astronomy," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, pp. 155–61.

[123] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 105.

[124] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 217.

[125] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 147.

[126] Ptolemy, "The Almagest," in *Ptolemy, Copernicus, Kepler*, (Britannica Great Books of the Western World) 16 (Chicago, 1952), p. 5.

[127] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 112–16.

the engineer into Latin," but this book, if it ever reached general audiences, is lost.[128]

Following the completion of his translations of works for the *quadrivium*, Boethius turned his scholarly attention to producing translations and writing commentaries for the study of logic, a discipline of the *trivium*. "The most extended single work from Boethius's pen is his double exposition of Aristotle's difficult treatise 'On Interpretation,' which the early editors of the Peripatetic school placed second in the Aristotelian Organon after the *Categories*."[129] In this work, Boethius famously formulates the bold intellectual agenda that he sets for his work with Aristotle and Plato.

> I shall translate into Latin every work of Aristotle's that comes into my hands, and I shall write commentaries on all of them: any subtlety of logic, any depth of moral insight, any perception of scientific truth that Aristotle has set down, I shall arrange, translate and illuminate by the light of a commentary; and I shall also translate and comment upon all Plato's dialogues and put them into Latin form.[130]

In his commentary on the *Categories*, Boethius complains that the classical values of the past might be lost in his own time if the work of transmitting Greek learning to Latin audiences is not accomplished. The date of Boethius's commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* is established in his preface to Book II of that work, where he notes that his political and social responsibilities as consul in 510 were distractions from his concentration on the commentary. Boethius's work in transmitting Greek studies in logic to Latin audiences proved to be his most effective scholarly accomplishment. According to John Marenbon, "the exclusive concentration of [Boethius's] commentaries on Aristotelian logic" and his "adoption of Porphyry's approach to interpreting Aristotelian logic" are factors that "set the sober, Aristotelian tone for much that is most remarkable in early medieval philosophy."[131] As a significant example, Boethius's second commentary on Prophyry's *Isagoge* initiated the controversy concerning the nature of universals that preoccupied medieval thinkers from the 11th century.[132] Due directly to the continuous influence of Boethius's writings

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[128] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.45), p. 21.

[129] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 152.

[130] Jonathan Barnes, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Gibson, p. 74.

[131] Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 41–42.

[132] See, for example, Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 166–68; see also Chadwick, "Introduction," pp. 5–6.

on logic (and to the loss of some of his works and the untimely termination of his productive life), his transmission of works in logic from Greek sources to the Latin Middle Ages—after the powerful influence, of course, of his *Consolatio*—is his most enduring intellectual legacy for the succeeding fifteen hundred years.

In *Consolatio* 1p4, Boethius complains to Lady Philosophy that she, through Plato, had taught him that those states were most blessed in which philosophers were kings or governors, and in which people are not subjected to rule by corrupted individuals. "It was in accordance with that teaching that I chose to apply in the practice of public administration what I learned from you in the seclusion of my private leisure."[133] He alleges here, of course, that his decision to enter public service for the noblest of reasons led eventually to his ignoble imprisonment. Boethius's *Consolatio* is a literary work, which is philosophical and autobiographical in its generic nature. Stewart writes that the book is "intensely artificial" in its presentation and that "every page smells of the lamp."[134] The intriguingly fictional and inherently dramatic structure in which Boethius casts his work, developing his argument through a series of alternating verse and narrative passages, allows him to project his internal distress as an external dialogue between an ailing prisoner sitting in his cell, Boethius-in-the-work, and his physician-interlocutor, Lady Philosophy, who represent the emotional and rational faculties of the author, respectively. The normative philosophical position assumed in the work is Platonism or neo-Platonism modified by Aristotelianism.[135] As Boethius makes clear to Lady Philosophy (in 1p4), he is no longer securely sequestered in his library at home in Rome, with his books surrounding him. He is dependent upon the learning he has assimilated through his years of study, and it is this knowledge and the wisdom it has generated that he draws upon through the projected persona of Lady Philosophy. Within the drama that Boethius creates, the deity that Lady Philosophy constructs in the work is the ultimate dramatist. "This God resembles Plato's Demiurge, Aristotle's Unmoveable, and Plotinus's One; He is the Supreme Orderer and the Highest Good, as well as Reality itself."[136] All actions and interactions among the rational animals who populate reality are foreknown by the

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[133] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, 1p4, p. 147.

[134] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 106; see also, for example, Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 138.

[135] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 100.

[136] Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 152.

master dramatist of history, even as the characters who spring from his mind maintain free will or free choice in their decision making. Herein lies the question that poses the greatest challenge to the prisoner's understanding: are human beings truly free agents or are they automata, the victims of "plot manipulation" by the divine dramatist? Thus, the nature of the work recapitulates, to a degree, the nature of the cosmology that Boethius-the-author causes his character, Lady Philosophy, to construct for the prisoner in the work. The power and implications of the prison metaphor have been appreciated by readers of the *Consolatio* through the centuries. Concerning Boethius-the-author's inability ultimately to have even Lady Philosophy, his own dramatic creation, speak convincingly from the divine dramatist's perspective, Marenbon concludes his analysis of the logic applied in the *Consolatio* with this observation: Lady Philosophy's "long and impressive defense of human freedom is ruined [in the concluding prose passage of the work]—but she seems not to have noticed. [...] Philosophy has vindicated human freedom, only to sacrifice it in the space of a couple of lines."[137] This is a fair statement of the disappointment that many readers have felt upon completing their reading of the work.

Some critics of the *Consolatio* attempt to find intention in the author's troublesome failure to be both consistent and complete in his argument by classifying the work as Menippean satire.[138] Menippean satire combines verse and prose passages, as Boethius does, and it generally aims at debunking social and intellectual pretensions. For this reason, classifying the work as Menippean satire necessarily alters a reading of the text.[139] Boethius either presents his final statement to the world as a good-faith attempt to comprehend his circumstance in space and time or he does not. If he does not, then assessment of the work as an example of Menippean satire could be well founded, and the author's inability to arrive at logically satisfactory closure can be excused, or at least explained. This question remains open, depending upon the attitude taken by the reader toward the issues discussed in the dialogue, or the attitude taken toward the prisoner's guilt or innocence. The *Consolatio* concludes with a stoic acceptance of the inescapable situation into which *decision* and *circumstance* have delivered the prisoner Boethius, but not necessarily with an

[137] Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 145.

[138] See, for example, Anne Payne, *Chaucer and Menippean Satire* (Madison, 1981); Peter Dronke, *Verse and Prose* (Cambridge, MA, 1994); and Joel Relihan, *Ancient Menippean Satire* (Baltimore, 1993).

[139] Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 160.

affirmation of universal justice and transcendent hope that is found, for example, at the end of the Book of Job.[140] No interpretation of the work, however, can be considered satisfactory unless it takes into account the many facets of Boethius's life, including his early investigations into the disciplines of the *quadrivium*, the theological speculations and formulations presented in the tractates, the methods of argumentation presented in his translations of and commentaries on Greek logicians, and his life experiences among the political realities of his time. The times, life, and work of Boethius must be considered together if the *Consolatio* is to be read comprehensively.

Boethius's Public Service and Political Work

In Rome's political establishment, Boethius had the advantages afforded him by close association with his well-respected guardian and father-in-law Symmachus. In the opening passage of the *Consolatio*, Boethius foregrounds a dichotomy in his being with which he seems to have struggled throughout his life. In the greenness of his youth, he responded to the muses' urgings by writing poetry, and in the darkness of his prison in later life, he still sings in answer to their call: "Verses I made once glowing with content; / Tearful, alas, sad songs must I begin" (1m1).[141] Entering into his prison cell, Lady Philosophy, in prose, banishes the poetic muses: "Get out, you Sirens, beguiling men straight to their destruction! Leave him to *my* Muses to care for and restore to health" (1m1).[142] Lady Philosophy's voice in this notable scene possibly echoes the voice of Symmachus who, in earlier times, probably had directed Boethius's attention away from lyric poetry and toward "Eleatic and Academic thought." The dichotomy between Boethius's poetic and prosaic spirits seems to represent, at least in the *Consolatio*, a dichotomy between his personal emotional and rational responses to the realities of his times and circumstances. Indeed, from the report provided by the prisoner in the *Consolatio*, it appears that Boethius's, emotional, and perhaps rash, immediate response to apparent injustice in accusations against his colleague Albinus precipitated the

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[140] See Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 276–77, for a brief comparison of the *Consolatio* with the Book of Job. See also Ann W. Astell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), passim.

[141] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 131.

[142] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 135.

events that led to his own arrest and eventual execution. The first book of the *Consolatio* records the author's failure to keep his emotions under the control of his rational faculties. Verse and prose passages alternate throughout the work, but the final word, in the Latin text that we have today, is delivered in prose by Lady Philosophy. Boethius, the translator, scholar, and would-be poet, and Symmachus, the political leader, historian, and renowned orator, "seemed marked out by character and position as leaders of a patriotic party in the senate."[143] Much of Boethius's career, both as student of Greek learning and as a political figure in Roman government, resulted from his status as close protégé of the more prosaic Symmachus. In 507, Boethius was first introduced to the senate with the title of *patricius*.[144] Hodgkin asserts, and rightly so, that, by inclination, Boethius was less suited for "the stately presence chamber of the king or prefect" than for "the delightful retirement of his library,"[145] and one indicator of this fact is the poetic or emotional aspect of his being that he sometimes could not suppress, and which readers discern in the *Consolatio*, and appreciate.

Following the division of the empire by Diocletian, each year saw the appointment of one consul from the east and one from the west. As noted earlier, Boethius was appointed consul in the west in 510, and he took his consular responsibilities seriously. In the *Consolatio*, he proudly states:

> When in a time of grievous famine it seemed there was to be by order a terrible and quite indefensible compulsory purchase of supplies which would have reduced the province of Campania to destitution, I took up the fight with the Praetorian Prefect [Faustus Niger][146] for the sake of the common good, I fought against the enforcement of the purchase before the king, and I won. The wealth of Paulinus, a man of consular rank, which had already in their ambitious hope been all but devoured by those dogs of the court, I snatched even from their gaping jaws.[147]

Remarkably, his two sons, named Symmachus and Boethius, were both appointed consuls for 522, one by the emperor in the east and the other by Theodoric in the west. Chadwick surmises that this extraordinary occurrence would not have come about had the senior Symmachus and the

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[143] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 263.

[144] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 23; Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 27.

[145] Hodgkin, *Italy*, p. 527.

[146] For further information on both Faustus the Black and Faustus the White, see O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, pp. 118–19.

[147] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 149.

senior Boethius not been known in Constantinople as members of the pro-Byzantine faction in Italy.[148] Previously, brothers had been appointed co-consuls only in A.D. 395, when two sons of Petronius Probus served together.[149] (Interestingly, Eutharic, husband of Amalasuntha and, therefore, son-in-law of Theodoric, had served as co-consul with Emperor Justin in 519, the second year of that emperor's reign.[150] Perhaps Eutharic was being groomed to succeed Theodoric on the throne in the west.) Probably on 1 September 522, Boethius himself was appointed *magister officiorum* in the court of Theodoric at Ravenna.[151] It is evident, therefore, that Boethius found favor both in Constantinople and in Ravenna. Boethius already was one of the wealthiest men in the empire,[152] and he led the life of comfort and privilege that accompanies having great wealth. To these two gifts of fortune, *pleasure* and *wealth*, Boethius's appointment to high political office added *power*, *fame*, and *position* (or *high office*). Although he obviously enjoyed political favor, his appointment to high office brought political dangers, also. "He used his position to protect his friends and to frustrate the corruption of court officials. In short, he made many enemies."[153]

What sort of power would Boethius have enjoyed as *magister officiorum* in Theodoric's government? According to Hodgkin, the Roman civil service at the time of Boethius's tenure in office "was at least as regular and highly specialized a profession under the Emperor and under Theodoric as it is in any modern state."[154] Three branches of government were in place: 1) the senate at Rome, which had become advisory only; 2) two consuls, who enjoyed prestige but little actual power; and 3) the emperor in the east, at Constantinople, who was the executive, and the ruler in the west, at Ravenna, who served as *locum tenens* under the emperor. Theodoric's executive branch of the government in Italy was divided into two separate groups of *illustrium*, or two ministries: the *military administration* in which five generals held authority over the armed forces, made up primarily of Goths; and the *civil administration* in which eight appointees oversaw the work of the government's departmental bureaucracies.

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[148] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 9.
[149] Matthews, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," p. 29.
[150] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 154.
[151] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:534.
[152] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 115.
[153] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 9.
[154] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 152. The following outline of the governmental bureaucracy at the time of Theodoric is summarized from: Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 148–56.

The eight civil appointees served, along with the generals, as "the king's cabinet": 1–3) there were three praetorian prefects (responsible for Gaul, Italy, and the city of Rome, respectively); 4) of similar rank was the *magister officiorum*, who was intermediate between the king and the civil service; 5) there was a *quaestor*, who served as the king's rhetorician or "spin doctor"; 6–7) there were two finance ministers, the count of sacred largess (equivalent to an imperial chancellor of exchequer) and the count of private domains (the chief commissioner of woods and forests); and then 8) there was the imperial superintendent of the sacred dormitory (the grand chamberlain of the state). Under several of these "cabinet members" were well-compensated subalterns. Boethius's rank in Theodoric's government would have been slightly below that of the praetorian prefect but above that of the *quaestor* (who worked independently of a large staff), and Boethius's responsibilities overlapped with theirs in some areas. His chief rivals for power, therefore, would have been the praetorian prefects. The responsibilities of the remaining three members of the king's inner circle of civil advisers (the two finance ministers and the superintendent of the sacred dormitory) would not have encroached upon his own. The purview of the *magister officiorum* "included duties that in a modern state would be discharged, some by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, some by the Home Secretary and others by the Postmaster-General. The Master of Offices was also chief of the whole Civil Service and head of the Palace officials."[155]

Through diligent and conscientious effort, Theodoric ruled Italy in peace for more than thirty years. It was under his administration and within it that Boethius flourished until he was arrested and executed. For Theodoric, good government was a high priority, and the guiding principle in Theodoric's governance is contained in the concept of *civilitas*, a Latin word whose meaning includes maintaining peace in the state, securing equal justice for all classes in the society, and protecting the subjects from lawless people or corrupted officials.[156] Hodgkin affirms that "[l]aw carefully thought out, systematized, and in the main softened and liberalized, from generation to generation, was the great gift of the Roman Empire to the world [...]"[157] Theodoric maintained the Roman legal and administrative systems, but with himself as the strong

[155] Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 46. Barrett places a note (note 2) on this passage, on page 46: "See *Letters of Cassiodorus*, ed. T. Hodgkin, pp. 36 and 37, 302, 303."

[156] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:276.

[157] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 48.

and capable head of government.[158] Throughout the years of Theodoric's reign, only "traditional candidates," which would be Roman rather than Gothic candidates, held the major administrative positions in the civil government.[159] After his assumption of political power in Italy, Theodoric settled his Ostrogothic people on farmland. He accomplished this task by relying upon the administrative expertise of Liberius, who earlier had switched loyalty from Odovacar to Theodoric during the period of transition of power (489–93) and then became Theodoric's praetorian prefect in Italy until 500, when Theodoric was in residence in Rome. Remarkably, Liberius accomplished the difficult task of settling the Gothic invaders without civil discord.[160] In fact, Liberius's settlement appears actually to have generated harmony between the Italian and Gothic peoples. Under Theodoric's *domestic policy*, Romans could not enter the Gothic military and Goths could not enter Roman schools, and this separation by ethnic classes prevailed throughout Theodoric's reign.[161] Under Theodoric's *foreign policy*, alliances within western Europe developed through arranged marriages. For example, the widower Theodoric married a second wife, Audefleda, who was sister of Clovis; his own sister Amala(g)frida married Thrasamund, king of the Vandals; Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha married Eutharic, a kinsman from Gothic Spain; and daughters from Theodoric's first marriage wedded Theudegotho, the king of the Burgundians, and Alaric, king of the Visigoths, respectively.[162]

Internally, Theodoric invested government funds in repairing and building public works and in developing agricultural prosperity. Economically, Italy became more secure and prosperous than it had been for centuries before or than it would be for centuries thereafter.[163] Again, these priorities perhaps developed, as so many of his policies seem to have developed, out of Theodoric's experiences as a youth living in Constantinople and observing the workings of government there.[164] Externally, with regard to Constantinople as the seat of the empire, Theodoric devoted much energy and attention to defining the status of Italy within the empire and secur-

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[158] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 149.

[159] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 110.

[160] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 110.

[161] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 3; see Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:277, for a possible justification for this division within the society; see Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 7.

[162] See Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 174, for a detailed chart of Theodoric's familial and political alliances.

[163] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 14.

[164] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 144–45.

ing the legality of his rule there. In 490, Theodoric sent Faustus, consul for that year, to plead the case for Theodoric's legitimacy as ruler in Italy, but Emperor Zeno died in 491, and Faustus returned to Italy unsuccessful in his efforts.[165] A second mission was dispatched in 493 to negotiate with the new emperor, Anastasius. Following the death of Odovacar earlier that year, the Gothic nation "confirmed Theodoric to themselves as king," but without seeking permission from the emperor to do so. For this second mission, Faustus, now *magister officiorum*, and Irenaeus, another nobleman of Rome, were sent to represent Theodoric's interests and notify the emperor officially of his accession to rule in Italy, but they were met with Anastasius's displeasure at Theodoric's presumptive acquisition of power and of titles.[166] Relations remained strained between Ravenna and Constantinople for several years. Theodoric sent a third embassy to negotiate with the emperor in 497, in which Festus, senator and former consul of 472, accompanied by Germanicus and Cresconius, two bishops who carried a letter from the pope, was successful:[167] "Festus returned bearing the official ornaments and regalia of the western empire, the same ones that Odovacar had sent back to Constantinople twenty years earlier in a hollow show of fealty after he had dispensed with resident puppet emperors in the ancient capital."[168] Thus, Festus gained for Theodoric the symbols of political legitimacy that he had sought to obtain for so many years. Theodoric's success in Italy and in western Europe may be ascribed to his practical wisdom in establishing his domestic and foreign policies.[169] The precise nature of Theodoric's power in Italy and his relationship to the emperor in Constantinople remained vague.[170] Nevertheless, during the remainder of the reign of Anastasius, Theodoric's rule in Italy continued unchallenged.

In an age in which there were relatively few great centers of culture and learning to punctuate vast regions of rural and agricultural settlements, Constantinople and Rome—along with Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, and some other scattered concentrations of scientists, scholars, and seekers of wisdom—stood out significantly in the landscape of the late empire. Dante captures the mystique that these urban wonders must have held

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[165] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 132; O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 119.
[166] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:433–34.
[167] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:434–35.
[168] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 68.
[169] See Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 2.
[170] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:434–35.

for the wandering tribes of antiquity in the description that Dante-the-pilgrim gives of his first view of the Celestial Rose in Paradise:

> If the barbarians (coming from such parts
> as every day are spanned by Helice,
> travelling the sky with her belovèd son)
> when they saw Rome, her mighty monuments
> (the days the Lateran, built high, outsoared
> all mortal art), were so struck with amazement,
> then I—coming to Heaven from mortal earth,
> from man's time to Divine eternity,
> from Florence to a people just and sane—
> with what amazement must I have been struck![171]

During his youthful, formative years in Constantinople, Theodoric had enjoyed, more-or-less as a privileged insider, the benefits that a developed civilization can bestow upon its citizens. Working assiduously as monarch in Italy, he provided these benefits to Goths and Italians alike as he invested in repairing and building upon the infrastructure that had fallen into decay. Theodoric certainly appreciated Boethius's early work in the disciplines of the *quadrivium* as useful in his vision for Italy and western Europe. In a letter addressed to Boethius (*c*.507–12), Theodoric, or his secretary Cassiodorus writing on behalf of the king, praises Boethius's knowledge of mathematics as an exact science. In phrasing that almost presages a significant passage in the *Consolatio* (3m9), Cassiodorus writes poetically of the mathematical ideal: "[Arithmetic] is an intelligible pattern, a beautiful system, an integral study, an unchanging science, that both binds the heavens and preserves the earth."[172] The king then proceeds to discuss more prosaic, practical matters: "For is there anything that lacks measure, or transcends weight? It includes all, it rules all, and all things have their beauty because they are perceived under its standard."[173] He then asks Boethius to address a matter relating to corruption of coinage and the denial of a proper wage due the wage earners in Italy. The letter says much about Theodoric's approach to good government as it speaks to the king's reason for making this request: "Clearly, what is granted to workers should not be pruned; rather, where honest service is exacted, let an

[171] Dante, *The Divine Comedy: Volume III, Paradise* (31:31–40), trans. Mark Musa (New York, 1986), p. 366.
[172] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.10), p. 12.
[173] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.10), p. 12.

undiminished reward be bestowed."[174] In another letter (*c.*506), Theodoric praises Boethius for his translations of Pythagoras, Ptolemy, Nicomachus, Euclid, and, significantly within the context of this letter, Archimedes the engineer; he also notes, in a somewhat baffling way, that "at long distance, you [Boethius] so entered the schools of Athens, you so mingled in your toga among their cloaked assemblies, that you turned Greek theories into Roman teaching."[175] Finally, along with the praise of Boethius's scholarly and pedagogical accomplishments, Theodoric makes a typically practical request. The king of the Burgundians, Gundobad, has asked for a well-calibrated sundial and water clock (a *clepsydra*), so that time can be measured accurately both in the day and at night. Theodoric enlists Boethius's expertise in the construction of these gifts: "For sweetness and pleasure many times produce what weapons fail to do. May it then serve the state even when I seem to play."[176] Theodoric's practical and wise approach to foreign policy becomes apparent in this note as the king provides his motive or justification for seeking to fulfill the Burgundian request. In yet a third letter (*c.*506), Theodoric asks Boethius to find a suitable master player of the *cithara* (an ancient instrument resembling a lyre) to send to play for the king of the Franks, Clovis, Theodoric's brother-in-law, who, "tempted by the fame of my [Theodoric's] banquets, has earnestly requested a lyre-player from me."[177] Obviously, we see in these letters of request from Theodoric an appreciation of Boethius's academic learning and potential for public service, but we also see the king's appreciation of the benefits that the cultivation of the liberal arts and sciences can bring not only to the Ostrogoths living and working as wage-earners in Italy but also for the Germanic tribes settled in northern Europe. "While Theodoric's views of education may seem to be as non-conclusive as his own educational attainments, we may say with confidence that he wished not only to impress his Germanic neighbors with the culture in his realm but to have the admiration of the East; and, for Theodoric, Hellenic culture (as transmitted to Rome through Boethius's translations and commentaries) was a necessary means of rivaling the Eastern Emperor."[178]

Even as Theodoric found practical application in Greek science, Boethius found theoretical value in them. The king must have discerned

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[174] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.10), p. 12.
[175] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.45), p. 20.
[176] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.10), p. 12; see also Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 196.
[177] Cassiodorus, *Variae* (2.10), p. 38.
[178] Reiss, *Boethius*, p. 13.

the practical necessity of keeping Latin schooling up-to-date with Greek schooling, so that the standard of living in the west would not become too overshadowed by that in the east, and so that cultural and political continuity might be maintained throughout the empire. Boethius wrote in 510 in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* that he feared the loss of an education in the liberal arts in the west and a loss of the values they promoted. Indeed, the educational agenda suggested in Boethius's work of providing Latin texts for a program of learning in the "upper-division" studies of the *quadrivium*, with possible additional attention to such fields as engineering, aimed ultimately at a comprehensive, theoretical understanding of the disciplines. In all probability, we see Boethius's priority expressed quite clearly in the design of Lady Philosophy's dress in the *Consolatio*: "On its lower border was woven the Greek letter Π (P), and on the upper, Θ (Th), and between the two letters steps were marked like a ladder, by which one might climb from the lower letter to the higher."[179] The educational aspirations of Symmachus and Boethius and the political and social aspirations of Theodoric may have met, if somewhat obliquely, in Rome in 500 and developed from that time, culminating about 522 with Boethius's appointment to the position of practical responsibility that led to his downfall. At least the possibility of the beneficial union of the practical and theoretical approaches to the sciences appears, in Theodoric's requests, to have been attempted by the king.

The Arrest and Death of Boethius and the Final Years of Theodoric's Reign

At some point, probably in late 523 or early 524, Boethius was arrested, apparently at Verona, and imprisoned in a tower at Pavia. He was perhaps transferred later to "the *ager Calventianus*" near Milan, where eventually he was executed.[180] He has Lady Philosophy sing of his accomplishments and of his current misfortune in her metrical voice:

> This man
> Used once to wander free under open skies
> The paths of the heavens; used to gaze

[179] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 133 and 135; the editors place a note on the Π (P) and the Θ (Th): "for the twofold division of Philosophy, into Practical and Theoretical" (p. 132, note a).

[180] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 276.

On rosy sunlight, and on the constellations
Of the cold new moon,
And on each star that on its wandering ways
Turns through its changing circles—all such things
He mastered and bound by number and law.
Causes, moreover, he sought and knew:
Why the winds howl and stir up the waves of the sea,
What breath turns the fixed stars' sphere,
Why the sun rises in the red east
And sinks beneath the Western waves,
What warms the spring's calm hours
So that the earth is lovely with flowers of roses,
And who makes fruitful autumn heavy, as the year fills,
With the full grapes. He sought and told
All Nature's secret causes.
But now he lies
His mind's light languishing,
Bowed with these heavy chains about his neck,
His eyes cast down beneath the weight of care,
Seeing nothing
But the dull, solid earth.[181] (1m2)

The list of Boethius's intellectual accomplishments presented in Book I of the *Consolatio*, like Cassiodorus's list, quoted earlier from a letter addressed to Boethius from Theodoric, mentions in some detail his studies in the mathematical disciplines from which he produced his early books, and it alludes in passing to studies in the physical sciences, from which no works are attested. The reference to shackles about his neck might be ascribed, however, to satirical exaggeration, which characterizes much of the emotional outpourings of the first book of the *Consolatio*.[182] In 1p4, Boethius says to Lady Philosophy: "so that the true details of this affair (details on the accusations made against Boethius and on the circumstances of his arrest) cannot lie concealed from later generations, I have written it down to be remembered."[183] Unfortunately, the prisoner's statement on the events of the summer or autumn of 523 mentioned here has not survived. In the emotionally charged account that is preserved in the *Consolatio* (throughout 1p4), the prisoner affirms that he was arrested because he spoke out to defend Albinus, "another man of consular rank,"[184] who was

[181] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 137 and 138.
[182] See Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, p. 36, for a statement of such a view on the text.
[183] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 153.
[184] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 149.

accused by Cyprian of disloyalty to the king in letters sent to the emperor in Constantinople. Albinus, a wealthy but relatively little-known patrician who also served in the king's "cabinet,"[185] disappears from history following the scene of accusation at Verona. Cyprian, *referendarius* or reporter in the king's court, had recently returned to Italy from a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, where he had proved his rhetorical abilities in negotiations with his Greek counterparts. It is possible that he had gained some sort of information on conspiracy against Theodoric's rule while on that mission. In Hodgkin's analysis, there are two possible explanations for actions taken by Cyprian: 1) he either was a responsible servant of the king who had discovered some intrigue against Theodoric's rule; or 2) he was seeking opportunistically to improve his own standing in the realm at the expense of that of his colleagues in the government.[186] Once Boethius had stepped forward to defend Albinus, Cyprian named him as a co-conspirator. In the prisoner Boethius's account, he stood accused by Cyprian 1) on the seemingly vague charge of desiring to preserve the senate and 2) on the more specific charge of attempting to withhold evidence—letters proving the guilt of Albinus and the senate.[187] Among his duties as *magister officiorum*, Boethius was supervisor of the postal system, so this particular accusation would have created plausible suspicion against him.[188] Barrett identifies two further charges leveled against Boethius: 3) of hoping for the liberty of Rome; and 4) of practicing magic or necromancy to promote his career. Like the accusation of desiring the safety of the senate, that of hoping for the liberty of Rome appears vague, due to the lack of any specific allegations in the indictment. The charge of practicing the "black arts" appears totally aberrant for a man like Boethius. Hodgkin suggests that Boethius's mechanical skills in manufacturing a water clock and sundial for the king (produced at the request of the king and paid for by state funds)[189] and his reputation as a student of astronomy[190] could lie behind such charges. He also points out that the 300s and 400s A.D. saw an "epidemic" of suspicion of practicing magic in the western part of the empire.[191] With specific reference to the charge against Boethius

[185] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 267–68.
[186] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 269.
[187] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 151.
[188] See, for example, Matthews, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," p. 30.
[189] See Cassiodorus, *Variae* (1.45), pp. 20–23.
[190] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 274.
[191] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 1:32–33.

of practicing necromancy, Hodgkin observes: "mediaeval superstition was already beginning to cast her shadow over Europe [...]"[192]

After Cyprian had named Boethius and other Romans (but no Goths)[193] as co-conspirators, three men stepped forward to confirm or substantiate Cyprian's report. One was Basilius, recently dismissed from the king's service and supposedly forced to denounce Boethius "because of his burden of debts."[194] Opilio and Gaudentius were the other two. "[O]n account of their many different frauds they were condemned to exile by the king's judgment, but they refused to obey and took sanctuary in a temple."[195] On the day they were required to depart Ravenna, the document accusing Boethius appeared, with their names affixed to it. Of course, Boethius-the-prisoner questions the reliability of their testimony: "Did their previous conviction make them just accusers?"[196] Interestingly, Opilio perhaps was the brother of Cyprian, who, following the death of Theodoric, was raised by Theodoric's daughter and successor, Amalasuntha, to the office of count of the sacred largess.[197] Several men named Basilius are cited in the letters of Cassiodorus, but the specific Basilius mentioned by Boethius is difficult to identify; Gaudentius is even more obscure in the record. Cyprian and his professional work for the government are consistently praised in letters of Cassiodorus, and also that of his brother Opilio. All the accusers, however, are dismissed as "false witnesses" or "men of worthless character" in the *Anonymous Valesii* and in Procopius.[198] Cassiodorus, who was appointed *magister officorum* following Boethius's removal from that same position, does not mention the death of Boethius or the subsequent death of his father-in-law Symmachus in his letters, and "[t]his silence tells against Theodoric."[199] Had Boethius been guilty of so serious a crime as treason, it seems unlikely that Cassiodorus would have "so studiously avoided all allusion to the act itself."[200] The silence of Cassiodorus certainly speaks to the extreme complexity of the issues that led to Boethius's downfall: had a trial taken place and a verdict of guilt or innocence been rendered, the historical record of the case would be clearer. As matters

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[192] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 274.
[193] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 271.
[194] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 151.
[195] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 151.
[196] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 151.
[197] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:542–46.
[198] Barrett, *Boethius*, pp. 66–67.
[199] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:542–43.
[200] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:542–43.

stand, we do have Lady Philosophy's affirmation to the prisoner: "It would not be right that Philosophy should leave an *innocent* man companionless on the road" (1p3, emphasis added).[201]

During his year of imprisonment, Boethius, his family, and his advocates must have launched a serious defense, to secure either acknowledgment of his innocence or a pardon for his offense and release from confinement, which subsequent events prove to have been ineffective. The loss of Boethius's own detailed, written testimony on the charges leveled against him, as well as silence in the official records from the period, leaves room for much speculation on the question of Boethius's guilt or innocence. Hodgkin's thorough analysis of the evidence that remains to us today focuses on four salient matters.[202] First, Boethius was arrested for political rather than religious reasons, and there is general agreement among recent authorities on this point.[203] Second, Boethius had enemies both among the Goths (Trigguilla, Cunigastus, and "the palace dogs" are mentioned) and the Romans (Cyprian, Opilio, Basilius, and Gaudentius are named in the *Consolatio*), so the arrest was not the result of social conflict within the Italian society of the time. Third, Boethius ultimately was condemned by the senate. He alludes to this fact in the *Consolatio*:

> It would be natural that wicked men who wanted the blood of all good men and of the whole Senate should want to destroy me also, whom they saw fighting for good men and the Senate. But surely I deserve differently from the Senators themselves? (1p4)[204]

Fourth, the case is complicated by accusations that Boethius practiced magic to assure his preferment and advancement. Hodgkin concludes with this well-considered statement:

> To me [Boethius's statements in the *Consolatio*] indicate the faults of a student-statesman, brilliant as a man of letters, unrivalled as a man of science, irreproachable so long as he remained in the seclusion of his library; but utterly unfit for affairs; passionate and ungenerous; incapable of recognizing the fact that there might be other points of view beside his own; persuaded that every one who wounded his vanity must be a scoundrel, or at best a buffoon;—in short, an impracticable colleague, and, with all his honourable aspirations, an unscrupulous enemy.[205]

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[201] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 141.
[202] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:539–41.
[203] See, for example, Barrett, *Boethius*, p. 51.
[204] Boethius, *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 153 and 155.
[205] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:547–48.

Stewart arrives at a similar judgment on Boethius's outburst at court that led to Cyprian's charge of treason against him: he was profoundly aware of his own intellectual gifts, but he lacked the "Christian virtues of humility and long-suffering"; he never should have followed Plato's advice, if that actually was the factor motivating his decision, and entered the political arena.[206] These two assessments on Boethius's character present, somewhat guardedly, negative comment on the subject of his guilt or innocence. Chadwick concurs with the finding that Boethius was too much of an academic idealist to survive amid the harsh political realities of Italy in the early 500s.[207] Speaking for the defense, Helen Barrett puts forth two reasons in support of Boethius's innocence: 1) he was never truly interested in politics; and 2) he goes to his death asserting his innocence.[208] Siding with the prosecution, O'Donnell decides unequivocally for the guilt of Boethius. He takes seriously Boethius's affirmation that he followed Plato's dictum, "that those states would be happy where philosophers were kings or their governors were philosophers" (1p4),[209] and he maintains that Boethius obviously wanted to rule, at least in Italy: "Theodoric was not merely paranoid: he had a real enemy, Boethius wanted to be emperor himself—or, more precisely, he wanted to be Plato's philosopher king."[210] If that, indeed, were the goal cherished by Boethius, he failed to realize it. From his prison in Pavia he was removed to "the *ager Calventianus*," just north of Milan, for the final act of his drama. According to Hodgkin, "if torture were employed [in the execution process], which is too probable but not proved, such a proceeding was an infamy."[211] In the same passage, Hodgkin states that Boethius's execution itself was not a crime, although Symmachus's subsequent execution certainly was.

Thus perished Boethius, preserver of ancient scientific knowledge in the disciplines that would become for the Middle Ages the core of the lower-division and upper-division courses of study in the liberal arts in European schools. As Boethius writes in the *Consolatio*, without benefit of trial, "unable to speak in [his] own defense," he was condemned to death and his goods were confiscated (1p4).[212] Rusticiana was impoverished as

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[206] Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay*, pp. 52–54.
[207] Chadwick, "Introduction," p. 9.
[208] Barrett, *Boethius*, pp. 73–74.
[209] Boethius, *Boethius* (1p4), p. 147.
[210] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 166.
[211] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:553.
[212] Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Boethius: Tractates and The Consolation*, p. 155.

a result of the confiscations of the personal fortunes of her husband and her father.

In the 700s, the bones of Boethius reportedly were placed in the crypt of San Pietro in Cieldoro, to which Dante alludes when, in his *Comedia*, he places Boethius in the fourth heaven, that of the sun, along with the philosophers and doctors of the Church—that is, along with St Augustine and St Thomas, among others. Describing Boethius and his *Consolatio*, Dante writes:

> Wrapped in the vision of all good, rejoices
> the sainted soul who makes most manifest
> the world's deceit to one who reads him well.[213]

Today, Boethius's bones lie in a glass case in the crypt, directly beneath the main altar in the sanctuary above, where the bones of St Augustine lie in repose: the remains of one of the major voices proclaiming the worth of ancient science lie today beneath the remains of one of the major voices proclaiming the worth of Christian faith, and both still speak to us today through their writings, even as they spoke to Dante in the 1300s.

Boethius certainly was known and respected in Constantinople during his lifetime, or his two sons would not have been appointed co-consuls for the year 522. His political and theological opinions would have been amenable to the emperors Justin and Justinian, and they were acceptable to the ruler in Italy, Theodoric, "so long as Theodoric remained on excellent terms with Byzantium but [they] would have the opposite effect if the relationship were to sour."[214] The rapport between the court of Theodoric and that of Justin did take a negative turn when Justin initiated, early in 525, a policy that must be interpreted as persecution of non-Chalcedonian Christians. Heretics (those not professing the Chalcedonian position on the nature of the Trinity), such as the Manicheans and the Arians, were being forced to convert to the orthodoxy of Rome, and their centers of worship were being reconsecrated "with Catholic rites."[215] On 13 August 523, John, a Tuscan, possibly John the Deacon who was counted among the inner intellectual circle surrounding Boethius in earlier years, was elected pope, and he assumed as his papal name Pope John I. Inexplicably, Theodoric decided to send the aged and sickly Pope John I as his emissary to Constantinople to seek redress for the emperor's insulting policy toward him

[213] Dante, *Paradise* (X, ll. 124–26), p. 122.
[214] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, pp. 45–46.
[215] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:511.

and his Arian Goths. "No two pieces on the political chess-board ought, for the safety of his kingdom, to have been kept further apart from one another than the pope and the emperor: and now, by his own act he brings these pieces close together."[216] The pope went forth, accompanied by several Roman dignitaries, and, according to reports on his journey, miracles were effected along his route to Constantinople. In Constantinople, Pope John I prevailed upon the emperor to restore the properties confiscated from the Arians, but the emperor did not impose reconversion upon Arians who had been forced to accept the Roman creed. At their return to Italy, the pope and at least three Roman ex-consuls who had traveled with him were arrested and imprisoned. After several months of confinement, Pope John I died in prison, on 18 or 25 May 526.[217] While Pope John I was out of Italy, Theodoric issued an order for the arrest of Symmachus, father-in-law of Boethius, probably for the crime of treason, and he was executed at Ravenna, where he had been taken as a prisoner.[218]

The fate that befell Symmachus, like that which had befallen Boethius earlier, and that which would befall Pope John I somewhat later, are evidence of a surprising shift in Theodoric's domestic policy that is difficult to interpret. Prior to the death of Anastasius, Roman Italians may have felt alienated by the emperor's Monophysite leanings and by the Acacian Schism that had prevailed between 484 and 519. When the schism ended under Justin, and he began to use the newly effected religious reconciliation to build stronger political bonds between the eastern and western territories of the empire, earlier loyalties to Theodoric and Ravenna generally may have shifted in Italy to Justin and Constantinople. In an era in which "religion was nationality, an orthodox Eastern emperor seemed a much more fitting object of homage than an Arian Italian king."[219] At the time, Theodoric was in his early seventies, and the internal and external coalitions that he had forged in the west were rapidly deteriorating. He was losing his Catholic base in Italy; his son-in-law, Eutharic, a distant kinsman who had married his daughter Amalasuntha, had died, probably in 522 or 523; his grandson Athalaric, born in 518, was but a child, and Theodoric had no other male heir; his familial ties to the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms were terminated by arrests, deaths, and murders; and he himself was in ill health. Parallel to these several

[216] Hodgkin, *Italy*, 3:512.
[217] See Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 61; Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 284.
[218] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 284–85.
[219] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 263.

personal and political disappointments and misfortunes, if not related directly to them, came the arrest of Boethius and other senatorial and ecclesiastical members of his inner circle. The personal benefits of over thirty years of brilliant, good governance under the principle of *civilitas*, and whatever aspirations Theodoric may have cherished for the future of his Italian and Gothic constituencies, were dissolving as newly emerging political and ecclesiastical conditions determined.

Perhaps in retaliation for actions taken earlier by Emperor Justin against the Arians, Theodoric, in 526, "issued an edict that the Arians would seize the orthodox basilicas on the very next Sunday [which] could not have been more than a token gesture—perhaps a single basilica—a symbolic gesture to protest what Theodoric saw as Justin's comparable interference."[220] However, Theodoric contracted what has been diagnosed as dysentery, and he died three days later, on the day he had appointed for seizure of the Orthodox churches. Theodoric's death was interpreted in Constantinople as bound to his executions of Boethius and Symmachus,[221] and certainly to the death of Pope John I as well. Thereafter, various legends developed concerning the death of Theodoric, just as legends developed concerning the life of Boethius. Ominous forebodings were said to have occurred prior to the king's demise: 1) there were earthquakes; 2) a comet was visible in the eastern sky for fifteen days; and, remarkably, 3) a Gothic woman gave birth to four dragons.[222] Procopius, a Greek historian in service as secretary to Belisarius, the commander of forces invading Italy during the reign of Emperor Justinian (emperor, 527–65), records the story of the ailing Theodoric "seeing" the head of Symmachus in the head of a fish served to him at dinner.[223] Theodoric's positive work and achievements of several decades too often is forgotten, even as his final decisions and deeds are remembered. Justinian's attempt to reunite the eastern and western regions of the empire, using the empire's military forces under Belisarius, erased the work of many years of Theodoric's reign completely. Today, as one enters the church of St Zeno at Verona through the western portal, one passes under a large rose window whose framing depicts the Wheel of Fortuna, with her victims rising or falling in the standard positions appertaining to that icon. To the right of the entrance, one sees a relatively large image in bas-relief that is interpreted as showing Theodoric

[220] O'Donnell, *The Ruin*, p. 168.
[221] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 63.
[222] Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations*, p. 50.
[223] See, for example, Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 286–87; Barrett, *Boethius*, pp. 59–60.

being led off to hell following his death.[224] Near Ravenna, Theodoric's magnificent tomb is empty, long since having been looted of its material contents and of the mortal remains of the king. In 1854, some gold and bejeweled armor was discovered by laborers digging near Ravenna, but much of the treasure was lost to the thieving laborers who melted down the gold. A few fragments of the armor were seized by the authorities and placed, eventually, in the museum at Ravenna. Some historians speculate that the objects might have been worn by Odovacar, but others speculate that it might have been worn by Theodoric himself.[225]

Conclusion

In the retrospective and sometimes telescopic view of history, the life and work of Boethius stand out brightly in the darkening times in which he flourished. His prominence is due in large measure to the fame and influence in later centuries of his final message to the world, the *Consolatio*. As Chadwick states so accurately and eloquently: "The *Consolation* is the work of a refined humanist scholar with a richly stocked memory, delighting in lyrical poetry and elegant prose, fascinated by logical problems almost to the point of obsession." It seems appropriate to judge Boethius as a cultural and political conservative in an age defined by historical processes of change that proved irreversible. Like the Romanized Celtic culture of Britain that the historical Arthur had fought to preserve, the Roman imperial culture of Italy that Boethius sought to preserve could be maintained only for a few decades, before that which historians refer to as Antiquity evolved into that which they refer to as the Middle Ages. It seems appropriate to judge Theodoric as a political and cultural progressive in the same period of change. Of these two great figures, it is Boethius who must be acknowledged the more successful.[226] A positive afterlife of Theodoric can be seen in his literary depiction as Dietrich von Bern in the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*, in which he is called forth to help resolve a complex epic plot. A positive afterlife of Boethius can be seen, for example, in the writings of most of the medieval Scholastics

[224] See Girolamo Arnaldi, *Italy and Its Invaders*, trans. Antony Shugaar (Cambridge, MA, 2005), p. 23. The author mentions here that such a legend "was widespread among the Romans Italy," but he presents no documentation to support his statement.

[225] Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 290–91 (see a photographic image of the objects as an insert between those pages).

[226] See, for example, John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), p. 256.

(conspicuously in the works of Thomas Aquinas), of such later literary figures of the Middle Ages as Dante and Chaucer, and in numerous books and dissertations produced throughout the world in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. The translations and studies that remain to us from the intellect of Boethius are challenging, and even readers who approach his mind only through the *Consolatio* need "expertise in mathematics, music, logic, rhetoric, theology, metaphysics, and poetry; and few scholars possess Boethius's breadth and depth of knowledge."[227] Nevertheless, efforts to understand his mind within the context of his times and life and work are rewarding.

[227] Reiss, *Boethius* (Preface), p. iii.

BOETHIUS'S ASTRONOMY AND COSMOLOGY

Stephen C. McCluskey

Sometime around the year 506, Cassiodorus drafted a widely quoted letter for King Theodoric, asking a favor of Boethius. His praise seems a bit over the top to modern readers, flattering Boethius that:

> [...] it is in your translations that Pythagoras the musician and Ptolemy the astronomer are read as Italians; that Nicomachus on arithmetic and Euclid on geometry are heard as Ausonians [Italians]; that Plato debates on metaphysics and Aristotle on logic in the Roman tongue; you have even rendered Archimedes the engineer to his native Sicilians in Latin dress [...] Your verbal splendor has given them such brightness, the elegance of your language such distinction, that anyone acquainted with both works would prefer yours to the original.[1]

Cassiodorus's account of Boethius's extensive translations, including works on all four of the mathematical arts of the *quadrivium*, is not very precise. Historians long have been frustrated in their attempts to identify his astronomical translations. If Boethius actually made such a translation of Ptolemy, it would most likely have been of one of the astronomical texts that Cassiodorus later mentioned in his *Institutiones*:

> Ptolemy [...] has published two works on the subject B one called *The Lesser Astronomer*, the other *The Greater Astronomer* [...] He has also drawn up *Canons*, in order that the courses of the stars may thereby be discovered.[2]

The greater astronomy is clearly Ptolemy's *Almagest*;[3] the lesser astronomy is harder to identify; it may be the introduction to the *Almagest*, believed to have been compiled by Eutocius about the year 500, that was known as the *μικρός 'άστρονομούνος*.[4] Alternatively, it may be Ptolemy's presentation of a

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[1] Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.45.4, in *Translated Texts for Historians*, 12, trans. S.J.B. Barnish (Liverpool, 1992), p. 21.

[2] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.7.3, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937); *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, trans. William Stahl (New York, 1946), p. 202.

[3] Eutocius spoke of Ptolemy's work as the *μεγάλη σύνταξις*, which made its way to the Arabic as *al-majisti* and ultimately to our *Almagest.* Otto Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 vols (New York, 1975), 2:836–37.

[4] David Pingree, "The Preceptum Canonis Ptolomei," in Jacqueline Hamesse and Marta Fattori, *Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale: Traductions et traductueurs*

physical model of the heavens, the *Hypothesis of the Planets*; his astrological work, the *Tetrabiblos*; his study of the seasonal appearance of the stars, the *Phaesis*; or one of his studies of the theory of projecting the celestial sphere onto a plane, the *Planisphaerium* or the *Analemma* (useful in the construction of sundials).[5] The third book to which Cassiodorus refers, the *Canons*, was translated into Latin in the decade after Boethius's death. The Latin text contains sample calculations for the present year (beginning on 29 August 534) which establish a date for their composition.[6]

Despite Cassiodorus's claim for Boethius's translation, no explicitly astronomical text by Boethius has been discovered. We do know that Boethius was interested in astronomy, as he tells us in the *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*] that he observed and computed the appearances of the celestial bodies and sought the causes of their motions. He

> Made frequent tracks through heaven's domain
> And often would descry
> The brightness of the roseate sun,
> the cold moon would espy,
> The planets on their wandering course
> Charting with mastery.[7]

The nature of Boethius's understanding of astronomy is indicated in his *De institutione arithmetica*, in which he defines the place of astronomy within the *quadrivium*, as specifically concerned with the knowledge of mobile magnitude. He places astronomy logically after arithmetic, music, and geometry, on which it depends for its principles.[8]

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de l'antiquité tardive au XIVe siècle (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales: Textes, Études, Congrès) 11 (Louvain la-Neuve B Cassino, 1990), pp. 355–75, at pp. 356–57. Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 2:68–69, questions the existence of a definite collection of treatises known as the "Little Astronomy."

[5] William Stahl, trans., *Introduction to the Divine and Human Readings* (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies) 40 (New York, 1946), p. 202, n. 26.

[6] David Pingree, ed. *Preceptum Canonis Ptolomei* (Corpus des astronomes byzantins) 8 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997), pp. 16, 78–81. It is possible that the translation was earlier and that the sample calculations in the surviving version were revised for a later date or that the translation was later, incorporating sample calculations from an earlier Greek text.

[7] Boethius, *Consolatio* 1m2.6–12 (ll. 11–16 in *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. P.G. Walsh [Oxford, 1999]), p. 5; see also 1m2.22–23.

[8] Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* 1.1, trans. Michael Masi (Amsterdam, 1983), pp. 72, 75.

The occasional medieval reports of manuscripts containing a text on astronomy by Boethius have not led to the discovery of this lost work.[9] Some commentaries on Boethius hint at the commentator's familiarity with Boethius's supposed translation of Ptolemy. In his commentary on Boethius's *Consolatio*, Remigius of Auxerre compares the doctrine found in Ptolemy,[10] in which the sphere of the earth is divided into four quarters, with that of Hyginus and the other astronomers, which divides the world into five zones: the arctic and antarctic, the equatorial, and the two inhabitable temperate zones. If he were using Boethius's translation of Ptolemy, this would tell us something about the content of this lost work.[11] However, two other sources may have contributed to Remigius's discussion. On the one hand, the text he was commenting on (*Consolatio* 2p7.4–5) also attributes the quadripartition of the earth to Ptolemy. Alternatively, he may have drawn from Macrobius's Commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, 2.9.7 and 2.5.23–36, which, while discussing the insignificance of the quarter of the world that we inhabit, treats in detail the four inhabited regions of the earth, including the antipodes, which are major themes of this portion of Remigius's Commentary.

There is no strong evidence that Boethius actually translated any of Ptolemy's works. The lack of such a translation would not be Cassiodorus's only case of exaggeration; the translation of Archimedes that

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[9] In the summer of 983, Gerbert of Aurillac wrote that eight "volumes" of Boethius on astronomy were in the monastic library of Bobbio. Five years later, he wrote to Bobbio, asking to have a copy made of "M. Manlius de astrologia." Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter MGH] Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 2, epp. 8,130, pp. 30–33, 157–58; Nicolaus Bubnov, ed., *Gerberti, postea Silvestri II papae, Opera Mathematica* (1899; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), pp. 99–101, 103. Bubnov considered that, without a doubt [*sine dubio*], Gerbert was speaking of the work mentioned by Cassiodorus.

The 10th-century library catalog from Bobbio refers to "libros Boeti III de aritmetica et alterum de astronomia," cited in John Caldwell, "The *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the *De Institutione Musica*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981) pp. 135–54. Caldwell considers that Gerbert's letter of 988 may reflect a confusion of Marcus Manilius, the author of the *Astronomicon*, with our Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius.

[10] Edmund Taite Silk, ed. *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae commentaries* (Rome, 1935), p. 326. This quadripartition of the whole world is found in Ptolemy, *Almagest* 2.1. A different quadripartition of the inhabited portion of the world is found in Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2.3.

[11] Pierre Courcelle suggests that Remigius used Boethius's lost translation, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris, 1967), pp. 282–83, 285. Diane Bolton considers that Remigius was only citing Ptolemy as mentioned in the text of the *Consolation*; Diane K. Bolton, "Remigian Commentaries on 'The Consolation of Philosophy' and Their Sources," *Traditio* 33 (1977), 380–94.

he mentioned also has not been found.[12] We should consider that Cassiodorus described these books in a letter in which he asked Boethius to provide two astronomical instruments: a sundial and a water clock. Since Cassiodorus was asking Boethius a favor related to the application of mechanics to astronomy, some exaggeration of Boethius's knowledge and achievements in mechanics and astronomy would not have been out of place.

Although we do not have Boethius's reported translation of Ptolemy, we do have historical evidence demonstrating the motives and nature of Late Antique and Early Medieval interest in astronomy and cosmology. Cassiodorus's request touches on three different aspects of this interest. The purported translation of Ptolemy reflects what we normally have in mind when we speak of ancient astronomy: the predictive geometrical astronomy of Hellenistic Greece, which, by the time of Boethius and Cassiodorus, had declined to such an extent that it was known more by reputation than by practice.

The second aspect of astronomy concerns the broader cosmological picture maintained in late Roman Antiquity. Cassiodorus alludes to the vast circle of the Sun's daily revolution around the Earth, which in a sundial is represented by "a small, unmoving circle" that "equals the Sun's flight, although it knows no motion."[13] The elements that make up the cosmos are mentioned in his discussion of a water clock that "turns the nature of the heavens into streams of water, and shows by their motions what revolves in the sky. With daring audacity, an invented art confers on the elements what their nature denies them."[14] The orderly circular motions of the celestial realm and the different natures of the elements are common themes in ancient cosmology.

The requested gift of a sundial and a water clock reflects a third astronomical theme, the long established tradition of displaying timekeepers

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[12] Marshall Clagett notes, "I do not know to which Archimedean work Cassiodorus refers [...] Certainly no Archimedean work has been found in any early medieval Latin codex." See *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, *The Arabo-Latin Tradition*, ed. Marshall Clagett (Madison, 1964), pp. 2–3, n. 3.

[13] Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.45.8–9. In the sundial described, the Sun's image moves in circles. This pattern is found in the classic Greco-Roman spherical or conical sundials, which make up the vast majority of the dials catalogued in Sharon L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (New Haven, 1976). These dials do not follow the principles set forth in Ptolemy's *Analemma* and *Planisphaerium*.

[14] Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.45.10.

in public places to regulate the passage of civic and religious life.[15] In the letter accompanying the two clocks that were eventually sent to Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, Cassiodorus associated the ability to order one's life by the movement of the heavens with civilized life: "Under your rule, let Burgundy learn to [...] fix the hours with precision. The order of life becomes confused if this separation is not truly known. Indeed, it is the habit of beasts to feel the hours by their bellies' hunger, and to be unsure of something obviously granted for human purposes."[16]

Boethius's *Consolatio* stresses a fourth, moral justification for studying the heavens. He notes that philosophy "would mold both my actions and the principles of life in general in accordance with the model of heavenly order."[17] Boethius is not alone in providing this moral justification for studying astronomy; Ptolemy had expressed similar concerns in the preface to his *Almagest*:

> With regard to virtuous conduct in practical actions and character, [astronomy], above all things, could make men see clearly; from the constancy, order, symmetry and calm which are associated with the divine, it makes its followers lovers of this divine beauty, accustoming them and reforming their natures, as it were, to a similar spiritual state.[18]

Boethius expressed his views on astronomy and the cosmos in many of his extant writings. An examination of these writings, and of selected medieval commentaries on the *Consolatio*, can tell us about his cosmological and astronomical knowledge and how it influenced his medieval readers.

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[15] Cassiodorus later provided a sundial and a water clock to regulate the time of prayer at the monastery he established in Southern Italy (see Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.30.5). Archaeological remnants of water clocks dated between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD have been found in Gaul and Austria. These were anaphoric clocks of monumental size, similar to those described by Vitruvius, which used a stereographic projection of the sky to portray the movements of the sun and stars (see Henry C. King, *Geared to the Stars: The Evolution of Planetariums, Orreries, and Astronomical Clocks* [Toronto, 1978], pp. 10–13; and James Evans, "The Material Culture of Greek Astronomy," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 30 [1999], 237–307, at pp. 251–53; see also Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 2:869–70, n. 5–6).

[16] Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.46.2–3.

[17] *Consolatio* 1p4.4, in *Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Joel C. Relihan (Indianapolis, 2001), p. 9. Timekeeping by the regular course of the heavenly bodies was sometimes seen as contributing to this inner transformation. As we have seen, Cassiodorus told Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, that knowledge of the regular passage of time is what separates humans from beasts; Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.46. Gregory of Tours saw a moral value in watching the regular course of the stars to guide the regular course of monastic prayer; S.C. McCluskey, "Gregory of Tours, Monastic Timekeeping, and Early Christian Attitudes to Astronomy," *Isis* 81(1990): 9–22.

[18] Ptolemy, *Almagest* 1.1, trans. G.J. Toomer (New York, 1984), pp. 36–37.

In the *Consolation*, Lady Philosophy reminds Boethius of the insignificant size of the Earth, and of its inhabited portion, as a way to remind him of the insignificance of earthly reputation and glory:

> As you have heard from the demonstrations of the astronomers, in comparison to the vastness of the heavens, it is agreed that the whole extent of the earth has the value of a mere point [...] Further, as you have learned from the authority of Ptolemy, only about one-fourth of this so minuscule spot in the universe is the portion inhabited by animate creatures known to us.[19]

In addition to presenting the astronomers' view that the earth is a point in comparison to the cosmos, Boethius also presented their view that the starry heaven formed a sphere that rotates on its axis. In his logical works, Boethius provides a lengthy series of examples drawn on the relationships between the concepts of revolvability and rotundity, and applies them to the specific example of the heaven, posing the question, "If the heaven is spherical, is it revolvable?"[20] Later, he returns again to the rotation of the heaven as an example of an argument based on the judgment of experts in one of the arts: "The heaven is revolvable, since those who are wise and very learned astronomers have judged it to be so."[21]

The astronomical fact of the revolution of the celestial spheres leads Boethius to address the cause of their motion. In the *Consolatio*, Lady Philosophy paraphrases the Book of Wisdom, 8:1, that God is the "highest good that governs all things forcefully and arranges all things sweetly."[22] She spells out God's relationship to the order of the cosmos by quoting Parmenides on the existence of a divine spherical being who, she maintains, "spins the moving circle of the universe, while it keeps itself unmoving."[23]

The aspect of the ancient astronomical and cosmological tradition that dominates Boethius's *Consolatio* deals with the creation of the ordered cosmos, the establishment of concord among its elements, the reflection of that ordered cosmos in the regular return of the seasons, and, ultimately, the moral significance of that cosmic order in the human soul's

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[19] *Consolatio* 2p7.3–4, trans. Relihan, p. 42. Ptolemy demonstrates that the Earth has "the ratio of a point to the distance of the sphere of the so-called fixed stars" at *Almagest* 1.6, trans. Toomer, p. 43; he divides the Earth "into four quarters by the equator and a circle drawn through the poles" at *Almagest* 2.1, trans. Toomer, p. 75.

[20] Boethius, *De topicis differentiis* 1174C–77B, trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1978), pp. 30–34.

[21] *De topicis differentiis* 1190C, trans. Stump, p. 54.29–31; Ptolemy speaks of the spherical form of the heavens and of their rotation at *Almagest* 1.3.

[22] *Consolatio* 3p12.22, trans. Relihan, p. 86.

[23] *Consolatio* 3p12.36–38, trans. Relihan, p. 88.

desire to return to its celestial source. Although Boethius had discussed the immensity of the heavens, Lady Philosophy reminded him, "The heavens are less to be admired for [their vastness, mightiness and swiftness] than for the reason (*ratio*) by which they are governed."[24]

Boethius considers those regular and undeviating motions of the stars, which had been recorded since the time of Hesiod to regulate the passing of the seasons, to be divinely ordained signs of the seasons.[25] He points out that the crops sown in September under Arcturus will be burnt under Sirius in July.[26] The constellations make their regular turning: the constellation of the herdsman, Boötes (which includes the bright star Arcturus), drives the Wain (*ursa major*) around the highest pole of heaven.[27] The Sun, like the other stars, sets in the ocean in the West and returns by hidden ways to its own place of rising, thus making a stable circle.[28] The Great Bear (another name for *ursa major*) does not abandon her regular circle around the highest pole to submerge herself into the ocean, as do the other stars.[29]

The planets scarcely appear in Boethius's discussions. In the *Consolatio*, he briefly mentions the planets' wandering courses[30] and alludes to the planet Venus's regular change from its role as Lucifer (the light bearer), the morning star, to Vesper or Hesperus, the evening star:

> Vesper broadcasts shadows at evening
> In time's just exchanges, ordered, as always,
> And now as Lucifer brings back the dear day.[31]

Even such anomalies as eclipses of the Moon are only apparent disruptions of this order. Lunar eclipses are caused by the cone of the Earth's shadow falling upon the Moon.[32] Since eclipses are rare and their causes are not readily apparent, the common people are driven to madness and clang

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[24] *Consolatio* 3p8.8, trans Relihan, p. 65.

[25] *Consolatio* 1m6.16–19.

[26] *Consolatio* 1m5.21–22. Boethius does not mention the months, but only refers to the relationship between the seasonal appearance of stars and the times of planting and harvest.

[27] *Consolatio* 4m5.1–5.

[28] *Consolatio* 3m2.31–38.

[29] *Consolatio* 4m6.8–12.

[30] *Consolatio* 1m2.10–11.

[31] *Consolatio* 4m6.13–15, trans. Relihan, p. 121; see also 1m5.10–13, 2m8.7–8, 3m1.9–10.

[32] Ptolemy discusses the geometry and dimensions of the Earth's shadow cone at *Almagest*, 5.16.

on brass gongs, trying to drive away the darkness.[33] Boethius, however, was familiar enough with the causes of eclipses to use them as examples in his logical works. Since eclipses are obscure, but orderly, occurrences, they illustrate a flaw in Cicero's definition of events that occur by fortune or chance. Boethius asks that we

> suppose that the causes that occasioned an eclipse of the sun and moon were still hidden. Do the things governed by the regular motion of the heavens therefore occur by chance and according to fortune? Would men who could find no reason for the eclipse judge it to be chance, even though considered in its own right it would not in any way be chance?[34]

Elsewhere, in the same commentary on Cicero, Boethius presents the cause of a lunar eclipse: "If the Earth is interposed, an eclipse of the Moon occurs,"[35] as an example of an antecedent and its consequent. Elsewhere, Boethius alludes to popular misunderstandings of the causes of eclipses when he presents the statement, "An eclipse of the sun occurs because of the interposition of the body of the moon" as an example of a necessary argument that is not readily believable.[36] These discussions of eclipses presented Boethius's readers with clear examples that even those events that were popularly believed to be disruptions of the natural order, were in fact examples of that order.

Boethius considered this natural order to be so secure that even when things are forcibly constrained against their natures, they joyfully return to their origins imposed by nature's law. These natural returns insure the stability of the universe.[37] The nature of this universal order is presented as both rational and mathematical. The creator governs the world by his reason;[38] the elements are bound by number, which was the principal exemplar in the mind of the creator. From number "was derived the multiplicity of the four elements, the changes of the seasons [...] [,] the movement of the stars, and the turning of the heavens."[39] The ultimate source of that order which produces a steadfast trustworthy universe is the divine Love, which establishes eternal pacts constraining the warring

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[33] *Consolatio* 4m5.7–12, 17–22.
[34] Boethius, *In Ciceronis Topica* 16.63, trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1988), p. 161.
[35] Boethius, *In Ciceronis Topica* 4.19, trans. Stump, p. 64.
[36] Boethius, *De topicis differentiis* 1180D, trans. Stump, p. 40.8–12.
[37] *Consolatio* 3m2.1–38.
[38] *Consolatio* 3m9.1–10.
[39] *De institutione arithmetica* 1.2, trans. Masi, pp. 75–76; see also *Consolatio* 3m9.10.

seeds of things.[40] This order provides the central theme of the *Consolatio* and expresses itself in an unalterable interweaving of causes. The ordered motions of the stars, and especially of the Sun, govern the length of daylight, which in turn, governs the changes of the seasons.[41] Ultimately, the moving sequence of Fate moves heaven and stars, balances and transforms the elements, renews all that is born and dies, and ties together the fortunes of mortal men.[42]

Although Boethius's *Consolatio* presented classical cosmological ideas primarily as a way to support his ethical argument, this text also served from the 9th to the 12th centuries as a vehicle for active engagement with those cosmological ideas.[43] During this period, the masters using Boethius as a school text commented on his work, interpreting his cosmological ideas in the light of other texts known in the schools. Commentators paid special attention to the poem of prayer to the creator, "You who control all the world everlastingly by your own reason [...],"[44] in *Consolatio* 3m9, which is generally agreed[45] to be the central element of that work. It presents the harmonious order of the cosmos as drawn from Plato's account of the creation in the *Timaeus* 29D–37D and from Proclus's neo-Platonic commentary.[46] Early medieval readers had some access to the *Timaeus*, directly through Calcidius's incomplete 4th-century translation and his accompanying commentary[47] and indirectly through such works as Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* and Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*.[48]

As will be shown, this poem, its sources, and the questions it raised form an important focal point for medieval commentators' diverging interpretations of Boethius's cosmological ideas. Although Boethius had drawn the framework of his ideas from the neo-Platonic writers, he also

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[40] *Consolatio* 2m8.1–30. On Boethius's Stoic and neo-Platonic sources, see C.J. de Vogel, "Amor quo caelum regitur," *Vivarium* 1 (1963), 2–34.

[41] *Consolatio* 1m5.14–18.

[42] *Consolatio* 4p6.17–19.

[43] On these commentaries and their influence, see Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire: Antécédents et Postérioté de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 275–315.

[44] "*O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas*," Boethius, *Consolatio* 3m9.1, trans. Relihan, p. 71.

[45] Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), p. 234; John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 150–51.

[46] Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 129; Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 152, 210.

[47] Ioh. Wrobel, ed., *Platonis Timaeus interprete Chalcidio cum eiusdem commentario* (Leipzig, 1876).

[48] See esp. Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 2.2.14–22.

expressed his desire to reconcile the teachings of Plato and Aristotle.[49] The highly compressed cosmological discussion in 3m9 embodies elements of this synthesis, but the terseness of this passage made it a test of how medieval readers of Boethius understood ancient cosmological thought and how they interpreted Boethius as Platonist or Aristotelian—as philosopher or Christian.

The earliest important commentary on the *Consolation* is that of Remigius of Auxerre, which Courcelle considers to have been written shortly before his death in 908.[50] Remigius's commentary opens the way for a series of later commentaries focused on 3m9, the first of them known by the manuscript in which it appears (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 10066–77) as the Anonymous of Brussels 10066–77.[51] A significant development is shown in the subsequent commentary of Abbot Bovo of Corvey (abbot from 910–16), which reflects a more extensive grasp of cosmological concepts drawn from Macrobius and Bede. Commentaries influenced by Bovo include an anonymous treatise found in Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek 302 [hereafter referred to as Anonymous of Einsiedeln 302], two other manuscripts, and another commentary by Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht (bishop from 1010 to 26).[52] A century later, the commentary on the entire *Consolatio* by William of Conches approached Boethius from the perspective of the Platonism of the 12th century.[53] A pair of closely related commentaries, which Courcelle dismisses as compilations of little originality meriting only brief consideration,[54] appeared later in the 12th century. The first, which Edmund Silk had erroneously dated to

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[49] "*His peractis non equidem contempserim Aristotelis Platonisque sententias in unam quodammodo reuocare concordiam eosque non ut plerique dissentire in omnibus sed in plerisque et his in philosophia maximis consentire demonstrem*" (Boethius, *Comm. in librum Aristotelis Περι ερμηνειας* 2.2.3), ed. C. Meiser (Leipzig, 1880), p. 80.

[50] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 258–59, 405–06. The manuscript tradition of this commentary is extremely complex. I cite the edition of Silk, *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 305–43.

[51] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 290–92, 407. H. Sylvestre, "Le commentaire inédit de Jean Scot Erigène du mètre IX du livre III du 'De Consolatione Philosophiae' de Boèce," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 47 (1952), 44–122; the text is edited at pp. 51–65, left column.

[52] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 292–99, 407–08. R.B.C. Huygens, ed., "Mittelalterliche Kommentare zum *O qui perpetua* [...]" in *Serta mediaevalia: Textus varii saeculorum x–xiii*, CCCM 171 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 81–140.

[53] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 302–03, 408–10; Lodi Nauta, ed., Guillelme de Conchis, *Glosae super Boetium*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis [hereafter CCCM] 158 (Turnhout, 1999).

[54] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, p. 304.

the 9th century and attributed to John Scotus Eriugena, is now generally held to be a compilation of the 12th century, although drawing heavily on earlier material from the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre;[55] the second commentary in this group appears anonymously in Erfurt, Q 5 and other manuscripts.[56]

Boethius considered Plato's *Timaeus* to be an extremely challenging text, "which is by no means easy for anyone unless he is trained in a very discerning reason,"[57] so it should not be surprising that the account of creation in 3m9 provided a challenge to his medieval commentators, even as it does to modern readers. But just as this neo-Platonic account of creation provides important insights into Boethius's cosmology, so also does it illuminate the development of medieval cosmological thought through its interpretations by later medieval commentators.[58]

The brief passage "*stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri*" [resting unmoved, you put all things in motion],[59] referring to an unmoved mover of the world, reflects Boethius's concern with the divine source of cosmic order. Boethius may have drawn this from *Timaeus* 37D–38A, where Plato, speaking of the eternal ideal being[60] after whom time was patterned, states that changes are characteristic of sensible beings and are caused by generation, but are not to be attributed to the eternal essence, which remains "for ever in the same state immovably." But Plato's discussion here is obscure as he usually refers to the soul of the universe as the cause of celestial motion.[61]

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[55] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 248–54; Silk, *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...]

[56] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 304, 411–12; Nikolaus M. Häring, "Four Commentaries on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in MS Heiligenkreuz 130," *Mediaeval Studies* 31 (1969), 287–316. The text of Erfurt, MS Q5 (the Anonymous Erfurtensis) is at pp. 303–16.

[57] Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* 2.46, in Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the* De Institutione Arithmetica (Amsterdam, 1983), p. 173. A valuable introduction to the complexities of the *Timaeus* is Francis MacDonald Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (New York, 1957).

[58] On early medieval astronomy and cosmology, see Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden, 2007); and Stephen C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1998).

[59] Boethius, *Consolatio* 3m9.3; trans. Relihan.

[60] Cornford considers that the model of the universe in the world of forms holds "a position analogous to Aristotle's unmoved mover." See F.M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, p. 39.

[61] *Timaeus*, 34B, 36D–E; and M. Meldrum, "Plato and the Ἀρκη Κακων," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 70 (1950), 65–74.

A more explicit discussion of an unmoved mover is in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Λ, where he posits the necessary existence of divine unmoved movers to account for the unchanging circular motion of the celestial spheres.[62] Both of these concepts may have contributed to Boethius's observation about a mover that remains unmoved. The earliest commentators on Boethius did not know Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and had not looked deeply at Plato's *Timaeus*. It comes somewhat as a surprise that they ignored Boethius's cosmological concern and turned instead to consider the issue of how, or whether, God could be said to move. The published commentaries we have mentioned focus exclusively on the immobility, or possible mobility, of God, while the cosmological issue of how an immobile God could move the heavens does not enter their discussions.[63]

> *tu numeris elementa ligas, ut frigora flammis,*
> *arida conveniant liquidis, ne purior ignis*
> *evolet aut mersas deducant pondera terras.*
>
> [You bind in number and ratio the elements, ice and flame matching,
> Dry matching moist, so there is no flight up for the rarified fire,
> Earth is not dragged by its weight to sink down to the depths of the waters.][64]

The issue that Boethius raises in these lines is the same one that he had raised earlier in his *De institutione musica*: "Moreover, if a certain harmony does not join together the diversities and contrary powers of the four elements, how is it possible for them to unite in one body and machine?"[65]

There is disagreement about the harmony Boethius saw binding together the four elements. His modern translators tend to present the

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[62] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1073ᵃ3–4, 1073ᵃ36–40.

[63] It is particularly significant that the action of the unmoved mover is not addressed in the late B and explicitly Aristotelian B commentary falsely attributed to Thomas Aquinas. William Wheatley [pseudo Thomas Aquinas], *Expositio in Boethii De consolatione Philosophiae*, 3.18, *Corpus Thomisticum*, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/xbco.html; text from Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia* 24; *Opuscula alia dubia* 3 (Parma, 1869). On Pseudo Aquinas, see Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la Tradition littéraire*, pp. 322–23, 414–15.

[64] Boethius, *Consolatio* 3m9.10–12; trans. Relihan. Relihan's is the only English translation to stress the mathematical nature of the harmony that Boethius expressed as *numeris elementa ligas*.

[65] "*Iam uero quatuor elementorum diuersitates contrariasque potentias, nisi quaedam harmonica coniungeret, qui fieri posset, ut in unum corpus ac machinam conuenirent?*" (Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.2). I have modified the translation of C.M. Bower, "Boethius' *The Principles of Music*, an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967).

Aristotelian qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry as playing a dominant role, although, as we shall see, his medieval interpreters provided diverse interpretations, and Boethius explicitly states that the elements are bound in numerical harmony (*tu numeris elementa ligas*). His ideas reflect three principal models of how harmony binds together the four elements. One of them is strictly numerical, following the pattern of Plato in his *Timaeus*; the second is based on the widely known Aristotelian framework of the four sensible qualities, hot and cold, wet and dry; and the third is based on three pairs of opposed properties mentioned by Plato and elaborated by late antique neo-Platonic commentators: sharp and blunt, subtle and dense, and mobile and immobile.

We must remember Boethius's intention, expressed in his commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, of reconciling the thought of Plato and Aristotle.[66] It is not unlikely that Boethius intended this brief passage, mentioning as it does both numbers and the sensible qualities, to bring together several of these meanings.

The first numerical harmony derives from Plato's discussion of the body of the universe in the *Timaeus*,[67] which is generally held to be the inspiration behind Boethius's 3m9. Plato maintains that the universe must be bound together in a unity by a middle term joining the two extremes, and that the perfect bond is one produced by a geometrical mean. The simplest[68] example is an integral[69] mean proportional joining two square numbers, a^2 and b^2, which can be expressed in modern terms by the relationship $a^2 : ab : b^2$, in which the ratio joining each pair of adjacent elements is a : b.

Plato considers that such a relationship, in which two squares or rectangles are joined by a single mean proportional, would be appropriate if the universe were a plane surface, having no depth. However, since the universe is a solid body having length and width and depth, Plato maintains that the extreme elements are represented by solid numbers, or most simply by cubic numbers which we can call a^3 and b^3. These two

[66] Boethius, *Comm. in librum Aristotelis Περι ερμηνειας* 2.2.3.

[67] Plato, *Timaeus* 32A–32C. See also the commentary by Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, pp. 45–47.

[68] Beyond the simple examples using squares or cubes, a more general demonstration can be made showing how one middle term binds together two similar rectangles or two middle terms join two similar rectangular solids.

[69] Greek and Roman discussions of proportions assume implicitly that these are exact relations between integers; fractions or irrational numbers are never considered.

cubic numbers can only be joined by two integral mean proportionals, which we can express by the relationship $a^3 : a^2b : ab^2 : b^3$. Again, each pair of adjacent elements is joined by the same ratio, a : b. Through this harmonious relationship, the body of the universe was brought together into concord from four constituent elements by means of equal proportions. Plato's emphasis on numerical concord is almost the same as that of Boethius.

Proclus, in his extensive commentary on the *Timaeus*, provided two different numerical examples of how the elemental bodies are bound together by the three dimensions which make up these harmonious proportions. In the simplest, two cubes with sides of two and three units and volumes of 8 and 27 are joined by two rectangular solids following the numerical ratio of 3 : 2.[70]

In his second example, he considered the two middle terms joining two similar rectangular solids, one with dimensions 2 × 3 × 4 and the other with dimensions 4 × 6 × 8, which are joined by two dissimilar rectangular solids following the numerical ratio of 2 : 1. We can tabulate the dimensions of these solids as follows:[71]

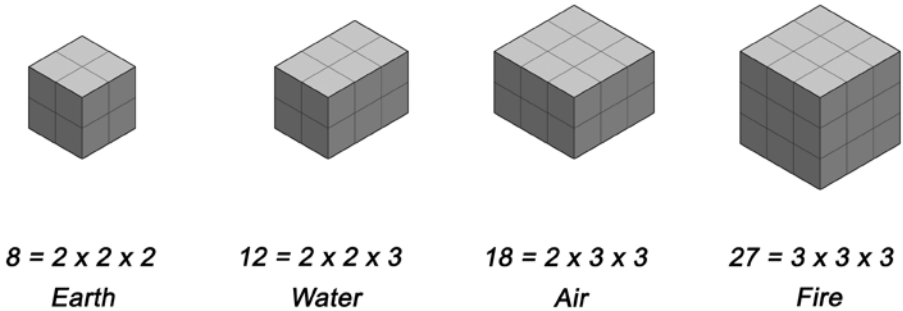

Figure 1. Modern diagram illustrating two cubic numbers joined by two middle terms. The general concept follows Plato, *Timaeus* 32A–C; the specific numerical example follows Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.46; the association with specific elements follows Adalbold of Utrecht, Commentary on *O qui perpetua* [...], ll. 182–246 and *Abbildung* II.

[70] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus, 3.3.1: *Proclus on the World's Body* 3.31.20–3.32.2, trans. Dirk Baltzly (Cambridge, 2007); the same numerical example, without any interpretation in terms of solids, appears in Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.46.

[71] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 3.32.3–16. Proclus's example does not select the same sides from the intermediate solids.

	Height	Width	Length	Volume
Extreme	2	3	4	24
Mean	4	3	4	48
Mean	4	6	4	96
Extreme	4	6	8	192

It is clear from this example that each of the means shares two dimensions with one of the extremes and one dimension with the other extreme.

Plato's discussion of the elements had gone beyond the mere assertion that there are four elements to a demonstration of why there must be four elements. A different answer to this question was provided by Aristotle. Like Plato, Aristotle maintained that there must be two middle terms binding the two extreme elements, but for Aristotle these middle terms were physical, not mathematical:

> Since there is one body only which rises to the surface of all things and one only which sinks to the bottom of all things, there must needs be two other bodies which sink in some bodies and rise to the surface of others.[72]

However, Aristotle's four elements were, as Plato's, based on other, underlying realities. Where Plato had tied the elements to underlying geometric forms,[73] Aristotle tied the elements to four underlying sensible qualities, which he reduced to two pairs of opposites: the hot and the cold; the wet and the dry. Combining these qualities leads to six pairwise combinations. Two of them, the combinations of hot with cold and of wet with dry are of opposites which cannot be combined. The remaining pairs are hot and dry, which he associated with fire; hot and wet, which he associated with air; cold and wet, which he associated with water; and cold and dry, which he associated with earth. Thus there must be four elements because there are four valid combinations of the four sensible qualities.[74]

Aristotle associated each of these elements with a specific region of the cosmos: fire and air with the periphery, earth and water with the center.[75]

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[72] Aristotle, *On the Heavens* $312^{a}28$–30, trans. W.D. Ross.

[73] Plato identified each of the four elements with one of the regular geometric solids: fire with the tetrahedron, earth with the cube, air with the octahedron, and water with the icosahedron. See Plato, *Timaeus* 55D–56B.

[74] Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* $330^{a}30$–$330^{b}6$; see also *Meteorologica* $378^{b}10$–25.

[75] Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* $330^{b}31$–$331^{a}4$.

St Basil of Caesarea and other writers saw a harmonious pattern in which Aristotle's four qualities bound the four elements together.

> Those [elements] already incorporated in a body and subject to perception have the qualities closely united [...] The earth is dry and cold, the water is cold and moist, the air is moist and warm, and fire is warm and dry. Thus [...] each through a common quality mixes with its neighboring element, and through the union with that [element] which is near, it combines with its opposite. For example [...] fire, being warm and dry in nature, closely combines with air by its warmth and, again, by its dryness returns to fellowship with the earth. Thus it becomes a circle and a harmonious choir, since all are in unison and have mutually corresponding elements.[76]

Boethius's brief discussion alludes to the role that sensible qualities, as well as numbers, play in binding together the elements.

The third way in which the elements were seen to be bound together was based on the properties that Plato attributed to them in his *Timaeus*. Plato maintained that the perceptible, physical world of change must be both tangible and visible. Since Plato held that fire had an active role in the sense of vision, fire was necessary if the world were to be seen. Earth, in contrast, through its density, was essential for the world to be tangible.[77] This property of corporality came to be one of the three defining properties of the elements that were seized upon by the neo-Platonists.

The other two defining properties in this way of looking at the elements arose from Plato's reduction of the elements to regular geometric solids: tetrahedrons of four sides, cubes of six sides, octahedrons of twelve sides, and icosahedrons of twenty sides. Plato assigned each of these solids to one of the elements guided by the remaining two properties of sharpness and mobility. He assigned the cube to earth, because with its square

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[76] Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron* 4.5, trans. Sr. A.C. Way, (The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation) 46 (Washington, 1963), p. 62. This passage was rendered in Latin in Ambrose of Milan, *Hexameron* 3.4.18. Macrobius explicitly placed this Aristotelian concept of the sensible qualities binding the elements within the Platonic framework of the middle term as numbers binding them. Macrobius, *Commentary in Somnium Scipionis* 1.6.23–33. Ambrose's idea is later presented in Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 11.2–3 and summarized in Bede, *De temporum ratione* 35.12–17.

On Basil, see John F. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958), 29–57, at p. 46. On the later medieval dissemination of this concept, see Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, vol. 2, *Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* (Paris, 1965), pp. 481–82; Barbara Obrist, "Le diagramme isidorien des saisons, son contenu physique et les représentations figuratives," *Mélanges de l'École Francaise de Rome B Moyen Age* 108 (1996), 95–164; and Faith Wallis, trans., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 2004), p. 35 n. 316, p. 319.

[77] Plato, *Timaeus* 31B.

base, the cube is stable and immobile. Of the figures with triangular faces, he assigned the tetrahedron to the element fire because it has the sharpest edges and hence is most mobile; the octahedron is blunter and less mobile, so he assigned it to the element air; finally, the icosahedron is even blunter and less mobile, so he assigned it to the element water.[78]

Proclus drew on these characteristics to present a physical interpretation of Plato's mathematical discussion of the two solid extremes being joined by two middle terms. He maintained that, contrary to those who assert that each element has two qualities (hot or cold and wet or dry),[79] each of the elements has three properties. Fire is sharp, subtle, and mobile, and its opposite, earth, is blunt, dense, and immobile; they are joined by the intermediate elements in the following fashion:

Fire	sharp	subtle	mobile
Air	blunt	subtle	mobile
Water	blunt	dense	mobile
Earth	blunt	dense	immobile

The two middle elements share two properties with the adjacent extreme (air is subtle and mobile like fire; water is blunt and dense like earth) but only share one property with the more distant extreme (air is blunt like earth; water is mobile like fire). Thus air is blunt, subtle, and mobile, while water is blunt, dense, and mobile.[80] This same doctrine was available in the Middle Ages through Calcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus* and Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum*.[81]

By briefly suggesting aspects of both the Platonic and Aristotelian interpretations of the bonds uniting the four elements, Boethius left his readers with the problem of determining the nature of the bond that he

[78] Plato, *Timaeus* 55D–56B. This section does not appear in Calcidius's incomplete Latin translation of the *Timaeus*. For the influence of Calcidius, see Bruce S. Eastwood, "Calcidius's Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*" in "Latin Astronomy of the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries," in Lodi Nauta and Arjo Vanderjagt, eds., *Between Demonstration and Imagination: Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 171–209.

[79] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 3.38.1–3.39.19.

[80] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 3.39.20–28.

[81] Calcidius, *In Platonis Timaeum commentarius* 21–22; Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 12.1–12. Neither Calcidius nor Isidore provided the further explanation of sharpness and mobility in terms of the four regular geometric solids.

had intended. Commentators' changing interpretations of this passage reflect the changing philosophical interpretations of the four elements from the 9th to the 12th centuries.

Remigius and the other early commentators focused on the interpretation we have seen in Basil, showing how each of the adjacent four elements was joined by the conjunction (often expressed by the Greek *zinzugia*) of their shared Aristotelian qualities, hot or cold, wet or dry.[82] These early commentators did not stop with Boethius's concern for the joining of the four elements, but went on to consider the binding together of the microcosm, as the four qualities bind together the four humors, the four seasons, and the four ages of man.[83]

Bovo of Corvey made an early attempt to interpret Boethius in terms of mathematical relationships, quoting Macrobius's discussion of Plato's *Timaeus*, which Macrobius had interpreted as saying that the number four is the first number to have two means, and therefore there are four elements.[84] After continuing with a conventional discussion of how the four qualities bind together the four elements, Bovo adds that fire is the purest and lightest of the elements, while earth, because of its density, is fixed at the center of the universe.[85]

The commentary of the Anonymous of Einsiedeln 302 only touches briefly on this topic, speaking vaguely of how the elements are joined by a harmonious measure (*congrua mensura*). He does not address the nature of this harmony nor does he mention Aristotle's four sensible qualities.[86]

Adalbold of Utrecht was the first commentator to address the specific geometrical and numerical relationships that Plato had raised in the *Timaeus*, beginning with a consideration of the roles of the numbers 2, 3, 8, 12, 18, and 27. The two cubic numbers, 8 and 27, arise from the first two numbers, 2 and 3. Then 12 and 18 represent rectangular solids which, as middle terms, join together the two cubic numbers by a sesquialterate ratio (3 : 2). Having clearly presented this complex mathematical rela-

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[82] Remigius of Auxerre, in Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 334–35; Anonymous of Brussels, in H. Sylvestre, "Le commentaire inédit [...]," pp. 55–56.

[83] Remigius of Auxerre, in Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 336–37; Anonymous of Brussels, in H. Sylvestre, "Le commentaire inédit [...]," pp. 56–57.

[84] Bovo of Corvey, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 136–59, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, pp. 103–04.

[85] Bovo of Corvey, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 160–99, 413–23, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, pp. 104–05, 112.

[86] Anonymous of Einsiedeln 302, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 44–52, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, p. 118.

tionship, he only briefly alludes to the conjunction, or *zinzugia*, of the elements by their qualities, without the specific relationships presented by the earlier commentators. Finally, although Adalbold does not explicitly address the Platonic properties of sharpness, subtlety, mobility and their opposites, a diagram accompanying his text illustrates how they are related to the four elements.[87]

By the 12th century, in William of Conches's commentary, we find the first presentation of the two principal interpretations of how the elements are bound together. William begins with a mathematical discussion of how two square numbers are joined by a single middle term, which takes one factor from each of the two extremes. William applies this Platonic model to the Aristotelian sensible qualities. If we consider one of the four elements as a middle term, it will take one quality from each adjacent element: e.g., water is cold and wet, taking coldness from earth and moistness from air. Considering cubic numbers, two of them are joined by two middle terms, using the same numerical example that had been presented by Adalbold, in which 8 and 27 are joined in sesquialterate ratio by 12 and 18. William does not relate this numerical example to the traditional interpretation in terms of the Platonic properties of the elements.[88]

The two anonymous 12th-century commentaries finally drew together all three manners of interpreting Boethius's discussion of the elements. We will focus on the anonymous commentary edited by Silk, which is a repetitive compilation including all major interpretations of the numerical binding of the elements; the briefer Anonymous Erfurtensis only provides a concise summary of the major points. Silk's text opens its discussion of 3m9 by presenting the Platonic concept that the world was created in similitude to eternal archetypes in the mind of God, which Plato called ideas, John the Evangelist called life, and Boethius called the providence of God.[89] Since God had "ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight" (Wisdom 11:21), the mathematical nature of these archetypes, and the similitude between them and the visible world, become important themes in this discussion.[90]

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[87] Adalbold of Utrecht, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 182–253, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, pp. 129–33.

[88] William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, 3m9.468–514, ed. L. Nauta, CCCM 158, pp. 167–69.

[89] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 155.14–157.6. The passage quoted from John's Gospel (John 1:3–4) refers to the Word of God: "all things were made through Him. and [...] in Him was life."

[90] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], p. 160.1–7.

It clearly expresses the similarity between the mathematical concept that the middle terms, 12 and 18, each draws two sides from one of the cubes, 9 or 27, and one side from the other cube, and the physical concept that the middle elements, air and water, each draws two properties from one extreme, fire or earth, and one property from the other. Thus air draws mobility and subtlety from fire and bluntness from earth, while water draws bluntness and corporeity from earth and mobility from fire.[91]

As we might expect from such a compilation, it also elaborates on the third interpretation of the joining (*zinzugia*) of the elements through Aristotle's two pairs of sensible qualities, which it compares to the numerical relationship joining two plane (i.e., square) numbers. Unlike solid numbers, in which each middle term shares two properties with one extreme and one with the other, here a middle term shares one quality with each adjacent term. Thus water shares coldness with earth and moistness with air.[92]

In addition to these literal interpretations, this discussion of two middle terms joining together two very different extremes also occasioned symbolic interpretation.[93] In a sermon for the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, Garnerius of Rochefort (*c.*1140–post 1225) addressed the role of Christ as intermediary between God and man, drawing on the line from Boethius, that "You bind in number and ratio the elements."[94] Garnerius was an advocate of the allegorical model of scriptural interpretation, and symbolically interpreted Boethius's discussion to illustrate how God and man were joined by the body and soul of Christ as two middle terms. God and man are opposites: God is just, immortal, and impassible (free from suffering or being acted upon) while man is unjust, mortal, and passible. By assuming a human body and soul, Christ took on some human characteristics, and became a suitable intermediary between God

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[91] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 167.1–168.12. The lengthy and repetitive discussion of the mathematical basis of this analogy, however, becomes inconsistent when one of his sources maintains that figures with unequal sides are not solid numbers (pp. 161.21–26). Compare Häring, "Four Commentaries [...]," p. 309.

[92] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 170.12–173.4. The Anonymous Erfurtensis similarly relates the *zinzuias* of the four elements to the middle term binding plane numbers. See Häring, "Four Commentaries [...], pp. 309–10.

[93] On the interplay between figurative and literal interpretations, see Stephen C. McCluskey, "The Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture in the Early Middle Ages: Literal, Allegorical, Tropological, and Anagogical Readings," in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín ed., *The Science of Computus in Ireland and Europe, AD 400–800* (forthcoming).

[94] Garnerius Lingonensis, *Sermones*, Sermo XII, ed. J.-P. Migne, (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 205 (Paris, 1855), cols 645–57, text at col. 655 [hereafter PL].

and man. His soul can be symbolized by air, since philosophers call air the soul of the world, and his flesh by water. Like air and water, Christ's soul and flesh share two properties with the adjacent extreme but only one with the more distant extreme.

God	impassible	immortal	just
Soul of Christ	passible	immortal	just
Body of Christ	passible	mortal	just
Man	passible	mortal	unjust

Garnerius's use of an abstract mathematical metaphor drawn from Boethius in this sermon raises an interesting issue about the nature of his audience. It may be that he was one of those speakers who misreads their audience and talks over their heads—but since his sermon was preserved, that does not seem very likely. To the extent that his audience did follow his Boethian metaphor, this sermon provides further evidence for the broad dissemination of Boethius's ideas in the late 12th and early 13th centuries.

> *connectens animam per consona memberis resolvis;*
> *quae cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes,*
> *in semet reditura meat mentemque profundum*
> *circuit et simile convertit imagine caelum.*
>
> [You divide Soul and apportion it into harmonious members;
> Soul, once divided, collected its motion in two equal circles,
> Moving so to return to itself, and completely encircling
> Mind at the core, so the universe wheels in its image and likeness.][95]

The soul that Boethius mentions here is not a human or animal soul, but the world soul, the soul of the universe, which Plato had described in his *Timaeus* as providing the geometrical pattern governing the cosmic motions. Plato spoke of the world soul as if it were made of two strips of some pliable soul stuff, which are formed into two intersecting circles, each of which governs one of the celestial motions.

[95] Boethius, *Consolatio* 3m9.14–17, after Relihan. I have changed his translation of *orbes* from "orbits" to "circles," which is closer to Boethius and Plato and avoids post-Keplerian astronomical concepts.

> This whole fabric, then, he split lengthwise into two halves; and making the two cross one another at their centres in the form of the letter χ, he bent each one round into a circle and joined it up, making each meet itself and the other at a point opposite to that where they had been brought into contact. He then comprehended them in the motion that is carried round uniformly in the same place, and made the one the outer, the other the inner circle. The outer movement he named the movement of the Same; the inner, the movement of the Different. The movement of the Same he caused to revolve to the right by way of the side; the movement of the Different to the left by way of the diagonal. And he gave the supremacy to the revolution of the Same and uniform.[96]

The circle of the Same, which astronomers call the celestial equator, governs the daily motions of all the stars, Sun, Moon and other planets as they rotate around the poles of the universe to rise in the East and set in the West. The circle of the Different, which astronomers call the ecliptic, is inclined to the equator and governs the particular motions of the Sun, Moon, and other five planets, carrying them eastward against the shared daily motion and North and South along the inclined path of the ecliptic.

The important characteristic of the letter χ is that the adjacent angles formed by its intersection are unequal, while the opposite angles are equal. This corresponds to the well-known astronomical fact that the ecliptic, the path defining the annual motion of the Sun, is inclined by approximately 24° to the celestial equator. Plato's description reflects contemporary astronomical devices, variously known as ringed or armillary spheres, which were constructed of intersecting metal bands bent around to form a circle. These were used by Greek astronomers to demonstrate basic astronomical motions and, in more elaborate versions, to perform astronomical measurements.[97]

This demonstration of the divinely established pattern of regular celestial motions, governed by the soul of the universe, was an essential part of Boethius's cosmic vision. Just as the celestial circles return to their source after completing their regular cycles, so also do the souls of men return to their source in the heavens.

The notion of world soul raised problems of interpretation for Boethius's medieval commentators. To the extent that theological objec-

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[96] *Timaeus* 36B–C, trans. Cornford, pp. 73–74. Plato describes the movement of the Same as toward the right, as seen from the center; in Figure 2 the movement of the Same is to the left, as seen from outside.

[97] Evans, "The Material Culture of Greek Astronomy," pp. 241–42, 277–79.

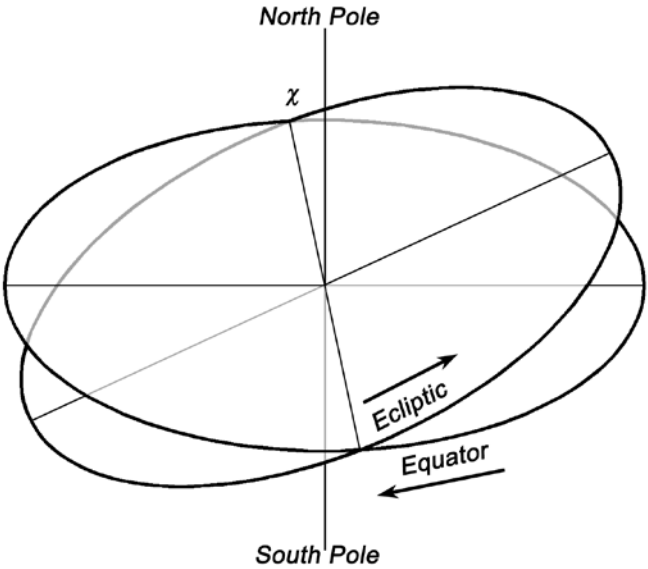

Figure 2. Motions of the World Soul after Plato, *Timaeus*, 36B–C.

tions diverted them from consideration of the possibility that the world might have a soul, they avoided these difficulties by crafting interpretations that diverged significantly from Boethius's intent.

Remigius of Auxerre considered the opinion of the philosophers who call the Sun the soul of the world, for just as the soul gives heat to the body, so does the Sun by its heat give life to all since through that heat all creatures bring forth life, as God has disposed. Furthermore, just as the Sun is centrally located among the planets, the soul is central in the human body, having its proper seat in the heart, and the rational human soul is midway between the irrational souls of beasts and the spirits of angels.[98]

Where Plato and Boethius had considered the division of the world soul into two separate motions, Remigius developed three distinct interpretations. One interpretation considered the division of the human soul as it sends forth its power through the eyes to observe external objects, and then returns to contemplate what was seen. Another considered the division of the rays of the Sun when it passes into a room through several gaps and windows at sunrise and sunset. Drawing on Boethius's theme of the

[98] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 335–36.

souls' return to their source, he quotes Solomon (Ecclesiastes 1:5–6) "The Sun rises and goes down, and returns to his place and there rising again, makes his round by the South, and turns again to the North."[99] The third came close to the Platonic model, opposing the proper annual motion of the Sun from the place where it was created at the equinox[100] to the general daily motion of the world.

Here again Remigius's commentary influenced the anonymous commentator of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 10066–77, who adopted Remigius's ideas, discussing more clearly how the Sun goes forth with two contrary motions, one from East to West of rising and setting, and the second when it completes its annual course each year. Through these motions, it returns to the place from which it rose.[101] The anonymous commentator considered, however, that Boethius's text is better taken as applying to the human soul.[102]

Bovo of Corvey's discussion of this passage interprets the opposed motions of the cosmos in terms of an upper aethereal[103] region, in which the stars are fixed, that moves from East to West, and a lower region of subtle air, through which the planets are carried from West to East against the general motion of the cosmos. He briefly introduces the concept that the Sun moves through the twelve equal signs of the zodiac, as was known from the astronomers and computists. He then goes on to reject the soul of the world as a philosophical fiction, maintaining that the varied motions arise from the ineffable power of the omnipotent God. Quoting Solomon (Ecclesiastes 1:6) in the *vetus Latina* as transmitted by Bede, he gives a bib-

[99] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], p. 338. Remigius may be considering the projection of pinhole images of the Sun by rays passing through apertures, although his discussion is not specific on that point. A few decades before Remigius, Helperic of Auxerre (fl. *c.*850) had described how similar observations of the image of the rising Sun, projected through an aperture onto a wall, could be used to determine the equinoxes and solstices. Helperic, *Liber de computo* 31, ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 137 (Paris, 1863), cols 40–43; Stephen C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 150–52. Such observations conform with Remigius's biblical quotation of the Sun passing though the South and back again to the North.

[100] The idea that the Sun was created at the equinox was a commonplace in early medieval computistical writings. See, for example, Bede, *De temporum ratione* 6.16–30.

[101] H. Sylvestre, "Le commentaire inédit [...]," pp. 58–60.

[102] H. Sylvestre, "Le commentaire inédit [...]," pp. 61–63.

[103] Since Bovo places the aetherial region directly above the region of subtle air, he is apparently following the Platonic interpretation, in which the aether is not a separate element, as Aristotle had maintained, but is an extremely subtle kind of fire.

lical authority for the spiritual nature of the Sun: "The spirit goes wheeling around, and returns in its circle."[104]

The Anonymous of Einsiedeln 302 briefly elaborates the doctrine already found in Bovo of Corvey, describing an exterior orb moving from East to West in which the stars are fixed, and an interior orb in whose seven circles the planets wander against (*oberrant*) the general motion. As to the soul of the world, this commentator relates its rational motion, in which it turns back upon itself, to the circular motion of the heavens.[105]

Adalbold of Utrecht, like Bovo of Corvey, speaks of the soul of the world, which the *physici* speak of and consider to be a god, as being a fiction that only approaches the truth. The soul of the world is the minister of life, not the master. Adalbold described how the two parts of the soul were gathered in two orbs: the outer sphere of the fixed stars, the *speram applanitis*, which moves from East to West and whose speed is tempered by the opposed rotation (*obrotatio*) from West to East of the planetary orbs. These two rotations produce the varying motions of the planets, and especially of the Sun, which in turn produce the changes of the seasons, the rains and tranquility, all of which contribute to the growth of living things.[106]

William of Conches's discussion of this passage treats the soul of the world as the love of God, by which he creates everything and governs created things. He turns to Plato's comparison with the Greek letter χ, noting that one arm of the letter is longer than the other and that one arm passes obliquely through the middle of the other. Plato's intent is that the soul of the world governs two motions, one of the firmament and the other of the planets. The latter is smaller, i.e., contained within the firmament, and moves obliquely along the zodiac against the firmament's motion. The soul of the world moves itself as a self mover, and consequently moves the heavens, since everything that moves is moved by a soul. He concludes that it is the divine will which moves the heavens by means of the soul.[107]

The first of our anonymous 12th-century compilations considers the divided motions of the soul as the rational movement from East to West

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[104] Bovo of Corvey, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 331–91, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, pp. 109–11; Bede, *De temporum ratione* 8.31–36, discusses the spiritual nature of the Sun.

[105] Anonymous of Einsiedeln 302, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 72–85, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, p. 119.

[106] Adalbold of Utrecht, Commentary to *O qui perpetua* [...], 287–329, ed. Huygens, CCCM 172, pp. 134–36.

[107] William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, 3m9.576–610, ed. L. Nauta, CCCM 158, pp. 172–73.

and the irrational motion, such as the motion of the planets, which struggles from West to East against the firmament. However, he prefers the interpretation which we have seen in Remigius, in which the power of the soul emerges through the eyes to perceive external objects and returns to the soul to contemplate them.[108]

Erfurt, Q 5 [also referred to as Anonymous of Erfurt, Q 5] collects differing interpretations of this passage. At one point the author uses the same comparison to the letter χ that William of Conches had drawn from Plato, describing two intersecting circles, one part bent from the East through the West and back again to the East again, the other from West through the East and back again to the West.[109] Subsequently, he uses the three interpretations seen in Remigius of Auxerre: first, of the power of the soul going from the eye to perceive exterior objects and then returning to contemplate them; second, of the rays of the sun dividing at apertures and windows at sunrise and sunset; and third, of the impetus that drives the Sun against the motion of the celestial sphere to the place where it was created at the equinox.

The most important factor limiting our understanding of Boethius's astronomy and cosmology is the fact that none of his surviving works provides detailed treatments of mathematical astronomy in the manner of Ptolemy or of physical cosmology in the manner of Plato and Aristotle. Boethius's surviving works sketch out astronomical and cosmological concepts as vehicles to illustrate ethical or logical points. Despite that limitation, it is quite clear that Boethius's works contributed greatly to the transmission of important cosmological principles to his successors and thereby laid the foundations for subsequent developments in astronomy and cosmology.

The most important of these was the general principle that the universe was an ordered cosmos, subject to natural laws imposed by God at the time of creation. Furthermore, these laws were not totally arbitrary, but reflected the ordering principles of reason and number. The central example of this order was the regular return of the stars, Sun, and Moon, which caused the orderly changes of the seasons and the generation of all living things upon the Earth. This belief in a universe "ordered [...]

[108] Silk, ed., *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], pp. 185.9–186.16.
[109] Häring, "Four Commentaries [...], pp. 311, 314.

in measure, and number, and weight" by natural causes was an essential prerequisite for the emerging study of nature.[110]

A further cosmological detail was the insignificance of the Earth, which he considered to be like a point in comparison to the immense spherical celestial region that surrounds it. He saw these regions as made up of the elements, which again were ordered on mathematical principles.

The great influence of Boethius's *Consolatio* made up for whatever its presentation lacked in detail. As is shown extensively in later chapters of this book, Boethius's works were critically examined and widely taught throughout the Middle Ages. The cosmological passages offered medieval commentators the opportunity to draw upon other Late Antique sources to flesh out the details of Boethius's presentation. These investigations reflected, and contributed to, the growth of increasingly subtle understandings of cosmological concepts in the course of the Middle Ages.

[110] John North, *The Fontana History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (London, 1994), p. 229.

THE LATIN COMMENTARIES ON BOETHIUS'S *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE* FROM THE 9TH TO THE 11TH CENTURIES

Rosalind C. Love

The reception of Boethius and his *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*] in the Middle Ages is handled elsewhere in this volume, and consequently the present chapter focuses very precisely on the manuscripts dateable from the medieval period up to around the year 1100 that transmit commentary and glosses on the *Consolatio* in Latin. This chapter asks what can be recovered about their complex relationships, surveys the variety of content these *scholia* cover, and summarizes scholarly debate concerning the authors and centers which have been connected with the commentary tradition.

When is a Commentary a Commentary?

It may be well to begin with some thoughts on terminology: scholars have tended to refer to one or another of the layers of annotation attached to the *Consolatio* as a commentary by such-and-such an author. This has created the impression that such annotation is preserved in the fixed form of a unified, continuous commentary representing the response of one mind. The majority of the earlier annotation on the *Consolatio* consists of interlinear and marginal glosses (*scholia*, to use another term), even though the latter sometimes run to several lines. There are very few examples of apparently continuous commentary to the *Consolatio*, and a handful of early free-standing commentaries to isolated sections of the work. Even where glossing has been transmitted continuously, there can be no guarantee that it is the product of one mind's sustained engagement with the text. Another way to describe sets of glosses laid out continuously is as *glossae collectae*, that is, glosses lifted from their context between the lines and in the margins, with the relevant words or phrases of the main text (the so-called lemmata) present only in abbreviated form.[1] Such a

[1] Adrian Papahagi, "*Glossae Collectae* on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* in Paris, BN Lat. MS 13953," *Χωρα. Revue d'études anciennes et médiévales. Philosophie, théologie,*

distinction may perhaps seem merely a matter of jargon, but the term *glossae collectae* carries less of an assumption that the glosses so collected are of a single origin than does the term *continuous commentary*.[2]

This leads to a supplementary enquiry into the relationship of *scholia* to commentary, and whether it is safe to assume the existence of the latter from the survival of the former alone. Commentaries certainly were copied into the margins of study-texts: to take an example from one of the most widely studied texts in Christendom, there are surviving psalters laid out with spaces in the margins into which portions from Cassiodorus's great *Expositio Psalmorum* have been copied in a carefully planned way.[3] Yet, in many cases of marginal annotation, the matter defies solution: Gernot Wieland, in comparing two glossed copies of Arator's *De actibus apostolorum* and one passage of continuous commentary, concluded that the observable overlap between them is quite small, that even if further copies were consulted, one would be unlikely to find any copies with identical glosses, and that therefore there was no "Ur-commentary" from which all glosses on Arator ultimately derive.[4] Much the same applies to the glossing on the *Consolatio*, as will become clear.

Some strands of the glossing on the *Consolatio* well may represent one person's efforts, but in reality it is difficult to distinguish a unified and cohesive commentary in a tradition of copying a text, which seems so strongly inclined to gather up inherited glosses, often from more than one exemplar, and add to them or abridge them, in a highly fluid way. Petrus Tax, in discussing this material, writes of a "*Glossentanz*," in which couples dance together for a spell, then change partners and dancing-sequences, and so on.[5] Even where scholars believe that they have identified one agency in a particular strand of annotation, namely the material attributed

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sciences 6 (2008), 291–337. Sinéad O'Sullivan applies the same terminology to the glossing of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*; see her *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia. The Weitz Tradition* (Leiden, 2004), p. 24 and note 6.

[2] Papahagi, "*Glossae Collectae*," p. 293, points out how misleading it is to think that one person was responsible for all of the glosses in a manuscript. Joseph Wittig reaches a similar conclusion, in "The 'Remigian' Glosses on Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Context," in *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Thomas D. Hill*, ed. Charles D. Wright, Frederick M. Biggs, and Thomas N. Hall (Toronto, 2007), pp. 168–200, at p. 173.

[3] Margaret T. Gibson, "Carolingian Glossed Psalters," in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 78–100, at p. 79.

[4] Gernot Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153–73, at p. 158.

[5] Petrus W. Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae," Buch I/II*, Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen, 1A (Tübingen, 2008), p. xxxix.

to Remigius of Auxerre, which will be discussed below, it quickly becomes apparent that those glosses, if they were by Remigius, incorporated earlier ones. Using that logic, every scribe who annotated the *Consolatio*, copying glosses inherited from his exemplar or exemplars, expanding or adapting, was the author of a new "commentary." As one scholar recently has noted, "any set of *Consolatio* glosses compiled between the 9th and the 11th centuries is unique [...] there are no two identical sets."[6] Moreover, it is hard to identify within any given strand of glossing a cohesive approach which could be argued as representing a unified "project."

These reflections raise a matter which it may be helpful to consider briefly in seeking to understand the development of the glosses on the *Consolatio*—as on any other work studied in the Middle Ages—namely, how and in what setting the text was used. There has been some debate about the distinction between a library book and a class-book (that is, a classroom text), specifically in the context of Anglo-Saxon England, but dealing with issues which have wider relevance.[7] So, for example, if a text has been glossed, does the glossing represent the spontaneous response of a reader working through the text, making notes as they come up? This is clearly not always the case, since so frequently we can see that annotations have been transferred from one copy of a work to the next, alongside the main text, by the same hand. In the glossing on Boethius, this extends even to one-word lexical and grammatical glossing, repeated again and again across the manuscripts. Moreover, among the *scholia* on this text there is little sign of anything comparable to phrases such as "so Theodore said" ("*Theodorus dixit*"), found accompanying lemmata and their explanations in the so-called Leiden Glossary, a collection of *glossae collectae* copied in about 800 at St Gall (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q.69), but apparently gleaned from texts glossed in a classroom in late 6th-century Canterbury.[8] In other words, although it is, of course,

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[6] Papahagi, "*Glossae Collectae*," p. 293.

[7] Michael Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England [1] The Evidence of Latin Glosses," in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140, partly responding to an account of Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35 by A.G. Rigg and Gernot R. Wieland, "A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript)," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 113–30. Wieland then returned to the discussion in "The Glossed Manuscript."

[8] See Michael Lapidge, "The School of Theodore and Hadrian," *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), 45–72, repr. in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899: Collected Essays* (London, 1996), pp. 141–68; and *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff (Cambridge, 1994).

hard to judge in the case of one-word glossing, there is relatively little annotation that can confidently be shown to reflect notes made by someone listening to a teacher's exposition.

Yet, these caveats still do not prevent us from envisaging a given copy being used primarily for instruction: any teacher will naturally wish the comments which he hands down to his pupils to be firmly grounded in an earlier tradition of explication.[9] The realization that some of the glosses on the *Consolatio* are wrong or confused is also immaterial, and even the fact that a single manuscript can sometimes be found to offer two contradictory interpretations is not at odds with the pedagogical principle of exhaustive coverage, and a spirit which readily embraced the notion of multiplicity.[10] There was a prevailing impulse to accumulate glossing, treating the margins of an important work such as the *Consolatio* as a storehouse of knowledge. This phenomenon is observable in many copies, though we should not think of it as a process that was always relentlessly cumulative, since there are also manuscripts that show that glossators were capable of selecting from the material on offer and abbreviating where necessary.

The alternative to classroom use is private reading, which presumably still needed aids to understanding the text, and was also not necessarily *silent* reading but, quite likely, involved verbalization, even if only murmured.[11] The way in which individual glosses linger on a point, rephrase it, go off at a tangent, or sharpen up the moral—almost a form of non-scriptural *lectio divina*—might seem as much in keeping with such use as with classroom exposition. Sinéad O'Sullivan, in the light of her study of the commentaries to Prudentius, suggests that the debate over classbook or library-book may have polarized the matter unnecessarily, pointing out that "as recipients of instruction both the classroom student and the

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[9] Pertinent here are the points made by Ralph Hexter in *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's* Ars Amatoria*,* Epistulae ex Ponto*, and* Epistulae Heroidum (Munich, 1986), pp. 30–33. Hexter was responding to the restrictions placed on interpreting the educational role of glossing, by Alexander Schwarz, in "Glossen als Texte," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literature* 99 (1977), 25–36. Hexter observes that "traditional and unoriginal matter can function in much the same way original matter can" (p. 31).

[10] A point now made compellingly by Malcolm Godden and Rohini Jayatilaka, "Counting the Heads of Hydra: The Development of the Early Medieval Commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*," in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella*, ed. Sinéad O'Sullivan, and Mariken Teeuwen (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages) (Turnhout, 2011).

[11] See O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, p. 89.

reader were *in statu pupillari*."[12] All glosses must at some level represent didactic consumption of the text, regardless of whether those glosses were deployed by a teacher reading them out to the class, or by a reader perusing them either alone or with another's assistance.

If we interrogate the manuscripts to establish how a given text was used, and by whom, the evidence can seem contradictory. Gernot Wieland, in examining a glossed passage of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in a late 10th-century copy from Canterbury (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23), wondered whether a monk who was sufficiently well-educated to tackle the opening of the poem would really have needed all the types of glossing the manuscript offered.[13] And if he did need such aid, how would he understand the text? Anybody struggling with the main text to the point of needing the most elementary glosses that there are would have needed them throughout. Since these helps to the reader are not consistent, Wieland thus excluded the private reader or, rather, suggested that such a reader must have consulted another person—a teacher or fellow-monk—to supplement the glossing. And what is the difference between that and a classroom? He concluded that a more probable scenario is that of the book in the hand of a teacher, who is either also the scribe or the one who instructs the scribe.[14] Even if such a teacher understands the text well, he will want as many glosses as possible, in order to remind himself of what he should mention to the pupils, but with the assumption that he will improvise some explanations.

We can apply this to the glossing of the *Consolatio*. Occasionally one wonders what sense subsequent readers can have made of the annotation in a given copy. One example should suffice to illustrate this point. At 3p8.10, Philosophy discusses inner and outer beauty, observing: "If, to quote Aristotle, men had the use of Lynceus' eyes [referring to the Argonaut famed for his acute eye-sight], enabling them to see through solid obstacles, would not the celebrated physique of Alcibiades [an Athenian general], so very handsome on the surface, seem totally ugly once his inner

[12] O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, p. 84. Compare comments by Patrizia Lendinara, who rejects the label "classbook" entirely: "Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones," in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, ed. P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, and M.A. D'Aronco (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 59–113, at 72.

[13] Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript," pp. 161–62.

[14] Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript," p. 163.

parts came into view?"[15] The three names provoked a variety of commentary; one of the earliest manuscripts, V1 (see List of Surviving Manuscripts below [for this and subsequent references]), confines itself to annotation which reveals little evidence of detailed understanding of the allusions, glossing Aristotle with the phrase "the poet himself" ("*ipse poeta*") and Alcibiades with "this is a proper noun" ("*proprium nomen est*"). As for the reference to Lynceus, we are offered the comment "lynx is a kind of beast and from it comes the adjective *linceus*. The rays of its eyes penetrate [to] the inner parts of dense bodies."[16] The confusion here is demonstrated by the widely attested variant reading, which turns "Lynceus' eyes" into "lynxes' eyes." Hence the gist of the gloss just quoted occurs in a good many other manuscripts, and, as such, it represents an entirely reasonable explanation of what Boethius is *thought* to have written, and one that does not lead the reader too far astray from his intention. Then a small group of manuscripts from England around the year 1000 offers a gloss in which somebody has managed to identify Lynceus correctly, but that still offers the mistaken alternative: "Lynceus was someone who, as fables relate, could see through a wall, hence what he says here. Lynxes are animals, as some say, born from a dog and a wolf [...]".[17] Two from this particular group of manuscripts exemplify the many-layered texture of the glossing by the fact that they also offer another two versions of the lynx gloss, each of them similar but not identical to the first one quoted from V1. A similar pattern emerges with the explanation for Alcibiades in this same group, whose jumble of overlapping layers combines a correct identification with the widely circulated notion that a woman is being referred to, or that it is Hercules:

> Alcibiades is the patronymic of a certain beautiful woman, celebrated by the ancients, or Hercules' mother whose body is called beautiful. Alcibiades was a certain leader of the Greeks, very beautiful in body, or, as they say, it was a certain very beautiful woman. Or some say a poet or Hercules who

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[15] "*Quodsi, ut Aristoteles ait, Lyncei oculis homines uterentur, ut eorum uisus obstantia penetraret, nonne introspectis uisceribus illud Alcibiadis superficie pulcherrimum corpus turpissimum uideretur?*" All subdivisions of the prose sections of the *Consolatio* cited in this article refer to those of the Corpus Christianorum edition by Ludwig Bieler (*Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, [Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina] 94 (Turnhout, 1984). All the glosses reported in this article derive from full collation of about fifty of the total number of manuscripts, which represents the present state of our project.

[16] "*Linx genus bestiole est et inde est adiectiuum linceis. Cuius radii oculorum penetrant interiora* [...] *spisorum corporum.*"

[17] "*Linceus fuit quidam qui sicut fabule ferunt trans parietem poterat uidere inde dicit hoc in loco. Linces animalia sunt ut quidam dicunt ex cane et lupo nati*," in manuscripts A C4 Ge P and P6 (see List of Surviving Manuscripts below).

> in his youth acquired sparkling looks, and this was his patronymic from his father or his mother. Hence he was called Alcides, because of his strength, as it were *alce-idos*, that is strength and form, because he was mighty and handsome. For *alce* (Greek) means "strength" and *idea* "form."[18]

The same manuscripts that transmit this marginal gloss also furnish *alcibiadis* with the interlinear gloss "man's name" ("*proprii uiri*"). What is omitted from this particular marginal gloss is the corrective to be found in another version—transmitted both in English and continental manuscripts (including one which has both versions)—"This is the name of a woman of famed beauty. Some say that it is Hercules' mother and that he is thus called Alcides. But that is wrong, for he is called Alcides, as it were *alce-idos*," and so on as above.[19] Again these explanations, however confused, do not hinder comprehension of Boethius's message, as such, but seek to impart knowledge extraneous to his argument, assuming that that in itself has been readily understood. Apart from these fuller explanatory glosses, other parts of this sentence widely felt to require annotation are the Latin words *obstantia* [solid obstacles], glossed variously as "accusative" (since the word's case, and hence also its number, is open to ambiguity) or with explanations seeking to convey the oppositional force of the prefix *ob-* with the gloss *contra* or similar, and then *superficie* [surface], glossed in several manuscripts with *in* to make explicit the prepositional force of the noun's ablative ending. Such annotation seems directed at a readership not on the bottom rung of Latin learners—for whom a text like the *Consolatio* would in any case scarcely be appropriate—but open to new information of every kind and at the same time grateful for the gentlest of props for construing those parts of the text that do not surrender their meaning readily. Such an audience could just as easily be an independent reader as a teacher using the glossing to support his *viva voce* instruction. Now, though, it is time to turn to the manuscripts themselves.

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[18] "*Alcibiades patronimicum cuiusdam pulchre mulieris a ueteribus celebratae uel Herculis mater corpus appellatur pulchrum. Alcibiadis quidam fuit dux grecorum pulcherrimi corporis uel sicut ferunt quaedam femina pulcherrima fuit uel quidam poeta uel Hercules qui in iuuentute glaucitatem adeptus est. et fuit ei hoc nomen patronimicum a patre uel matre*" (up to here in A C4 Ge P P6; what follows only in A and C4, and in shorter form in P) "*unde et alcides dicta est a uirtute quasi alceidos .i. uirtus et forma quod fortis fuerat et formosus. Alce enim uirtus, idea forma.*"

[19] "*Nomen est mulieris famosae pulchritudinis. Quidam dicunt matrem fuisse Herculis. Ideoque alciden eum nominatum. Sed hoc falsum est. nam alcides dictus est quasi alceidos* [. . .]" transmitted in three English manuscripts A C2 and P9, and at least seven others from France and Germany. This version of the gloss has been attributed to Remigius of Auxerre; see below p. ##.

The Surviving Manuscripts

There are nearly eighty extant manuscripts and fragments from the period up to about the year 1100 which transmit annotation upon the *Consolatio*, either in the form of interlinear and marginal glossing or in a very few cases as *glossae collectae*.[20] What follows here cannot, in this chapter's scope, provide a detailed description of each manuscript; most of them have been listed and discussed before, sometimes with varying views on their dating and localization, so this list seeks to summarize those findings and point to the further discussion of each manuscript for readers who require more detail.[21]

Abbreviations Used in the Following List

CBo	*Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson, Marina Passalacqua, and Lesley Smith, 3 vols (London and Turin, 1995–2001)
Courcelle	Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris, 1967)
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
Tax	Petrus W. Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* 3 vols, Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen, Neues Ausgabe, 1–3A (Tübingen, 2008), vol. 1.
Troncarelli	Fabio Troncarelli, *Boethiana Aetas. Modelli grafici et fortuna manoscritta della Consolatio Philosophiae tra IX et XII secolo* (Alessandria, 1987)

[20] I owe the framework of this list entirely to the efforts of Rohini Jayatilaka, who provided it—and a complete set of digital images—as the working basis for the full collation of glosses on which the Boethius commentary project focuses; in due course, she herself will publish a detailed catalogue. The dates and localizations offered here are thus only the present state of knowledge, drawn from the catalogues referred to, or where these are lacking, from Dr Jayatilaka's own very preliminary suggestions and a few of my own observations. Comments on the extent and type of glossing are based mostly on my inspection of digital images or microfilm, where available.

[21] Summary lists can be found in Joseph S. Wittig, "King Alfred's *Boethius* and its Latin Sources: A Reconsideration," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), 157–98, at pp. 187–89, and in his "'Remigian' Glosses," pp. 184–94; also in Diane K. Bolton, "The Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 44 (1977), 33–78; and, most recently, in Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, eds., *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's* De Consolatione Philosophiae, 2 vols (Oxford 2009), 1.xlv–vi.

The *sigla* used here are those originally devised by Wittig and then expanded by Rohini Jayatilaka for the purposes of the Old English Boethius and the Boethian commentary project.

A Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, M. 16.8 (*formerly* lat. 190)
[late 10th or early 11th century; Abingdon. Troncarelli, no. 5; *CBo* 2:108–09] copious interlinear and marginal glosses throughout, in more than one hand (contemporary with the main text), sometimes repeating the same gloss.

An Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale 12
[early 10th century; Northern France, later at St Évroult.[22] Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 10] glossed extensively throughout (interlinear and marginal) in the 10th century and later.

Au St Florian, Stiftsbibliothek XI.75
[11th century; St Florian? *CBo* 2:58–59] marginal and interlinear glosses throughout (including OHG), broadly contemporary and often extensive.

B Bern, Burgerbibliothek 179
[9th century, last third; northwest France, perhaps Brittany, reaching Fleury by the 11th century when monks' names were added to the first folio. Troncarelli, no. 111; *CBo* 2:175–76] 9th- and 10th-century glosses (marginal and interlinear), abundant up to fol. 33r, then little thereafter, apart from the start of Book 5.

B1 Bern, Burgerbibliothek 181
[later 11th century; owned at Metz and then the Sorbonne; Troncarelli, no. 112; *CBo* 2:176] incomplete at the end, with the missing text from Book 5 supplied much later; contemporary glosses, petering out after 18v. Fols 43r–45v present *glossae collectae* to 3m9 line 13 onwards, copied at the end of the meter itself, after which the main text resumes.

B2 Bern, Burgerbibliothek 421
[11th or 12th century; owned by the Celestines at Metz. Troncarelli, no. 115; *CBo* 2:180–81] some contemporary annotations, marginal and interlinear, tailing off after Book 1.

Ba Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Class.3 (M.V.12)
[11th century; was in Bamberg's Dombibliothek. Troncarelli, no. 54] light 11th-century glossing (interlinear and marginal), with uneven coverage across the whole work.

[22] Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), p. 220.

Ba1 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Class.2 (M.IV.2)
[11th century; was in Bamberg's Dombibliothek. Troncarelli, no. 53] scattered contemporary glossing (mainly interlinear); some sections of the text missing.

C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 214
[end of 10th or early 11th century; possibly Canterbury.[23] Troncarelli, no. 69; *CBo* 1:53–54] incomplete, surviving as 123 folios, some very fragmentary; contemporary glosses throughout Book 1 and up to 2p5 in Latin, then only 2m5–8 with word-order letters, and 3p1–3p12 with OE interlinear gloss/translation, and word-order letters.

C2 Cambridge, Trinity College, O.3.7
[10th century, second half, perhaps the end; perhaps St Augustine's, Canterbury. Courcelle, p. 405 and pl. 22; Troncarelli, no. 70; *CBo* 1:81–82] copious contemporary glosses throughout (marginal and interlinear, including a handful in OE), a very few added later.

C3 Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35
[mid-11th century; St Augustine's, Canterbury. Troncarelli, no. 72; *CBo* 1:40–41] rather cramped contemporary glosses throughout (interlinear and marginal, including a handful in OE), often abridged when compared with other versions of the same glosses.

C4 Cambridge, University Library, Kk.3.21
[11th century, first half; probably Abingdon. Courcelle, p. 15; Troncarelli, no. 73; *CBo* 1:44–45 (dated to *c.*1000)] extensive contemporary glosses (interlinear and marginal, just a few in OE), and layers of subsequent additions (12th century, but also later).

E Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 149
[10th century, second half; perhaps always at Einsiedeln. Courcelle, p. 404; Troncarelli, no. 119; *CBo* 2:187; Tax, p. xxxii] sporadic contemporary glosses, including some in OHG in cryptographs, up to 3m9 exclusively interlinear, then also marginal.[24]

E1 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 179

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[23] T.A.M. Bishop, "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts," in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographic Society* 2 (1954–58), p. 187, suggested a Canterbury origin, on the basis of the same scribe's work in another manuscript thought to be from there.

[24] Hartmut Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten des Deutschen Reiches*, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften), 53, 2 vols (Hannover, 2004), 1.84–85, describes the script as from Reichenau. Digital images of the Einsiedeln and St Gall manuscripts, with descriptions, can be viewed at *e-codices. Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland* (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en).

[10th century, second half; possibly St Gall, or Einsiedeln.[25] Tax, p. xxx (dating to the end of the 10th century and doubting the Einsiedeln origin)] *glossae collectae* with abbreviated lemmata covering the whole work, including over two hundred cryptographic glosses in OHG. A set of glosses to 3m9 occurs at the end, and within the sequence of the whole work two other sets of glosses to 3m9 are provided, one after another.

E2 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 302
[10th century; southwest Germany. Courcelle, p. 407; Troncarelli, no. 120; *CBo* 2:190–91; Tax, p. xxxiii (suggesting St Gall then Einsiedeln, dating the main text to the 9th century, the glossing to the 10th)] some folios now lost; contemporary and perhaps slightly later glosses (including OHG in cryptograms), both marginal and interlinear. In the second half of the 10th century continuous commentary to 3m9 was added to a blank page (see p. ## below).[26]

E3 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 322
[10th century; Einsiedeln or St Gall.[27] Courcelle, p. 404; Troncarelli, no. 121; *CBo* 2:192–93; Tax, p. xxxiii (dating to the first half of the 10th century)] quite sparse contemporary marginal and interlinear glosses, a few in OHG, but some sections hardly glossed at all.

Er1 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 378
[11th century; later at Heilsbronn. Troncarelli, no. 58] scattered 11th-century glossing and a 14th-century marginal commentary.

Es El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, E.II.1
[later 10th or early 11th century; perhaps written in England.[28] Was at Horton in Dorset in the later 11th century, the gift of Ælfgyth "gode" (1r), and then in France. Troncarelli, no. 105] extensive contemporary glossing, marginal (trimmed by a binder) and interlinear.

F1 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plute014.15
[early 9th century; Auxerre, later Fulda. Troncarelli, no. 95; *CBo* 3:83–84] glossed very lightly in the 9th century. Bischoff suggested that a Frankish hand (also found in On, according to Rand) began the main text at Auxerre, breaking off at fol. 32v; at 33r a Fulda-type

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[25] Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 1:96–97 asserts that it is from Einsiedeln.

[26] Edited by Robert B.C. Huygens, "Mittelalterliche Kommentare zum *O qui perpetua* [...]," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 373–427, at pp. 400–04.

[27] Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 1:122–23.

[28] T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), pp. xxv and 18, identified this scribe's work in other manuscripts, but without locating the group.

script begins.[29] Corrections and annotations are reminiscent of the habits of Servatus Lupus of Ferrières and it may be that Lupus took this book with him when he went to study at Fulda in about 829.

F2 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 170
[10th century; left to San Marco by the Renaissance humanist Niccolò de Niccoli (d. 1437).[30] *CBo* 3:145–46] contemporary glosses throughout (interlinear and marginal); glosses to 3m9 were copied out continuously on fol. 29r–v (immediately following the meter itself).

F3 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 78.19
[11th or early 12th century. Courcelle, p. 304; Troncarelli, no. 96; *Cbo* 3:97–98] glossed throughout (marginal and interlinear) by the scribe of the main text who wrote Gaelic National minuscule script; glosses sometimes framed in red. Incorporates the commentary on 3m9 by Adalbold of Utrecht (see p. ## below).

G St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 844
[later 9th century; St Gall. Courcelle, pp. 270–71 (dating 10th century); Troncarelli, no. 122; *CBo* 2:206–07; Tax, p. xxxiii (dating the glossing as 10th-century)] glosses throughout (interlinear and marginal, some in OHG, some in frames), both contemporary and slightly later, regarded by Tax as having been copied from those in N. Bischoff believed that this book was bequeathed to St Gall by Abbot Grimbald in 872.[31]

G1 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 845
[10th century; St Gall. Courcelle, p. 404; Tax, p. xxxiii (dating 11th century, second quarter)] *glossae collectae* for the whole text, with abbreviated lemmata, incomplete at the end. Supplemented with glossing between the lines, including OHG in cryptograms.

Ge Formerly Cologny (Geneva), Foundation Martin Bodmer, Cod. 175

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[29] Bernhard Bischoff, "Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung," in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1966–81), 3:55–72, at p. 63. See also Edmund K. Rand, "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orléans," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 70 (1939), 327–41. The codex can be viewed online in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana's TECA Digitale (http://teca.bmlonline.it).

[30] Niccolò produced a list—his *Commentarium in peregrinatione Germaniae*—of books he knew could be found in libraries in Germany (and presumably hoped to acquire), and this includes, as being at Fulda, a copy of the *Consolatio*; see R.P. Robinson, "The Inventory of Niccolò Niccoli," *Classical Philology* 16 (1921), 251–55, at p. 253. But there seems no way of knowing whence the San Marco copy came.

[31] "Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt," in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3:187–212 at pp. 193–94.

[later 10th century or early 11th; Canterbury, St Augustine's or perhaps Christ Church. Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 118; *CBo* 2:185–86] contemporary glosses throughout (marginal and interlinear), often extensive.[32]

Go Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, M.II.103
[11th century; owned at Heilsbronn. Courcelle, pp. 404, 406; Troncarelli, no. 60] lightly glossed throughout (interlinear, and some marginal), in a hand (or hands) contemporary with the main text.

K1 Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Bestand 701 Nr. 759 + Trier, Stadtbibliothek 5
[third quarter of the 9th century; West Germany.[33] Tax, pp. xxxiv and xxxvii] two contiguous folios containing 1p1–1p3.1 and another folio with part of 1p4, with contemporary and later glossing (marginal and interlinear, including about a dozen in OHG).

La Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 439
[9th century; Saint-Germain-des-Près then at Laon. Troncarelli, no. 14] an incomplete copy (starts at 2m5.78), with some dislocation of text; light 9th- and 10th-century glossing (mainly interlinear), sometimes using Tyronian notes.

L London, British Library, Additional 15601 (fols 16v–59r)
[late 10th or 11th century; at Avignon (Convent of the Celestines) by the 14th century. Troncarelli, no. 83; *CBo* 1:112–13] *glossae collectae* (without lemmata, not even abbreviated ones) to 1–3m9.22 (on fols 1r–16v), followed, in the same hand, by a lightly glossed (mostly interlinear) copy of the text.

L1 London, British Library, Additional 19726
[later 10th or early 11th century; Germany, possibly Tegernsee. *CBo* 1:117–18; Troncarelli, no. 84] 11th- and 12th-century glossing, at times extensive (interlinear and marginal).

L2 London, British Library, Egerton 267, fol. 37
[later 10th century; probably Abingdon.[34] Troncarelli, no. 77; *CBo* 1:131] a single folio with early 11th-century glosses (1p4.122).

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[32] This manuscript was sold at Sotheby's on 5 July 2005 to a London book and art dealer, and its location is now unknown, at least to me.

[33] Two dispersed fragments, identified as coming from the same manuscript; see Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme des wisigotischen*), 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998–2004), 1:385 (no. 1865). The Trier fragment is kept with T1, another Boethius fragment, under the same shelf-mark.

[34] Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 13.

L4 London, British Library, Harley 3095
[late 9th or early 10th century; later at Cologne, but perhaps not always there.[35] Courcelle pp. 292–99, 407–08; Troncarelli, no. 80; *CBo* 1:144–45 (dating 9th, suggesting French provenance); Tax, pp. xxxiv and xlii] contemporary glosses throughout, often extensive (interlinear and marginal, including some fifty in OHG). Immediately following 3m9 (glossed), there are two distinct continuous commentaries to that meter (see pp. ## below), the first of which has had other marginal glosses attached to its lemmata. Then the main text and glossing resume.

L7 London, British Library, Harley 2685
[last quarter of 9th century or early 10th; Eastern France or Germany, later at Cologne. Troncarelli, no. 78; *CBo* 1:140–41] 10th- and 11th-century glossing, but mainly on fols 1r–3r, thereafter only occasionally.

L9 London, British Library, Arundel 514
[later 9th or early 10th century; in Mainz (Carthusians) at some point. Troncarelli, no. 76 (dated 11th-century); *CBo* 1:126–27; Tax, p. xxxv] within a large compilation, a glossed fragment consisting of two quaternions (covering 4p6.151 to 5p4.92 and then, after that, 3p2.16 to 3m9.24). As well as roughly contemporary Latin glossing, has some 370 glosses in OHG, the highest density of any surviving manuscript.

Ma1 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. lat. 4°, 939 (formerly Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4°, 939, formerly Maihingen, Bibliotheca Wallersteiniana, I, 2, lat. 4°, 3)
[end of 10th century; Cologne then Tegernsee.[36] Courcelle, p. 404; Troncarelli, no. 61; Tax, p. xxxvi and xlii] fols 3–57 written by Froumund (fl. *c.*960–1008), at Cologne, and brought to Tegernsee, according to a colophon on 3r. Extensive contemporary glossing throughout (interlinear and marginal, including about 100 in OHG).

Ma Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. lat. 4°, 939 (formerly Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4°, 939, formerly Maihingen, Bibliotheca Wallersteiniana, I, 2, lat. 4°, 3)

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[35] Michel Huglo, "Remarques sur un manuscrit de la 'Consolatio Philosophiae' (London, British Library, Harleian 3095)," *Scriptorium* 45 (1991), 288–94, suggests Essen.

[36] Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 1:424–25, suggesting *c.*990.

[mid-11th century; Tegernsee.[37] Courcelle, p. 405; Tax, pp. xxxvi and xlii] fols 6or–112v contain *glossae collectae* for the whole work, with abbreviated lemmata.

M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14836
[11th century; Germany, owned at St Emmeram, Regensburg. Courcelle, p. 405] glosses to 3m9 only, bound with a number of scientific treatises, including three by Hermann of Reichenau (Hermannus Contractus, d. 1054).[38]

M1 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19452
[early 11th century; Germany, later at Tegernsee. Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 67; Tax, p. xxxv (suggesting Tegernsee origin)] glossed (marginal and interlinear, just a few in OHG) by contemporary hands. Incomplete at the end.

M2 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 18765
[middle of 9th century; West Germany? St Gall? Later at Tegernsee. Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 66 (suggesting early 9th century); Tax, p. xxxv] 9th- and 10th-century glossing throughout (marginal and interlinear, including some in OHG). Contains a lacuna, which was filled in the 11th century (possibly on the basis of Ma1).

M3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14324
[9th century or early 10th;[39] Regensburg, St Emmeram. Troncarelli, no. 62; Tax, p. xxxvi] has some text missing in Book 4 and lacks the end of Book 5; contemporary glossing (marginal and interlinear, with a few in OHG).

M4 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15825
[early 11th century; Salzburg. Troncarelli, no. 64; Tax, p. xxxvi] glossed copy (marginal and interlinear, some in OHG), followed by *glossae collectae* (to 5p1–5m4).

Mi1 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 31 sup.
[later 9th or early 10th century; later at Bobbio. Troncarelli, no. 97; *CBo* 3:214–15] incomplete at both ends, beginning in 1p4 and ending at 5m4.40; glossed, sometimes extensively (interlinear and marginal), roughly contemporary as well as later.

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[37] Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 1:424–25.

[38] Karl Halm, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 4, part 2 (Munich, 1876), pp. 240–41.

[39] Bischoff, *Katalog*, 2:253 (no. 3153) suggested third quarter of the 9th; Bieler, in his CCSL edition (p. xiv) dated it late 10th or early 11th; and Moreschini in his Teubner edition, as 10th (p. xiv).

Mi2 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N 192 sup.
[11th century. Troncarelli, no. 98; *CBo* 3:219–20] fly-leaves (two bifolia) to a much later book; contains parts of books 4 and 5, with glosses.

N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.G.68
[last quarter of 9th century, or *c*.900; St Gall.[40] Courcelle pp. 275–78; Troncarelli, no. 99; *CBo* 3:254–56; Tax, p. xxxvi] glossed throughout (marginal and interlinear, some in OHG) in hands roughly contemporary with the main text (possibly even by the same hand), with some marginal glosses in frames.

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F.1.15 (2455)
[second half of 10th century; St Augustine's Canterbury, in the later 11th century given by Bishop Leofric to Exeter, where neumes were added.[41] Troncarelli, no. 85 (dating 11th century); *CBo* 1:178–79] glossed around the year 1000 (interlinear and marginal, some in OE), apparently by a Christ Church (Canterbury) scribe, and again in the second half of the 11th century, perhaps at Exeter. The glossing is extensive throughout Book 1, then disappears until 3m9 and from 5p2 to 5m4.

O2 Oxford, Corpus Christi College 74
[early 11th century. Troncarelli, no. 88; *CBo* 1:223–24] contemporary glosses, marginal and interlinear; laid out with generous margins yet the glossing is relatively sparse.

O3 Oxford, Merton College, E.3.12
[later 10th or early 11th century. Troncarelli, no. 93; *CBo* 1:236–37 (suggesting continental origin)] a pastedown (now detached) of two consecutive leaves with fragments of 5p4 and 5m4, glossed by same scribe as main text. From the same book as fragments found as a pastedowns in York, Minster Library 7 N.10 (currently lost), containing 5p1 and 5p3.[42]

O4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 174 (1775), fol. iii
[9th century; possibly in England before 1100 and maybe from Canterbury (St Augustine's?). Courcelle, pp. 186, 408; Troncarelli, no. 89

[40] See Edmund T. Silk, "Notes on Two Neglected Manuscripts of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*," in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 70 (1939), 352–56.

[41] Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, no. 9.

[42] Neil R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings: With a Survey of Oxford Binding c.1515–1620* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 167 and 179.

(dating 10th century); *CBo* 1:193–95 (dating 9th)] glossed fragment as the second fly-leaf (a bifolium containing 5p5.32 to 5p6.2.). The glossing is contemporary and then also 13th-century.

On Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 270 (226)
[9th century; Fleury, written in about 825.[43] Troncarelli, no. 19] 9th- and perhaps also 10th-century glossing, sometimes using tyronian notes. Regarded as one of the best copies of the *Consolatio*, and often reckoned the earliest. The metrical commentary attributed to Lupus of Ferrières occurs in the margins in a contemporary hand.

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6401A
[*c*.1000;[44] Christ Church, Canterbury, but reached France (Saint-Vaast or Arras?) in the 11th century. Courcelle, p. 406; Troncarelli, no. 26] contemporary glosses, marginal and interlinear, at times extensive but always clear and orderly.

P3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8039 (fols 51r–77v)
[later 9th or early 10th century; France. Courcelle, p. 406; Troncarelli, no. 32] glossing broadly contemporary, terminating during Book 1, so that some pages thereafter have no annotation; *glossae collectae* with abbreviated lemmata for 3m9.13 onwards occur at fols 63v–64v, immediately following the meter itself.

P4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8308
[11th century;[45] France? Courcelle, p. 406] sparsely glossed mainly by the same hand as the text; glosses for 3m9.13 onwards were copied out continuously after the meter, with abbreviated lemmata.

P5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12961
[11th century, second half; France, ended up at St-Germain-des-Près. Courcelle, p. 406; Troncarelli, no. 37] contemporary and later glossing, marginal and interlinear, throughout.

P6 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14380

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[43] Described by E.J. Daly in "An Early Ninth Century Manuscript of Boethius," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 205–19; see also Rand, "Prickings."

[44] Francis Wormald, "Anglo-Saxon Initials in a Paris Boethius Manuscript," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 105 (1963), 63–70, argues for this dating.

[45] The manuscript also contains Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, in the same hand (or a close contemporary), with a long gloss by the main scribe consisting of a treatise on gemstones, very similar to the prose lapidary attributed to Marbod of Rennes (*c*.1035–1123); see John M. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes' (1035–1123) De lapidibus: Considered as a Medical Treatise* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 125–29 (not mentioning this manuscript). Not all scholars agree with the attribution to Marbod, but if this gloss is related to that text, it suggests a later 11th-century date for the manuscript as a whole.

[late 10th century; Christ Church, Canterbury, later at Saint-Victor in Paris. Courcelle, pp. 406, 410; Troncarelli, no. 39 (dating 11th century)] contemporary glossing, marginal and interlinear, consistent and full throughout.

P7 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15090
[10th century; St-Evre, Toul. Courcelle, pp. 56–65, 122; Troncarelli, no. 40] extensively glossed throughout in the 10th century (interlinear and marginal), and also later.

P8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16093
[11th century; in the 15th century was at Scillon near Bourg-en-Bresse. Courcelle, p. 406; Troncarelli, no. 41] 11th-century glossing throughout (marginal and interlinear).

P9 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17814
[later 10th century; probably Christ Church, Canterbury.[46] Courcelle p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 44] heavily glossed, with the original orderly marginal and interlinear glosses supplemented early (sometimes repeating the same gloss), and then added to substantially in the 15th century, resulting in rather chaotic page features. Last folio lost.

P10 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 1478
[later 10th or early 11th century; France, perhaps Cluny (it was certainly there later). Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 45 (dating 10th century, last third)] untidily glossed throughout (marginal and interlinear), broadly contemporary with the main text.

P11 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6639
[10th century; owned by Gui, archbishop of Lyon, in the 10th century, later at Puy. Troncarelli, no. 28] glossed throughout (margins and interlinear, though on some pages only sparsely) in roughly contemporary script.

P12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7183
[later 10th or early 11th century; was at St Denis (Paris) at some point. Troncarelli, no. 30] lacks the early part of Book 1; scattered glosses contemporary with the main text (interlinear and some marginal), most in evidence against 3m9 and the remainder of Book 3, and again at 5p6.

P13 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6401

[46] Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. xxvi.

[later 10th or early 11th century; taken from England to Fleury, or more likely written at Fleury by an English scribe.[47] Troncarelli, no. 25] the merest handful of glosses, contemporary with the main text.

P14 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13953
[late 10th century; Germany, Corbie or Auxerre, and then at St-Germain-des-Près. Tax, p. xxxvii] *glossae collectae* (including OHG in cryptograms) for the whole text, with abbreviated lemmata.[48]

P15 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7181
[9th century, second half; France. Troncarelli, no. 29] has a lacuna in Book 3 and lacks the end of Book 5; just a few scattered marginal glosses.

P16 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6402
[later 11th or early 12th century; acquired by Charles Maurice Le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims (d. 1710). Courcelle, p. 406 (dating 12th century); Troncarelli, no. 27] contemporary interlinear and marginal glossing throughout.

P17 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16678
[11th century. Troncarelli, no. 42] incomplete copy with some disordering of folios and just a few glosses, confined to what remains of Book 1.

P20 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10400
[10th century. Troncarelli, no. 34; Courcelle, p. 290] a fragment (4p7, 4m7, and 5p1 to 5p3.26) with extensive and chaotic contemporary glossing.

Po Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein, Gräflich Schönborn'sche Schlossbibliothek 39 (2786)
[11th century. Tax, p. xxxvii] contemporary glosses (interlinear and marginal, including two in OHG).

Se Séléstat, Bibliothèque Humaniste et Archives de la Ville 93
[11th century; at Séléstat (north-east France) by the 14th century. Troncarelli, no. 47] 11th- and 12th-century glossing throughout (interlinear and marginal), sometimes extensive. Lacks the end of Book 5.

St1 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Va 5

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[47] Includes illustrations thought to be typically English: see Jean Vezin, "Leofnoth: un scribe anglais à St Benoît-sur-Loire," *Codices Manuscripti* 3 (1977), 109–20, at p. 110.

[48] These glosses have recently been printed by Papahagi, "*Glossae Collectae*."

[11th century; possibly southwest France, perhaps at Vienne early on. Troncarelli, no. 109; *CBo* 2:156–57] contemporary marginal glosses arranged in triangles and lozenge shapes, and some interlinear glossing, on most pages. Loss of text in books 3 and 4.

T Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1093
[10th century, last quarter; Echternach. Courcelle, pp. 241, 405; Troncarelli, no. 68 (dating 11th century); Tax, p. xxxvii] contemporary glossing throughout (marginal and interlinear, including thirteen in OHG), often copious.

T1 Trier, Stadtbibliothek 5
[later 9th or early 10th century, West Germany?] a single folio containing part of 3m2 and 3p3, with glossing (interlinear and marginal).[49]

To Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 803
[9th century; possibly always at Tours.[50] Troncarelli, no. 51] roughly contemporary glossing (marginal and interlinear), sometimes quite crowded.

V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 1592
[11th century, possibly 12th; Italy? Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 132; *CBo* 3:534–35] glossed in the 11th century and later (interlinear and some marginal), mainly in Book 1 and sporadically thereafter.

V1 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3363
[9th century, first half;[51] written in the Loire region, possibly Fleury or Orléans, later in Wales, Cornwall or Brittany, then England. Courcelle, pp. 269–70; Troncarelli, no. 133;[52] *CBo* 3:554–56] glossing contemporary with the main text, then glossed in a hand with Celtic features, in the later 9th century, and glossed again, in more than one hand, in mid-10th-century England (Glastonbury?). A lacuna in the text at 1p1.36–1m2.17.

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[49] This folio has the same shelf-mark at Trier as the bifolium identified as being part of K1, but it is in a different script with a different page layout.

[50] See Edmund K. Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours. I. A Survey of the Manuscripts at Tours* (Cambridge, MA, 1929), pp. 73–75 and 193–94.

[51] Bernhard Bischoff, "Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3:39–54, at p. 40 no. 4. Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989), p. 252, dates more narrowly to the early 9th century.

[52] For extensive details on this manuscript, see Fabio Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute. La Conslatio Philosophiae nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1981), pp. 137–96; and Malcolm Godden, "Alfred, Asser, and Boethius," in *Latin Learning and English Lore. Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005), 1: 326–48.

V2 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3865
[last third of the 9th century; France, possibly Brittany? Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 134; *CBo* 3:557] glossing mainly in the same hand as the text, interlinear and marginal throughout, occasionally extensive. Incomplete at the end (from 4p4.22), supplemented in the 15th century.

V4 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5956
[10th century or early 11th. Courcelle pp. 292–96 and 407; Troncarelli, no. 135; *CBo* 3:565–66] glossed throughout (interlinear and marginal) often densely, some of it broadly contemporary, some much later. Followed by a distinct continuous commentary to 3m9 (see p. ## below).

V5 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1581
[10th century; later at Lorsch.[53] Courcelle, p. 405; Troncarelli, no. 124; *CBo* 3:469–70 (suggesting later 10th or early 11th century); Tax, p. xxxvii] 10th-century glossing (marginal and interlinear), at times very full.

Va Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 298
[11th century; owned at St Amand, and perhaps written there. Troncarelli, no. 52] extensive 11th-century glossing throughout (interlinear and marginal), largely in the same hand as the main text.

W1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 271
[later 9th or early 10th century; south Germany, later at Reichenau, but perhaps also written there, or at St Gall. Troncarelli, no. 4; *CBo* 2:76 (suggesting 10th-century Reichenau); Tax, p. xxxviii (identifying the hand as Tegernsee)] glossing (interlinear and marginal, including over a hundred in OHG) contemporary with the main text and perhaps also a little later.

W2 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 242
[11th century; perhaps Reichenau; came into the possession of the Augustinians at Regensburg. Courcelle, p. 406; Troncarelli, no. 3 and *CBo* 2:75 (both dating 12th century); Tax, p. xxxviii (dating first third of the 11th century, and suggesting St Gall)[54]] contemporary glosses which terminate quickly during Book 1, apart from 3m9 and for phrases in Greek.

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[53] Bernhard Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Munich, 1974), pp. 88, 116–17.

[54] Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 1:396 suggests 11th-century St Gall.

Wa1 Washington, DC, Library of Congress 118 no. 7
[9th century] glossed fragment containing parts of Book 5.

Two manuscripts were referred to by earlier scholars but have since been lost, due to the ravages of the Second World War. The first is Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek 175, which Peiper reported as being of the 9th or 10th century, and as incomplete.[55] The other is Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 377, dated to the late 10th or early 11th century.[56]

One Hundred and Twenty Years of Scholarship on the Boethian Commentaries: Some Preliminary Observations

There is a divide between those scholars who have examined the manuscripts of the *Consolatio* in order to establish Boethius's text and those interested in its reception and thus in the glossing. Claudio Moreschini, in the introduction to the second edition of his Teubner Boethius, observed that he had neither wished nor been able to enquire into the medieval commentaries.[57] In doing this, he followed his predecessors, reasoning with them that the commentaries could only bring something of use to textual criticism if they showed knowledge of manuscripts older than their own day. Thus, to the editor of the main text, the glossing remains so much clutter on the page. Yet, all of the oldest copies of the *Consolatio* that editors have regarded as authoritative contain glossing of some kind, and the glosses were undoubtedly often transmitted with the main text, copied by scribes from their exemplar, sometimes even reproducing the layout of marginal glosses and the systems of *signes de renvoi*, or call-signs, which match each gloss to the relevant word or phrase in the text. This phenomenon is by no means peculiar to the works of Boethius.[58] The evidence also implies a transmission more complex than that of the main text, namely, that the glosses have a life that is independent of the main

[55] Rudolf Peiper, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolationis libri quinque* (Leipzig, 1871), p. vii; cf. Weinberger, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii*, p. xv; and Hans Naumann, *Notkers Boethius: Untersuchungen über Quellen und Stil* (Strassburg, 1913), pp. 14 and 21–22. Courcelle, p. 406 dated it as 10th or early 11th century.

[56] Weinberger, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii*, p. xvii; Courcelle, p. 404. See also Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*, p. 3.

[57] Claudio Moreschini, ed., *Boethius. De Consolatione Philosophiae. Opuscula Theologica*, 2nd edn (Munich, 2005), p. xvi.

[58] Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts," pp. 124–25, surveying glossed manuscripts of Christian-Latin poetry, concluded that the glosses were transmitted with the texts.

text, either when copied as *glossae collectae* or simply through the process by which scribes compared more than one glossed copy of the *Consolatio* and added glosses to those inherited from their first exemplar. Hence, a manuscript may transmit a gloss related to a variant reading of the main text that is not the reading actually offered by that manuscript. Just one example should exemplify this: 4m3 recounts the transformation of Odysseus's men into pigs at the hands of the sorceress Circe; at lines 25–26, Boethius described the men thus: *et nihil manet integrum / uoce corpore perditis* [and nothing remains intact, with voice and body lost]. Several of the earliest witnesses here read *praeditis* [endowed] for *perditis*, including V1, which then has this word glossed as *.i. ditatis. sc. antea* [that is, endowed with; namely previously]. A small group of English manuscripts (C4 Ge Es), while transmitting the correct reading of *perditis* nevertheless gloss the word with *sc. ditatis ante*, possibly under the influence of V1. Obviously this somehow still works as a gloss for *perditis*, because people can only lose something if they were previously endowed with it, yet one suspects that the origin of the gloss is a copy that had the faulty reading.

Successive editors of the *Consolatio* have commented on the high degree of contamination in its textual transmission, whereby such distinct families of witnesses as are identifiable on the basis of shared readings constantly seem to have intermarried. This contrasts with the situation for Boethius's *Opuscula sacra*, not least because the latter are preserved in fewer manuscripts and did not enjoy the same extraordinary popularity.[59] If this is the case for the main text, then the difficulties presented by so-called contamination are even greater for the glosses: where medieval scholars tangled the lines of transmission for the main text by comparing copies of the *Consolatio*, it is likely that they did so just as much, possibly more, for the accompanying annotation. Two forces work to complicate the situation, the first being that while scribes, to the best of their ability, would have copied Boethius's own words with the care due to any ancient author, glosses are a far more fluid species of text, treated with an attitude, characterized by one scholar as "*pietätlos*" [lacking in respect], which is entirely happy to expand, to alter and rephrase, to abbreviate, even to contradict.[60] The second force we have already noted, namely, the strong impulse to accumulate ever more annotation, as if to capture knowledge. This process can be seen very clearly in manuscripts which

[59] Moreschini, *Boethius*, pp. ix–x.
[60] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, p. 20.

transmit more than one version of the same gloss, sometimes both copied in the same hand, sometimes overlaid by different hands working subsequently on the text.

Other manuscripts show glosses written by a single hand which seem to be a compilation from disparate sources offering subtly different, complementary, or even conflicting opinions. One example will suffice to show the effect of this. *Consolatio* 2m1.2 describes the twists and turns of Fortune, "borne like the raging Evripos" ("*aestuantis more fertur Euripi*"). C4, a manuscript written not long after the year 1000, has in left and right margins a sequence of glosses linked to this line, all copied by a single hand, offering a variety of responses to this reference to the tidal currents of the Evripos Strait (between ancient Euboea and the Greek mainland); every word of this glossing is paralleled in at least one other witness, sometimes in just a small group of English manuscripts, sometimes in many manuscripts of diverse origins:

> *aestuantis more fertur Euripi*: in the manner of water foaming up in channels. The *Euripi* are those which especially rise and froth up when the moon is waxing. *Euripus* is a sea fish-pond [a mistake for the word *sea-estuary*] which occurs according to the waxing and waning of the moon, and indeed when it is great it is called *Malina* and when less, *Ledona*. Or some call it a man-made pool. Alternatively, estuaries of the sea which are moved according to the moon's course, or aqueducts, or artificially made pools which are wont to be stirred naturally by the blowing of the winds. *Euripi*: maritime rivers are also called *ni maritimi* [?]. *Euripi* is the proper name of a man who killed his father on his mother's behalf, whom he himself killed.[61]

Here we see some glossing that reflects a broad understanding of what Boethius was actually referring to, the Evripos Strait, presented in two distinct versions, together with the dim recollection that man-made water-courses acquired this name too (in particular, one which Suetonius reports was constructed by Caesar at the Circus Maximus in Rome, to keep spectators and wild animals apart). The connection of the word with

[61] "*more* [written by mistake as *in ore* ('*in the mouth*'), an error shared by two other witnesses] *aque exaestuantis in canalibus euripi sunt qui tunc maxime aestuant atque ebulliunt dum luna in incremento est. Euripus est uiuarium* [*est uiuarium* is a mistake *for estuarium*, correct only in three out of some 18 witnesses] *maris quod fit secundum incrementum et detrimentum lunae et maius quidem malina minus Ledona uocatur. uelut quidam dicunt piscinam manu factam. Aliter, aestuarii maris qui secundum cursum lunae aguntur uel aqueductus et piscinae opere facte quae solent flatu uentium naturaliter moueri. Euripi flumina maritima etiam ni maritimi dicuntur. Euripi proprium nomen qui patrem suum interficit pro matre quam occidit ipse.*"

a parricide of that name may well derive from confusion with the tragedian Euripides. Prefacing her analysis of glosses on Prudentius, Sinéad O'Sullivan summarizes very aptly the tensions at play in such material, observing that glosses "offer an accumulation of knowledge and ideas frozen in time. In this sense, they appear to provide the historian with a valuable moment of stasis. However, they offer a snapshot of process," and she also notes that "the discovery of a normative text is alien to the study of glosses."[62]

Such compilation, even though an apparent hindrance to all attempts to identify a single agency behind any one strand of glossing, offers an extremely interesting insight into the attitudes underlying this kind of scholastic activity, and into the dialogue that surrounded works such as the *Consolatio*. Thus it seems hardly appropriate to apply textual criticism's judgmental discourse of "contamination" to the glossing tradition: such language brings with it the assumption that there were entities pure and unmixed at the start, which can and should be recovered from a hybrid deemed to be of lesser value in itself. Yet, scholarly debate has continually focused on the authorship of the "commentaries" on the *Consolatio*, as will be evident from the account which follows below. Before we move on to that, it is worth pausing to consider the mentality driving such debate.

The tradition of editing classical texts evolved with an emphasis, not unnaturally, upon the faithful reconstruction of an author's words through the tangled web of textual corruption resulting from centuries of copying. The same attitude and methods have, of course, also been applied to the editing of late antique and medieval texts, although more recently critics have challenged the notion of author as the necessary focus for an editor. An allied tendency has been the reasonable wish to assign surviving texts to a named author. It is not necessarily our purpose here to question that impulse: assuredly we enhance our knowledge of named authors by adding to the known corpus of their works, just as the ability to locate texts in time and space allows us to understand them better and to construct a narrative for the development and circulation of ideas. Nevertheless, the desire to name an author for everything seems sometimes to have driven scholars to pull scattered glosses out of manuscript context to assemble a unified commentary by one person, when those glosses may never have existed in that form, or to read a particular glossed manuscript as the

[62] O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

finished product of an identified author when it is simply one link in a chain transmitting layers of glosses from diverse sources. Writing of scholarship on the Boethian commentaries, Troncarelli described the impulse to force scattered glosses into a neat and well-defined whole.[63] The same point has been made consistently by Malcolm Godden in the course of analysing the glossing that may have contributed to the Old English translation of the *Consolatio*, and on the tradition more generally.[64] Likewise, after more than 30 years of working with the Boethian glosses, Joseph Wittig has reached much the same position, of seeing the work of many almost indistinguishable hands.[65] Yet, to abandon the certainty of an identified author for the glossing on the *Consolatio* should not diminish the very great interest in the material as a record of sustained and lively engagement with the text and with the often extraneous lore that was drawn into its orbit, by generations of medieval readers.

We should conclude this section with one final thought about the problems facing research into the commentaries on Boethius's work. Editors of the *Consolatio* have commented on the large number of copies in existence but have been able, each in their turn, to find a reasonable justification for limiting their collation, on the grounds that later copies have nothing more to contribute to reconstructing the author's text.[66] But for those interested in the reception of that text, there can be no grounds for disregarding any one copy. The earliest scholarship on the commentaries was hindered by the number of manuscripts accessible to any one individual, as well as by the lack of adequate library catalogues. Although it is marvelous to read that in the early 20th century Hugh Stewart was able to have a 10th-century Trier manuscript brought to him in Cambridge for his convenience,[67] only now is it possible to sit at one's desk with digital images of countless manuscripts, or to assemble a searchable full collation of their glosses. We shall have cause to note how scholars' conclusions were occasionally affected by judging from the particular manuscript which they had before them.

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[63] Troncarelli, "*Per una ricerca*," p. 366.

[64] Reflections now well summarized in Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:7–8, noting that the material consists of "highly fluid compilations of glosses and scholia, continually supplemented and adapted over a long period, rather than 'a commentary.'"

[65] Wittig, "'Remigian' Glosses," p. 183.

[66] Bieler, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, p. xiii; and Moreschini, *Boethius*, p. xii.

[67] H.F. Stewart, "A Commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1916), 22–42, at p. 23.

By extension, it also has been a hindrance that, with so many surviving manuscripts, a complete edition of the glossing to the *Consolatio* has always seemed out of reach. Thus attempts at an overview have applied the method of sampling, examining the glossing upon a slice of the *Consolatio*, as it were—a selected meter or prose section—across many manuscripts. That approach is problematic insofar as a preliminary observation from collating the whole work in nearly 50 manuscripts is that there can be no guarantee of consistency in annotation across the five books of the *Consolatio* in any given copy: some manuscripts have patchy annotation, say only the first half; or only Books 3 and 5; or, more troublingly, the glossing can sometimes be observed to change in its general affiliation to this or that group of other witnesses, presumably because of glossators' inclination to compare multiple copies in the quest for new information about the text. Another problem is that glosses were sometimes misplaced by those who copied them from an exemplar, assigned them to the wrong portion of the main text, or otherwise jumbled them; thus, if one's focus is on a limited stretch of text, such glosses can easily be overlooked. In sum, then, the advances of modern technology have allowed a remarkable degree of access to the material and greater clarity about which glossing is common to which manuscripts and how much is unique, even if at the same time—at least on present showing—the net effect may be to blur the neat distinctions that earlier scholars believed they had drawn between commentaries by this or that author.

Early Editors and the Transmission of the *Consolatio*

The first critical edition of the *Consolatio* was published in 1871 by Rudolf Peiper for Teubner, using 14 witnesses. Then Georg Schepss began work on an edition for Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, first publishing a preliminary study of the manuscripts.[68] Schepss's incomplete work passed into the care of August Engelbrecht and then of Wilhelm Weinberger. Neither lived to see the final publication of the edition, which eventually was completed by Edmund Hauler, with assistance from Ludwig Bieler, in 1934 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum [CSEL] 67). In the years between the start of Schepss' work and the 1934

[68] "Handschriftliche Studien zu Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae," *Jahresbericht über die Königlichen Studienanstalt zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1880–1* (Würzburg, 1881).

publication, Hugh F. Stewart and Edward Rand produced an edition with facing translation for the Loeb series, in 1918. Bieler, meanwhile, had continued to work on the text, and in 1957 he produced an edition for Corpus Christianorum (Series Latina), reprinted posthumously in 1984. Finally, a new Teubner edition of the *Consolatio* and the *Opuscula Theologica* (*Opuscula sacra*) was published, as already noted, by Claudio Moreschini in 2000 (with a second revised edition in 2005). Successive editions widened the basis for establishing the text, but from early on, it had become clear that, even in the case of the key witnesses, few direct relationships could be proven or clear groupings identified. What also emerged quickly was the presence of corrupt readings all across the surviving manuscripts, suggesting their descent from one faulty parent. Judging from the nature of those corruptions, Weinberger concluded that not long after the work's composition, a copy was made in the 6th century with the meters in capital letters, and the prose in another type of high-grade script (uncials); from this a copy was made in 8th-century France, in cursive (minuscule) script. This situation was believed to account adequately for corruptions which occur in all subsequent copies, caused by the misunderstanding of certain letter-forms.[69] In his first edition, Bieler suggested that in the 6th century, Cassiodorus had presided over an archetype from which the minuscule copy was made.[70] Thus, all surviving manuscripts were deemed to have descended from two archetypes, one ancient, the other rather younger. The most recent editor, Moreschini, has taken a more economical view, positing a copy made in the 7th or 8th century from the ancient archetype, imitating its use of capitals for the meters but using minuscules for the prose sections; that is, a copy containing *within itself* a mixture of capitals and minuscules. At the same time, he suggested that under the aegis of Cassiodorus, or in the following century, two, perhaps three, parallel "editions" of the *Consolatio* were in circulation, the ancestors of all surviving copies.[71]

It will be seen below that the notion of a Cassiodorean "scholarly edition" may have some significance for our study of commentary on the

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[69] (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum) 67 (Wien, 1934), p. xxii.

[70] Ludwig Bieler, "Vorbemerkungen zu einer Neu-ausgabe der *Consolatio* des Boethius," *Wiener Studien* 70 (1957), 11–21, at p. 15.

[71] *Boethius*, p. xiii; and "Studi sulla tradizione manoscritta della Consolatio Philosophiae e degli Opuscula Theologica di Boezio," in Moreschini, *Varia Boethiana* (Naples, 2003), pp. 77–134, at 130–31. With this conjecture, Moreschini is following Troncarelli, who advanced these theories in *Tradizioni Perdute*, p. 131, restated in *Boethiana Aetas*, pp. 42–43.

Consolatio. Another aspect of the editors' analysis of the textual transmission also is relevant, namely the tendency to distinguish two main branches of transmission, namely a French family (headed by On and To) and a much larger Germanic one (comprising early copies such as F1, G, M2, and N). This division is based more on the ultimate homes of the manuscripts than the point of origin for the two branches, since, as Moreschini has pointed out, the "Germanic" family descends from an ancestor written somewhere in France.[72] Nevertheless, it a similar geographical division that also has given shape, for good or ill, to the standard account of the Boethian commentaries, which distinguishes between two principal traditions of glossing, to which we now turn.[73]

Earlier Scholarship on the Glosses on the *Consolatio*: A Commentary Attributed to Remigius of Auxerre

Acknowledgement of the text's annotators goes back to the first editors. Peiper printed the brief treatise on Boethius's meters believed to have been composed by Lupus of Ferrières (*c*.805–62).[74] It is sometimes transmitted in more or less complete form alongside the *Consolatio*, or else excerpts from it occur as marginal glosses alongside the relevant meters. Peiper also published the various *Vitae* of Boethius and the epitaphs and eulogies which accompany his works in many manuscripts, but he felt that the glossing was beyond his remit and gave only a summary of named commentators from the 11th century onwards.[75] With his account of this

[72] Moreschini, *Boethius*, p. ix; and "Studi sulla tradizione," p. 106.

[73] Summaries of scholarship on the commentary tradition can be found in Jacqueline Beaumont, "The Latin Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 178–305 (282–95); Christine Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen: Die Bearbeitung der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' durch Notker Teutonicus zwischen Tradition und Innovation* (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 44–49; Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius," pp. 158–63; Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*, p. xxx; Lodi Nauta, "The *Consolation*: The Latin Commentary Tradition, 800–1700," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 255–78; and in Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:5–8.

[74] Peiper, ed., *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae consolationis libri qvinqve*, pp. xxv–xxviiii; see also the full discussion by Virginia Brown, "Lupus of Ferrieres on the Meters of Boethius," in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900. Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. J.J. O'Meara and B. Naumann (Leiden, 1978), pp. 63–79.

[75] The *Vitae* and epitaphs are printed in Bieler, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii*, pp. xxviii–xxxxi, with the notes on later commentators at pp. xxxxi–xxxxvi.

material Schepss sought to cut a path for future work on a subject which he regarded as "*terra incognita*."[76]

Already well before the publication of the 1918 Loeb edition, one of its editors, Edward Rand, published two commentaries on Boethius's *Opuscula sacra*, which he attributed to the Irishman, John Scotus Eriugena (*c*.800–*c*.877), and to Remigius of Auxerre (fl. 841–*c*.908).[77] Although his overall conclusions were later questioned, in that volume Rand did draw attention to the naming of Remigius as author of the glosses on the *Consolatio* in T, at folio 115v "*INCIPIT EXPOSITIO IN LIBRO BOETII DE CONSOLATIONE PHYLOSOPHIAE REMIGII AUTISSIODORENSIS MAGISTRI*" [Here begins the Exposition of Boethius's Book on the Consolation of Philosophy, by Master Regmigius of Auxerre].

The glosses also began to come under scrutiny from the perspective of those primarily interested in vernacular reflexes of the *Consolatio*, particularly in German (by Notker III of St Gall) and Old English (traditionally linked to the court of King Alfred).[78] Hans Naumann's work on the sources available to Notker around the year 1000 led him to expand Schepss's investigation into copies of the *Consolatio* from Germany, and with him to perceive two distinct strands of glossing.[79] Thanks to the ascription in T, which turns out to be unique, since all the early glosses otherwise travel anonymously, one of these strands was beginning to draw the name of Remigius to itself, and the other remained anonymous.[80] Naumann believed he had found further support for the ascription to Remigius in a previously unnoticed gloss in T (at fol. 146r), against 3p12.37 where Boethius had cited a phrase from the Greek pre-Socratic philosopher, Parmenides. As with most of Boethius's Greek, the manuscripts transmit what purports to be an interlinear Latin translation, and in the majority

[76] Schepss, "Handschriftliche Studien," pp. 32–39.

[77] E.K. Rand, *Johannes Scottus: I: Der Kommentar des Johannes Scottus zu den Opuscula sacra des Boethius. II: Der Kommentar des Remigius von Auxerre zu den Opuscula sacra des Boethius*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, I.2 (Munich, 1906), p. 96. Responding to criticism, Rand restated his argument in "The Supposed Commentary of John the Scot on the *Opuscula sacra* of Boethius," *Revue néoscolastique de philosophie* 36 (1934), 67–77.

[78] Georg Schepss, "Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius,'" *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 94 (1895), 149–60; Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*; and later on Kurt Otten, *King Alfreds Boethius*, (Studien zur englischen Philologie, n.f.) 3 (Tübingen, 1964).

[79] Schepss, "Handschriftliche Studien," pp. 32–33.

[80] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 1–4.

of surviving witnesses, the Greek is badly mangled.[81] The Parmenides is no exception, and several manuscripts transmit a gloss which frankly admits that this is the case. In T that gloss occurs most fully as "The explanation of the Greek verse is missing because it is utterly corrupted," and in T alone, this is preceded by the observation "According to the commentary of Remigius."[82] At the present state of knowledge, this is the only other reference to the agency of Remigius across all surviving manuscripts of the *Consolatio* from before 1100.

Another manuscript which was studied closely for the first time by Schepss and influenced the unfolding story was Ma/Ma1, a composite volume containing a glossed copy of the *Consolatio* written by Froumund of Tegernsee in about 990 (Ma1), bound together with a slightly later set of *glossae collectae* (Ma). The *glossae collectae* offer material showing some overlap with Froumund's marginal and interlinear glosses, but apparently deriving from a different source, that is, either harvested from another earlier glossed copy or copied from an earlier set of excerpted glosses.[83] These *glossae collectae* show significant overlap with the glosses in T which were beginning to be seen as a commentary by Remigius. The structure of Ma/Ma1 gives the perhaps artificial impression of two distinct traditions of glossing, though Schepss already had noticed that the difference between these two traditions is in reality far from clear. Froumund appears to have decanted all available learning into the *glossica circumscriptio*, as he called it, which he added to his copy of the *Consolatio* (i.e., Ma1), interspersing glosses from one source with those from another, which was similar to whatever was subsequently used to compile the *glossae collectae*. He thereby mingled two perhaps originally distinct strands of commentary.[84]

In exploring the attribution of the glossing in T to Remigius, Naumann had begun seeking parallels for those glosses among his known works, as well as identifying the occurrence of the same glosses in other manuscripts (Ma as well as M1, B, and W2).[85] The link between Remigius and

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[81] See Jerold C. Frakes, "The Knowledge of Greek in the Early Middle Ages: The Commentaries on Boethius," *Studi medievali* 27 (1986), 23–43.

[82] "*Explanatio Greci uersus deest quia penitus corruptus est*"; "*secundum commentum Remigii.*"

[83] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 15–16; he observes that the joining of the two parts of this codex was "coincidental."

[84] Schepss, "Handschriftliche Studien," pp. 11 and p. 33. The relevant letters by Froumund, mentioning his copies of Boethius, were printed by Karl Strecker, ed., *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae) 3 (Berlin, 1925), nos 17 and 45.

[85] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 2–9.

a commentary on the *Consolatio* was then strengthened when Rand's fellow-editor for the Loeb edition, Hugh Stewart, seemingly unaware of Naumann's work, became the first to print any of the glosses to the *Consolatio* extensively (using Ma and T, as well as C2 and Ge), describing the material explicitly as a commentary by Remigius.[86] The First World War had prevented Stewart from completing a planned full edition of the Remigian commentary, and he seems never to have returned to the project.

Rand's interest in the reception of Boethius's writings bore further fruit in the work of his student, Edmund Silk, whose attempt at editing a complete commentary to the *Consolatio* is a clear example of one of the problems highlighted above, that of undue weight given to one particular manuscript. Silk found a 12th-century copy of the *Consolatio* in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Digby 174) and, following Rand's lead, published its glosses as a commentary which he ascribed to John Scotus Eriugena, arguing for its superiority over what he saw as the pale imitation later produced by Remigius.[87] Silk's thesis was swiftly demolished in a review by the man who was at the time the major authority on Eriugena, Maïeul Cappuyns.[88] The glosses which Silk had published as John's drew in part upon a commentary on 3m9 by Adalbold, an 11th-century bishop of Utrecht (see below p. ##), and they could not, therefore, as they stood, have been composed by John in the 9th century, but must represent the same mixture of origins identifiable in many other glossed copies. Nineteen years after his book appeared, Silk was obliged to concede this point in print, but continued to maintain that his material contained a 9th-century core of Eriugenian teaching and that it served as a source for Adalbold.[89] Again his argument was rebuffed, this time by Mathon, suggesting that the commentary edited by Silk used not only Remigius and Adalbold but also the commentary by William of Conches (*c*.1080–1154).[90] A case similar to Silk's later was made by Hubert Silvestre, who thought that he had found an Eriugenian commentary on 3m9 in an 11th-century Brussels manuscript, a claim again demolished by Cappuyns.[91]

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[86] Stewart, "A Commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis."

[87] Edmund Taite Silk, *Saeculi Noni Auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae Commentarius*, (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome) (Rome, 1935).

[88] Review in *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 3 (1937), 84–85.

[89] Edmund Taite Silk, "Pseudo-Johannes Scottus, Adalbold of Utrecht, and the Early Commentaries on Boethius," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954), 1–40.

[90] Gérard Mathon, "Le Commentaire du Pseudo-Érigène sur la Consolatio Philosophiae de Boèce," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médievale* 22 (1955), 213–57, supported in a review by Maïeul Cappuyns in *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médievale* 7 (1957), 657–58.

[91] Review by Maïeul Cappuyns in *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1957), 657.

In the same year as Cappuyns's review of Silk's edition came another by a then very young French scholar, Pierre Courcelle.[92] That review makes clear how well-advanced Courcelle's own research into the manuscripts of the *Consolatio* was at that point—work which saw publication two years later, marked a crucial turning-point in the subject, and has remained profoundly influential.[93] Courcelle's was the first sustained examination of the commentary material and, thanks to his studies in Paris and then at the École de Rome, was based on a much wider range of manuscripts than had been possible for his predecessors. He built on Naumann's work by searching for parallels between the content of the glosses believed to be by Remigius and other works by that author, or thought to be by him: commentaries on Donatus, Sedulius, Martianus Capella, and on Boethius's *Opuscula sacra*.[94] One might easily argue that the authorship of some of these commentaries is no more securely identified than the glossing on the *Consolatio*; nevertheless, Courcelle adduced some verbal correspondences, which he felt suggested one mind at work. None of the parallels which Courcelle printed could be said to convince beyond all doubt, and could perhaps have arisen from a common pool of source-texts used by glossators, but his attribution of a commentary to Remigius nonetheless has been taken as a near certainty in most subsequent scholarship. While there is no reason why Remigius could *not* have commented on the *Consolatio*, it is perhaps helpful to think of his agency in terms of compilation as much as composition, and to see him as just one of many glossators. Courcelle also put aside the claims of Rand and Silk that commentaries by John Scotus Eriugena on the *Opuscula sacra* and the *Consolatio* can be recovered from surviving manuscripts and were the better-informed antecedents to Remigius's commentaries.[95] Instead, his theory was that Remigius's Boethian commentaries were composed after 900, under the influence of John's thought as encountered principally in the latter's

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[92] Review by Pierre Courcelle in *Le Moyen Age* 46 (1937), 74–75.

[93] Pierre Courcelle, "Étude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolation* de Boèce (IXe–XVe siècles)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 14 (1939), 5–140; repeated and updated in his *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris, 1967); hereafter, only the latter will be cited.

[94] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 242–44. On Remigius's known works, see Colette Jeudy, "L'œuvre de Remi d'Auxerre: État de la question," in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: de Murethach à Remi 830–908*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1991), pp. 373–97.

[95] Here he followed Maïeul Cappuyns, who had already dismantled Rand's case, in "Le plus ancien commentaire des *Opuscula sacra* et son origine," *Recherches de théologie, ancienne et médiévale* 3 (1931), 237–72.

commentary on Martianus Capella.[96] The glosses attributed to Remigius occasionally refer to "*quidam*" [some people] who have interpreted the text in a particular way, suggesting that the commentator was aware of others who had undertaken the same task; this point brings us to the other tradition which was defined by earlier scholars.

Earlier Scholarship on the Glosses on the *Consolatio*: The Anonymous of St Gall

Influenced by his investigation of the two distinct parts of the Maihingen manuscript—a glossed copy of the *Consolatio* (Ma1) alongside a complete set of *glossae collectae* or continuous commentary as it is usually called (Ma)—Georg Schepss had already considered the possibility of two distinct strands of glossing.[97] Naumann then laid out the evidence in more detail. He noted that the "other" strand (X, as he called it) did not occur, to his knowledge, separately—pure—in any manuscript, but always in combination with the Remigian glossing, leading him to speak of purging away the latter to leave the former.[98] Naumann identified the X glosses from Ma1 as occurring also in G, G1, E, E2, E3, M2, and in a now-lost manuscript at Bonn, noting the varied degrees to which each witness abbreviated the anonymous glosses, or combined them with the supposedly Remigian glosses, apparently acting independently of each other. He concluded that G1 was the fullest and purest representative of this glossing tradition, but he was unable to name to its originator.[99]

Somewhat later, Courcelle, looking afresh at the manuscripts, revised Naumann's conclusions.[100] He drew attention in particular to E1, a fuller commentary, so he believed, than any of those which Naumann had examined; he also added to this group two French manuscripts, P14 and the now-lost 11th-century Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 377. Crucially, Courcelle suggested that this anonymous commentary had been composed without access to the work of Remigius; indeed, he adduced parallel passages which he interpreted as a sign that the debt went in the other direction, showing not only that Remigius referred explicitly to

[96] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 255–56; and on the evidence for the date of the commentary, pp. 254–59.
[97] Schepss, "Handschriftliche Studien," p. 35.
[98] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 14–19.
[99] Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 19–23.
[100] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, p. 260.

earlier interpretations but also that some of his own entries recycled these earlier glosses.[101] His dating of Remigius's commentary (post 900) would thus place this one in the 9th century. Courcelle could make no advance with identifying who could have been responsible for these glosses, but regarded him as "the earliest known commentator" ("*le plus ancien commentateur connu*"), and from his publication onwards, the material has become known as the Anonymous of St Gall.[102] Armed with his identification of this commentary, and that of Remigius, Courcelle thus began classifying glossed manuscripts as transmitting the one or the other, using 3m9 as his test sample. His classifications have been followed in subsequent published lists and catalogues.[103]

It might perhaps be helpful at this point to examine a passage from the *Consolatio* along with the commentary that has specifically been identified as belonging to the two strands of annotation thus far discussed. At 4p6.13 comes the important moment when Philosophy discusses the difference between providence and fate and mentions a succession of Platonic and Stoic ideas about the forces at work:

> The work of Fate may be performed by divine spirits which are the handmaids, so to speak, of Providence; or else the chain of Fate may be knitted together by the World-Soul, or by the obedience of the whole of nature, or by the motions of the stars of heaven, or by the power of angels, or by the diverse skills of demons, or by some or all of these.[104]

Here the group of manuscripts taken as representing the Anonymous St Gall tradition (N G E1 and M2) states, with a hint of criticism, "here he speaks more in philosophical vein than in an orthodox manner" ("*Hic magis philosophice quam catholice loquitur*"). They then also offer as a gloss for *diuinis spiritibus* the words *the spirit of wisdom* (*spiritu sapientiae*) marking, as has been suggested, a specifically Christian interpretation of

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[101] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 259–63, a section pointedly headed "The Anteriority of the Anonymous St Gallen Commentary" ("Antériorité du commentaire anonyme de Saint-Gall").

[102] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 275–78, 403–04.

[103] For example, in the volumes of *Codices Boethiani* and also in the augmented list provided by Joseph Wittig in "King Alfred's *Boethius*," pp. 186–89. Wittig subsequently produced a modified list in which he began to draw away from Courcelle's precise categorizations, in "The 'Remigian' Glosses," at pp. 184–96.

[104] Trans. P.G. Walsh, *Boethius, the Consolation of Philosophy* (Oxford, 1999), p. 88 ("*Siue igitur famulantibus quibusdam prouidentiae diuinis spiritibus fatum exercetur seu anima seu tota inseruiente natura seu caelestibus siderum motibus seu angelica uirtute seu daemonum uaria sollertia seu aliquibus horum seu omnibus fatalis series texitur* [...]").

Boethius's words. This is much clearer in the gloss for these words provided by one of the earliest surviving manuscripts, On (not generally taken as carrying the St Gall tradition): "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of good counsel, etc." ("*spiritu sapientie et intellectus, spiritu consilii et cetera*") (an allusion to Isaiah 11:2)]. On passes over most of the rest of this section without further critique, in common with the other very early survivor, V1.[105] By contrast, the manuscripts which were regarded by Courcelle as representative of the Remigian commentary, have, linked in particular to the phrase *caelestibus siderum motibus* [the motions of the stars of heaven], the following conciliatory gloss (in T the manuscript which actually names Remigius, and also, on present showing, in A An C2 C4, F2, Ge, Ma, M1, P, P6, P7, P9, P10, and V5):

> At this point, some have tried to accuse Boethius almost of heresy, saying that he is a follower of astrology and teaches that all things come about according to the fate of the stars. But it should be noticed that where several things are mentioned briefly and inclusively, it is not known which ought to be preferred, which is to be preferred and which rejected.[106]

Courcelle interpreted this gloss as a probable reference to the mutedly critical comment of the St Gall glossator. As for the *diuinis spiritibus*, a different take on these words can be found in a small group of English manuscripts from around the year 1000 (C3, C4, Ge, P9), namely, the gloss *cherubim et seraphim*.

In the light of isolated examples such as this, scholars have sought to characterize these two traditions in a general way: Courcelle saw the Anonymous St Gall commentator as offering a straightforward Christian interpretation of the *Consolatio*, picking his way nervously over the more troublesomely unorthodox sections, whereas Remigius, "an elderly scholar of mediocre intelligence" ("*vieux savant, médiocrement intelligent*"), he regarded as having commented with no more sophisticated a program than to use the *Consolatio* as vehicle for every kind of instruction, whether

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[105] On the glosses in On, see Adrian Papahagi, "Destin et providence (*Consolatio Philosophiae* IV.pr.6). La réception du néoplatonisme Boécien à l'époque carolingienne," *Académie des Inscriptions de Belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année* (2006), 671–711, p. 700.

[106] "*Hoc in loco quidam conati sunt Boetium reprehendere quasi hereticum dicentes illum matheticam sectari et docere omnia sub fato stellarum fieri. Sed sciendum quia, ubi plura succincte et comprehensiue memorantur, ignoratur quid debeat eligi quid eligendum uel quid respuendum sit.*"

moral, historical, literary or mythological.[107] Taking an even more dismissive line, Diane Bolton observed that "there is little intrinsic value or originality in Remigius's commentary."[108] What is no longer so very clear is whether either of these strands confidently can be regarded as sufficiently distinct or internally cohesive to permit such generalizations.

Other Commentaries, Including Commentaries on 3m9 Alone

In his investigation of the glossed manuscripts, Courcelle encountered some which evaded classification and which he thus regarded as representing commentators other than the St Gall Anonymous or Remigius. There is also a small group of shorter self-contained commentaries on 3m9 alone which may conveniently be considered at this point in our discussion.

One of the oldest surviving manuscripts of the *Consolatio*, V1, was given separate attention by Courcelle, not least because its dating in the 9th century put it earlier than the period he had assigned to Remigius's activity. The glossing also seemed elusive because Courcelle found it partly illegible; he nonetheless suggested that it could represent the oldest surviving "commentary" on the *Consolatio*.[109] To this important manuscript we shall return shortly. Courcelle also regarded as a distinct commentary the work of the glossator in a now fragmentary 10th-century copy of the *Consolatio*, P20.[110] Its glossing overlaps considerably with that of many other manuscripts, but there are also several longer glosses with no parallels elsewhere.

The neo-Platonic content of *Consolatio* 3m9, controversial at least from a Christian perspective, attracted several free-standing commentaries on this section of the *Consolatio* alone, either because it offered the chance for a set-piece, or perhaps because earlier commentaries had seemed too hesitant or complacent.[111] The earliest of these may be that attributed to Bovo II, abbot of Corvey until his death in 916, which survives in

[107] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 275–78 and 278–90.
[108] Bolton, "The Study," p. 47.
[109] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 269–70.
[110] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, p. 290.
[111] Suggested by Beaumont, "The Latin Tradition," p. 293.

two manuscripts, L4 and V4.[112] It was written by one .B., at the request of Bovo, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, to record an oral exposition which the author, taken to be Bovo of Corvey, had already given, concerning those of Boethius's words which seemed redolent of "the poison of the philosophers."[113] Bovo showed himself to be familiar with earlier commentary, generally assumed to be the glossing attributed to Remigius and the Anonymous of St Gall, though he nowhere said so explicitly. To account for Boethius's statements in 3m9, he did not, however, have access to the *Timaeus* except at second-hand from an attentive reading of Macrobius's commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*. His agenda was to identify and isolate those elements in the text which are contrary to Christian teaching, but not to Christianize them.

A second commentary on 3m9 is transmitted anonymously (and incompletely) in three manuscripts, two of which also transmit other earlier glossing to the *Consolatio* (E2 and L4). This commentator, named by Courcelle *Anonymus Einsiedlensis* [Anonymous of Einsiedeln], had the advantage over Bovo in that he had a copy of the Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus* by Chalcidius, and his focus is entirely upon reading Boethius alongside that.[114] Also to be considered here is the commentary which Hubert Silvestre printed from a single 11th-century manuscript, now in Brussels (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 10066–77), as supposedly the work of John Scotus Eriugena, already mentioned above.[115] The attribution to John has been rejected on the grounds that there is no real proof of his authorship, and Courcelle maintained that the commentary appears to respond to the glosses attributed to Remigius.[116] Finally, a commentary on 3m9 by Adalbold, bishop of Utrecht (1010–26), is preserved in 12th- and 13th-century manuscripts, and has been interpreted as building

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[112] Edited by Huygens, "Mittelalterliche Kommentare," pp. 383–98, and discussed by Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 292–95; Beaumont, "The Latin Tradition," pp. 293–95; Hehle, *Boethius*, pp. 50–51; and John Marenbon, *Boethius*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford, 2003), p. 174.

[113] Huygens, "Mittelalterliche Kommentare," p. 398 ("*philosophicum* [...] *uenenum*").

[114] Ed. Huygens, "Mittelalterliche Kommentare," pp. 400–04; see also Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 295–96; Beaumont, "Latin Tradition," pp. 293, 295; and Hehle, *Boethius*, pp. 51–52.

[115] Ed. Silvestre, "Le Commentaire inédit." See Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 290–92; Beaumont, "Latin Tradition," p. 293; and Hehle, *Boethius*, p. 52.

[116] Guilio d'Onofrio, "Giovanni Scoto e Remigio di Auxerre: a proposito di alcuni commenti altomedievali a Boezio," *Studi Medievali* 22 (1981), 587–693 at pp. 613–30, makes the case for the Brussels commentary as a reworking by Remigius himself, or one of his pupils.

on the Remigian commentary's effort, as Courcelle saw it, to bring the meter's content into harmony with Christian teaching.[117]

Scholarship on the Glosses Since Courcelle

Courcelle's work was foundational, but it is no surprise with such complex material that subsequent research should highlight problems with his conclusions. His 1967 volume conveys the impression that there is a clear distinction between the commentary of the *Anonymus Sangallensis* and that of Remigius, yet scholars who have followed his tracks have begun to show that there is anything but clarity, whether with regard to the definition and dissemination of those distinct commentaries or their relationship to one another.[118] Courcelle used a 10th-century Paris manuscript (P7) as his main witness for the Remigian commentary, but the glosses common to that manuscript and to T (where the glossing appeared actually to have been attributed to Remigius) can, at a fairly generous estimate, be found in some 40 surviving copies of the *Consolatio* from the 10th and 11th centuries, presenting the same material with widely varying degrees of fullness and adaptation. These Courcelle then listed as manuscripts of a commentary by Remigius.[119] The reality is, however, that his decisions about classification were not wholly transparent: he simply provided, as a form of *incipit* and *explicit*, the first and last glosses for the whole work and for his chosen sample, 3m9. The very notion that a relatively unstable assemblage of glosses might be thus identified endows it with a coherence not warranted by the evidence. Courcelle's reason for choosing 3m9 was this: its controversial content, from a Christian perspective, meant, in his view, that scribes might copy earlier glossing on it. Thus, they would not accept anything outdated or bold without passing comment on their predecessors' work, which would enable "a definite classification" ("*une*

[117] Ed. Huygens, "Mittelalterliche Kommentare," pp. 409–26; see also Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 297–99; and Hehle, *Boethius*, pp. 52–53.

[118] Most recently, Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:8, observe that "even the notion that the surviving material represents two distinct strands, 'Remigian' and St Gall, is doubtful" [...] "there is much overlap and they seem to have similar origins."

[119] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 405–06; see also Colette Jeudy, "Remigii autissiodorensis opera (*Clavis*)," in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach a Remi, 830–908*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1991), pp. 457–500, at 485–81.

classification sure").[120] It was pointed out long ago that such a method is insufficient on its own, insofar as it assumes stability in glossing across the length of the *Consolatio* in a given manuscript—stability in the sense that the material has consistently been copied from the same exemplars or sources—and this simply does not seem to be the case.[121] The glossing in individual manuscripts emerges as more mixed than Courcelle's classification implies.

It is important to recall that most manuscripts which transmit the glosses identified as produced by Remigius, or as subsequent revisions of them, present the material as interlinear or marginal glossing rather than as continuous commentary. There is, in fact, only one surviving copy of them in the latter form, namely Ma, already discussed above, which was copied in the 11th century and arguably as a set of *glossae collectae* rather than a unified continuous commentary. We well may wonder whether Remigius's teaching on the *Consolatio*, if it is indeed his, ever had a life other than as marginal annotation. The existence of this commentary in the form of glosses scattered across many manuscripts has meant that there is still some haziness about the precise contours of Remigius's contribution. As already noted, a few excerpts of what was believed to be his commentary were published by Schepss, by Naumann, more extensively by Stewart, Silk, and then by Courcelle; but, thanks to this eclectic and seemingly subjective process, nowhere is it possible to gain a coherent overview: certainly there is no one manuscript whose glossing could be described as pure Remigius.[122]

Courcelle's choice of P7 as his principal witness to the Remigian commentary may have been partly a matter of convenience, though as a justification he did refer in one footnote to his view that P7 transmits Remigius's commentary "pretty much uncontaminated" ("*à peu près sans contamination*").[123] Yet, as will become clear shortly, P7 is far from being

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[120] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, p. 13.

[121] See Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius," p. 162; and Troncarelli, *Boethiana Aetas*, p. 19.

[122] Schepss, *Handscriftliche Studien*; Naumann, *Notkers Boethius*, pp. 2–4; Stewart, "A Commentary by Remigius," pp. 26–42; Silk, *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii* [...], appendix pp. 312–43; Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 242–44, 245–46, 249–50, 253, 257–58, 261–63, 266–67; Diane Bolton, "Remigian Commentaries on the 'Consolation of Philosophy' and their Sources," *Traditio* 33 (1977), 381–94, and her "The Study"; and Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius," pp. 189–97.

[123] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, p. 278, note 5. In his manuscript catalogue he concedes that in P7, "a few very scattered glosses from the first Anonymous are included" ("*quelques très rares gloses du premier Anonyme y sont insérées*", at p. 405.

a pure witness to that commentary. Quite soon scholars began to voice doubts about Courcelle's conclusions, pointing, for example, to his eclectic approach to the manuscripts. Fabio Troncarelli noted, for example, that Courcelle, in discussing the Anonymous St Gall, although he regarded E1 as the fullest copy, nevertheless chose, when quoting from that commentary, to cite from other supposedly "lesser" or derivative copies (such as P14 and G1), which emerge as offering glosses not attested in the supposedly fullest version. Troncarelli concluded by voicing the suspicion that this was driven by a desire "to stitch together a commentary which in reality does not exist."[124] He suggested that this caveat about eclectic readings applies even more tellingly to Courcelle's reconstruction of Remigius's commentary and to his corresponding classification of manuscripts.

With the benefit now of full collations from over half the glossed Boethian manuscripts, it is instructive to review some of the glosses which Courcelle adduced as key to what he saw as the St Gall commentator's Christianizing project. So, for example, Courcelle cited (from P14) as typical of the St Gall interpretation the fact that where Philosophy refers in 2p4.28 to the "very many proofs" of the soul's immortality ("*permultis demonstrationibus*"), that commentary glosses *demonstrationibus* with "the testimonies of the Scriptures" ("*testimoniis Scripturarum*"), and where in the following meter, she sings of the need to build one's house on the rock (line 16), it offers the gloss "rock: that is Christ" ("*saxo: id est Christo*"), again quoted by Courcelle from P14. Both of these glosses occur also in P7, the Paris manuscript which Courcelle took as his chief witness for the Remigian commentary, as well as in T, the very manuscript which names Remigius twice, and also in the "Remigian" *glossae collectae* in Ma. Presumably, this is a case where Courcelle would argue for Remigius having absorbed the earlier St Gall commentary (though in fact the gloss *testimoniis Scripturarum* does not occur in the earliest St Gall manuscripts N and G, but only in the later E1). It is also a sign, though, that few manuscripts transmit a single clear strand of glossing. Again, where Courcelle quotes what he regards as the Anonymous's critical attitude to Boethius, relating to line 19 of 3m9, the metaphor of souls borne in *curribus*, he cites a gloss in P14, "he speaks a heathen fashion" ("*gentili more loquitur*"), noting that these words were suppressed in other versions of the St Gall commentary, the supposedly fullest (E1 and G1), as being "too severe." Exactly the same

[124] Fabio Troncarelli, "Per una ricerca sui commenti altomedievali al *De Consolatione* di Boezio," in *Miscellanea in Memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 363–80, at p. 368.

gloss is to be found in Courcelle's chief Remigian witness, P7. This pattern repeats itself often enough in Courcelle's discussion of the St Gall commentary to suggest that his preferred witness to the Remigian tradition is more "contaminated" than he thought.

Since Courcelle's work, the so-called St Gall commentary has been subjected to sustained scrutiny by Petrus Tax, with an eye to the materials used by Notker for his German rendering of the *Consolatio*, and by Grant Clifford Roti, who edited the commentary to Book I on the basis of G1.[125] Whereas Naumann had seen a longer commentary which then occurred in various manuscripts abbreviated at will, Tax envisages an earlier short version, in the form of glosses (as preserved in N, from which G was copied, but also in M2, and W1), and then a longer version dependent upon it, in the form of a continuous commentary (or perhaps *glossae collectae*), best represented by E1 (and a defective direct copy, G1), and dated on linguistic grounds, by Tax, to around the year 1000.[126] He also sees the relationship of this material to the Remigian glossing rather differently from Courcelle, hinting at the possibility that the longer set of glosses came into being as a response to the Remigian tradition.[127] If it is indeed the case that Remigius, in compiling a "commentary," used and responded to glossing generated earlier at St Gall, and then subsequently his material was used, reworked, to create fuller commentary at St Gall, then to pick through all these layers in the extant manuscripts will be an extremely complex process. That there may be even earlier generations of glossing, as we shall see, can only serve to complicate things even more.

The "Revisers" of Remigius

The glosses identified as the Remigian commentary appear to have enjoyed a wide circulation and were subjected to every kind of adaptation, abbreviation, and amplification. Following Courcelle's lead, scholars have talked in terms of various so-called reviser-versions, though as already suggested, there is a sense in which the scribe of each new glossed manuscript is a

[125] Grant Clifford Roti, *Anonymus in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae commentarius ex Sangallensis codice liber primus* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, Albany, 1979).

[126] Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*, pp. xxxix, xl, and xxxiii–xxxiv on the relationship of E1 and G1. Roti, *Anonymus*, p. xx and xxiii, inclined towards an 11th-century dating for E1 and felt that E1's more complex glosses could only represent expansions upon an exemplar shared with G1 (p. xx).

[127] Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*, p. xxx.

reviser. Courcelle had looked at one particular manuscript in Paris, P, and saw its glossing to 3m9 as a distinct response which he regarded as the work of a pupil of Remigius.[128] P was written around the year 1000 at Christ Church, Canterbury, and its glosses are shared in various combinations and proportions by a group of other manuscripts of apparently English origin, from the late 10th and early 11th century, namely A C4 Ge P6 P9, with some of the same material also in C C2 C3 Es and O.[129] On account of his focus on 3m9, Courcelle maintained that apart from that section of the work, the revision in P followed the commentary of Remigius exactly. Perhaps a more accurate description of the situation would be to say that throughout the five books of the *Consolatio*, P and its close relatives preserve some glossing that is common to a much wider group of continental manuscripts, such as those already mentioned several times here (Ma, P7, T), along with variations and often substantial additions, some of which are unique to P and its relatives, or to various sub-groups among them. According to the standard view, then, these manuscripts transmit a mixture of the glosses labeled as Remigian and those seen as hailing from St Gall, along with other material, some inherited, some new to these glossators or their milieu.

The interrelationships of this English group are quite complex and suggestive of intense activity which involved comparing multiple copies of the text (see, for example, the glosses quoted above). These manuscripts thus provide a vivid picture of close engagement with the *Consolatio* in England in the years leading up to the millennium, when we know from other evidence that intellectual life enjoyed a renewed vigor.[130] In addition to all the concerns inherited from earlier glossators, the English annotators evince a particular enthusiasm for Classical mythology and the

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[128] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 271–72 and 296; Bolton referred to this reworking of the Remigian material as the "K-Reviser," in "The Study" and "Remigian Commentaries." Hehle suggested that the reviser versions could reflect Remigius's own revisions of his thinking on the *Consolatio* (*Boethius*, pp. 48–49).

[129] Discussed by Bolton, "The Study," pp. 40–50, with a catalogue at pp. 51–59; for a more recent account of the group, see Godden, "Alfred," pp. 337–40.

[130] Compare, for example, the study made by Scott Gwara of glossed manuscripts of the works of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in "Manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate* and the Rise of Hermeneutic Literacy in Tenth-Century England," *Studi medievali* 35 (1994), 101–59, and in "A Record of Anglo-Saxon Pedagogy: Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Heahfridum* and its Gloss," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 6 (1996), 84–134. On the general context, see Michael Lapidge, "Schools, Learning and Literature in Tenth-Century England," *Settimane di studio del Centrol Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* 38 (1991), 951–98, repr. in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, pp. 1–48.

moralization of its narratives; another is for etymology and Greek words, and a possible third is the spiritual or soteriological message that can be drawn out. Very striking, for example, is the vigor with which 4m7 was handled in a small sub-group of these manuscripts, where the labors of Hercules attract such extensive glossing that in some copies there is barely a scrap of blank vellum left.[131]

A few examples may serve to give some flavor of the activity observable in these manuscripts. In 1p4.3, Boethius refers ironically to his library (*bibliotheca*), and a gloss in several manuscripts discusses the origin of the word from Greek *biblos* and *theca*; the English group fills out the topic with extraneous information, drawing seemingly on Augustine's *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, to observe "the Greeks have two words for the Latin *mandatum* [commandment or mandate], *enthole* and *thece*. *Enthole* is *mandatum*, as in an edict or precept, *thece* is *mandatum*, as in 'mandate, commission,' from the act of commending. Hence *bibliotheca* is made up of *biblos* [...]"[132] In 2p4, Philosophy bids the exiled Boethius to dry his tears, because although he is storm-tossed, it is bearable while his anchors still hold fast (2p9), and he replies that so long as they do hold, he will be able to keep swimming. By "anchors" Philosophy means Boethius's surviving family and friends, and simple glosses to that effect can be found in the earliest manuscripts, for example V1 (*de summacho et de filiis dicit*) and N (*socer et filii*). But the group of English manuscripts most crowded with glosses offer the following:

> An anchor is a ship's iron tooth, which is tossed into the sea to hold the ship fast. She says "tenacious anchors" because just as a ship is held fast with an anchor, so also he is held fast and saved by the support of his friends, namely of Symmachus and his wife and sons, and she takes the metaphor from a ship-wreck. An anchor is named from Greek etymology, because as if with a man's hand it grasps rocks or sands, and holds the ship fast. For *χείρ* in Greek means "hand," hence anchor is, as it were, hooked (that is curved) hand (in A C4 Ge P P6 P9, and abbreviated in C3).[133]

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[131] Bolton printed some of these distinctive glosses in an appendix to "The Study," pp. 60–78. Some were also translated and discussed in detail by Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography. From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433–1177* (Gainesville, FL, 1994), pp. 233–41.

[132] "*Duo uerba sunt aput grecos quae significant latine mandatum. HNΘωLE et thece. Enthole siquidem mandatum .i. edictum et preceptum. Thece uero mandatum .i. commendatum .i. de commendation. Inde bibliotheca componitur ex biblo uidelicet* [...]" (A C2 C4 Es Ge P P6).

[133] "*Anchora est dens ferreus nauis qui iacitur in mare ad nauem retinendam. anchoras tenaces dicit quia quemadmodum retinetur nauis cum anchora ita et ille sustentatione amicorum retinebatur et saluabatur. Scilicet Symachi et uxoris et filiorum et METAPHORAM*

The core of this, up to the etymology, "for *χείρ* in Greek means 'hand,'" is attested, in a shorter form, in a good many continental manuscripts and by Courcelle's definition, and would be categorized as a Remigian gloss.[134] The definition of the word *anchor* was drawn nearly verbatim from Isidore's *Etymologies* (19.ii.13). Of interest is the second half the etymology, "*inde anchora quasi manus ancha .i. curua*," attested only in the English manuscripts and not part of Isidore's entry on the word. What this addition seems to indicate is a more sophisticated engagement with the word that seeks to account for both halves of it, by somebody with at least enough knowledge of Greek (or access to a Greek-Latin glossary perhaps) to recognize that the stem *αγκ-* in Greek (usually *unc-* in Latin) does indeed mean "hooked, bent." Such engagement, and indeed knowledge, is entirely consonant with what we know about the intellectual trends observable in the Latin written in 10th-century England, often drawn towards grecisms or neologisms based on Greek.[135]

Another fascinating, if enigmatic, example of this interest occurs in a gloss to 5p6.5, where Philosophy observes that no entity fixed in time can grasp the whole span of its life ("*nihilque est in tempore constitutum quod totum uitae suae spatium pariter possit amplecti*" [no entity fixed in time can grasp the whole span of its life]). Several manuscripts gloss the word *spatium* as *tria tempora* [three times (referring to past, present, future)]; however, only the English group adds a further almost incomprehensible statement: *hoc si morum breuis mora* [(. . .) a brief pause (in A C4 Ge P9)]. This finally resolves itself into a little more clarity when one notices that A adds another gloss for *spatium*: "the present life is called by the Greeks *hoc si molum. Hoc si molum* a brief pause" ("*presens uita a grecis hoc si molum apellatur. Hoc si molum breuis mora*" [the present life is called by the Greeks *ocsimolum. Hoc si molum* a brief pause]), which can then be put alongside P's very similar "presens uita a grecis ocsimolum apellatur.

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sumpsit ex naufragio. anchora dicta est e ethimologia greca quod quasi manu hominis comprehendens scopulos uel arenas nauimque detineat. Nam cyra grece manus inde anchora quasi manus ancha .i. curua."

[134] "*Socer. uxor. liberi. in quibus et in tribulatione et post poterat habere solamen. anchora autem est dens ferreus. dicta a greca ethimologia quod quasi manus hominis conprehendat scopulos uel harenas nauemque detineat. nam chira graece manus dicitur*," found in Ma P7 T and many other manuscripts.

[135] See Michael Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature," *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 67–111, repr. in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, pp. 105–49; 30 years on, Lapidge has modified his earlier conclusions, in "Poeticism in Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin Prose," in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose*, ed. Tobias Reinhardt, Michael Lapidge, and J.N. Adams (Oxford, 2005), pp. 321–37.

Hoc si molum breuis mora." Seemingly, then, we have the word *oxymoron*: the notion of a brief stay or pause (*mora*) is indeed in some sense oxymoronic. It has not yet proved possible to trace the origins of what seems like a misheard epigram.

Finally, two examples of Christological and moralizing glosses: 2m4 follows up Philosophy's advice not to depend on fickle fortune, using the image of houses built on a variety of foundations. Whatever actually inspired Boethius's thinking here, the Christian reader inevitably is drawn to recall Christ's parable of the houses on rock and on sand, in the Gospel of Matthew (*c*.7). Perhaps the point is too obvious, but the earliest manuscripts do not seem especially moved to annotate the poem beyond providing lexical glosses or emphasizing the moral point. Only the St Gall annotators venture something more—at lines 13–16 Philosophy advises the shunning of a pleasant spot in favor of building one's home upon a low rock (*humili* [...] *saxo*), and in N and G *saxo* is glossed *id est Christo*, which then makes its way into the fuller E1 (as well as into Ma P7 T). Only in the English manuscripts does this inherited gloss prompt a more extensive and overtly tropological response: "that is, Christ; and do not cease to pursue humility following the footsteps of the Master who said, 'learn from me because I am gentle and humble in heart'" (in A C C4 Ge P9).[136] At 3p10.5, Philosophy discusses the intimate connection between the imperfect and the perfect and observes that the natural world arose from wholeness and perfection, and only then began to fall short of those origins. A widely attested gloss restates this point: "in the beginning our nature was created righteous and holy; likewise all the nature and creation of things was perfect."[137] The English manuscripts bring in salvation history more explicitly, modifying this gloss as "she says that in the beginnings of new creation our nature was pure and perfect, but shackled by sins, the first father, Adam, mixing himself up in miseries, rendered imperfect that which was perfect."[138]

One important point about this group of English manuscripts is the glossing which it appears to share with a 9th-century copy of the *Consolatio*,

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[136] "*.i. Christo et magistri sequens uestigia humilitatem sectare non desines dicentis discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde.*"

[137] "*natura nostra in primordiis perfecta fuit iusta et sancta creata. similiter omnis natura et creatura rerum perfecta fuit*" (A An B Ge L1 Ma M1 P5 P7 P8 P9 P10 P16 T V2).

[138] "*natura inquit nostra in primordiis noue creationis munda et perfecta fuit. sed prepedientibus peccatis primus pater Adam inmiscens se miseriis illud quod erat perfectum reddidit imperfectum*" (A C2 C4 Es Ge P P6 P9 and also P12).

V1, already mentioned above, which conceivably could have been their direct source.[139] It is crucial evidence for our picture of commentary on the *Consolatio*, and neatly brings our journey through published work on this subject to the scholar who, after Courcelle, has made the most extensive contribution to the study of Boethian manuscripts.

Glossing in the Earliest Manuscripts of the *Consolatio*

In a succession of publications, Fabio Troncarelli has built on Courcelle's beginnings in a variety of ways. Inevitably, as we have seen, he was also the first to point out the weaknesses of his predecessor's conclusions. But through a close scrutiny of the manuscripts, he also sought to push more firmly backwards in time the first signs of engagement with the *Consolatio*. His findings cover three stages of activity: the text's earliest reception in the 6th century, 7th- or 8th-century knowledge of the *Consolatio*, and 9th-century annotation.

To begin with the latest of these: as we have seen, Courcelle had identified V1 as meriting special focus, and Troncarelli offered a sustained study of that manuscript and an edition of selected glosses.[140] As one of the earliest surviving copies of the *Consolatio*, annotated in successive waves, it is of great importance for understanding the transmission of both text and glossing.[141] V1 may have been written at Fleury, and lightly glossed there at the same time or not much afterwards. It then passed to a center where it was glossed in script with characteristically Celtic abbreviations, which has variously been connected with Wales, Cornwall, or Brittany; further crucial evidence, in the form a previously unnoticed gloss in Cornish, or just possibly Breton, serves to narrow the geographical range.[142] These

[139] This point has been clearly established by Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:57; see also Godden's earlier discussion in "Alfred," pp. 337–40.

[140] Troncarelli, "*Per una ricerca*," pp. 371–78, offers a preliminary discussion, continued in more detail in his *Tradizioni perdute*, pp. 137–51, on the manuscript and its palaeography, with an edition of a selection from its glosses at pp. 153–96; plates XV and XVI also show examples of the glossing hand.

[141] As emphatically shown by Godden, "Alfred."

[142] Malcolm B. Parkes, "A Note on MS Vatican, Bibl. Apost., lat. 3363," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 425–27, repr. as "Copies of Boethius in Anglo-Saxon England," in Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*: *Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), pp. 259–62, suggested Wales, southwest England, or Cornwall; analysis of the script as Welsh was questioned by David Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases," *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), 147–79, at p. 177, and subsequently

glosses were supplemented by at least two 10th-century hands, one of which was identified as that of Dunstan (later to be archbishop of Canterbury, 960–88), and both located to Glastonbury.[143] The badly faded state of the manuscript has made these glosses difficult to read, and there is at least one gloss which has been attributed by different scholars both to the 9th-century Welsh glossator *and* to Dunstan.[144]

Troncarelli picked up on the suggestion that the Welsh layer of glossing could have some relationship to the story that Asser (d. 908/09) (a close advisor to King Alfred) had expounded the *Consolatio* in "clearer words" ("*planioribus uerbis*"). This line of enquiry goes back to earlier scholars' attempts to account for the changes made to the Boethian text in the Old English translation of the *Consolatio*.[145] So Troncarelli printed a selection of the glosses from V1 which he felt could represent an abbreviated form of Asser's lost commentary. Although his contribution was helpful in opening up access to these glosses, the link he made between them and Asser has since been challenged.[146] Yet, the identifiably 9th-century Celtic glosses are nevertheless precious testimony to annotation that predates the period at which Courcelle believed the widely attested "Remigian" glosses were generated.

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restated by Parkes, "*Rædan, areccan, smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read," *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997), 1–22, at p. 10 ("British"). See also Godden, "Alfred," pp. 333–35, reporting the Brittonic gloss, also discussed (with a helpful summary of the palaeographical evidence) by Patrick Sims-Williams, "A New Brittonic Gloss on Boethius: *ud rocashaas*," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 50 (2005), 77–86.

[143] Dunstan's handwriting ("Hand D" in Oxford, Bodleian Library, F.4.32), was first identified by Ronald W. Hunt, *St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury* (Amsterdam, 1961), p. xiv–xvi; Parkes, "A Note," draws the link with V1; and it was repeated by David Dumville, *English Caroline Script, English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*, (Studies in Anglo-Saxon History) 6 (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 97; and by Mildred Budny, "'St Dunstan's Classbook' and its Frontispiece: Dunstan's Portrait and Autograph," in *St Dunstan, His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, M. Sparks, and Timothy Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 103–42, at p. 138.

[144] 1m3 line 1 is glossed with "some manuscripts say *discussa nocte*" ("*quidam codices dicunt discussa nocte*"). This was included by Troncarelli as part of the Welsh glossing (*Tradizioni perdute*, p. 154), but referred to as Dunstan's by Parkes in "A Note"; see the discussion of this particular gloss by Godden, "Alfred," pp. 336–37.

[145] Schepss, "Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius,'" Walter J. Sedgefield *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De consolatione philosophiae* (Oxford, 1899); Karl H. Schmidt, *König Alfreds Boethius-Bearbeitung* (Göttingen, 1934); Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, suggesting an affinity with "Remigian"; Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, in brief, pp. 269–70 (proposing St Gall); Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*, pp. 147–51; and Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius," p. 185 (dismissing the possibility altogether). The matter is now dealt with comprehensively by Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:54–58, and numerous references to the glosses in their commentary in volume II.

[146] Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:60; see also Godden, "Alfred," p. 342.

It has been noted too that the glosses in V1 bear a clear relationship to those transmitted, alongside other strands of annotation, in the group of 10th- and early 11th-century manuscripts just discussed.[147] V1 may have been the exemplar (direct or indirect) for one or another of those later copies, or else it shares with them a now-lost common source.[148] The Old English translation of the *Consolatio*, showing clear affinities with the 10th-century English group, evidently drew on the same pool of glosses. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine report that they have identified some 30 passages which appear to derive from a strand of glossing closely comparable to that found in manuscripts such as A, C4, Ge, P9 (and V1); yet they also note some overlap with the content of E1, that is, with the fullest representative of the St Gall tradition, which suggests the existence of a source which combined glossing from a variety of origins.[149] A good example of a move towards such a combination is L4, which has glosses of the St Gall tradition as well as some which are characteristic of the Remigian tradition, even provided as marginal glosses to the lemmata of its copy of Bovo's commentary on 3m9.[150] The same layers of glossing traditions have been observed in the material which Tax believes was available to Notker when he set about producing his vernacular rendering of Boethius, just after the year 1000.[151]

The evidence offered by V1, although still needing further clarification with regard to the date and place for all of its glossing, does seem to suggest that the *Consolatio* reached 10th-century England and was studied and glossed earlier than the surviving copies which were written there, but had already been used in the 9th century, either in Cornwall (or Brittany) or by a scholar from one of those areas.[152] It may be that that glossator was also responsible for bringing the book from Fleury.[153]

Pushing commentary upon the *Consolatio* back still earlier, Troncarelli also proposed another response to the work, based on an examination of the earliest surviving group of manuscripts, datable to the 9th century. Unlike the crowded copies from the later 10th century, some of these are more sparsely annotated, but annotated nonetheless, and apparently

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[147] Bolton, "The Study," p. 36; Godden, "Alfred," pp. 337–40.
[148] Godden, "Alfred," pp. 339–40.
[149] Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 1:56–57.
[150] Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*, p. xxxiv.
[151] Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*, p. xl, note 24.
[152] Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script," noted that the manuscript "still requires close palaeographical study by a student of British scripts" (p. 177).
[153] Suggested by Sims-Williams, "A New Brittonic Gloss," p. 86.

early. To this phase of activity belongs the oldest layer of glossing in V1. But also to be considered is a strand of glossing which Troncarelli picked out in On, M2, and N as distinct from the tradition identified by earlier scholars as the Anonymous of St Gall, but ultimately contributing to its content.[154] His focus was restricted to the much-studied 3m9, and he saw in these early glosses a concern to account for the metaphysical aspects of Boethius's discourse in terms of the physical, and to draw his Platonic ideas explicitly into a Christian sphere of reflection. An example of the latter from elsewhere in the *Consolatio* would be the gloss quoted above from On, quoting Isaiah 11:2 on the spirit of wisdom, counsel, and so on, in relationship to Boethius's Platonic *diuinis spiritibus* (p. 00 above), which also found its way into the fullest version of the St Gall glossing, in E1. This layer of glossing Troncarelli interpreted as a sort of core "commentary" (in its broadest interpretation, since we are speaking of scattered glosses) which assumed sufficient authority to inform subsequent interpretations, and which he sought to connect with Alcuin of York and his circle, by identifying some parallels among Alcuin's known writings.[155] Clearly what would be required to confirm this hypothesis is a study that isolates this conjectured core of annotation across all five books of the *Consolatio* and establishes further links with Alcuin's works.

More recently, Adrian Papahagi has suggested Fleury as a possible starting point for the first stirrings of simple Christianizing commentary on the text which Troncarelli had picked out; several of the earliest copies of the *Consolatio* can be drawn into that milieu, namely On, V1, possibly F1, and perhaps B.[156] He has also pointed to one of Fleury's best-known early abbots, Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821), as a scholar whose familiarity with Boethius is as well attested as that of Alcuin.[157] As we already have seen, Fleury could have been one of the places from which the *Consolatio* was brought into an Insular context, in the form of V1.

The other contribution Troncarelli has made to our investigation into commentary on the *Consolatio* relates to the very first stages in the text's transmission. Observing several features that are common to the earliest

[154] Troncarelli, "Boezio nel circulo d'Alcuino: le più antiche glosse carolinge alla *Consolatio Philosophiae*," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 22 (1987), 223–41.

[155] Troncarelli, "Boezio," pp. 234–35.

[156] Papahagi, "Destin et providence," pp. 685–87 on the manuscripts' origins, and pp. 700–02 on early layers of glossing; see also Adrian Papahagi, "The Transmission of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Carolingian Age," *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009), 1–15.

[157] Papahagi, "The Transmission," p. 7.

copies of the *Consolatio*, he made a case for these features as part of a "scholarly edition" of the *Consolatio* and *Opuscula sacra*, produced in the 6th century by Cassiodorus. These features include a particular prefatory biography (*Vita*) of Boethius, the insertion of section headings to summarize each prose, for each meter the name of the type of verse, notes identifying the text's rhetorical figures by their Greek name (in some manuscripts written in Greek characters, accompanied sometimes by a Latin translation), and the distinguishing of interlocutors in the dialogue.[158] Troncarelli printed the rhetorical notes based on 23 manuscripts, grouped into three families;[159] they represent an initial level of commentary on the text, highlighting straightforward figures such as metaphor, zeugma, synecdoche, irony, litotes, hypallage, but also identifying types of argument. So, for example, the opening of 3p3.1 *Vos quoque, o terrena animalia* [...] [You also, o earthly creatures] is labeled in L4 as *ΚΥΠΤΟΣ ΜΕΤΟΔΟΣ* (for *κρυπτη μέθοδος*) glossed as "hidden argument" (*LATENS ARGVMENTVM*) and then at 3p3.5 we find *ΜΕΘΟΔΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΛΛΙΟΝ* (for *μέθοδος ρωμαλέα*) glossed as *ARGVMENTVM ROBVSTVM* [robust argument" (glossed in another manuscript, P7, as *argumentum inuincibile*)]. The Greek terms, as with Boethius's own Greek, already show sign of corruption in the earliest manuscripts, but they do bespeak a considerable degree of erudition. Troncarelli pointed to the rhetorical analysis which is a prominent feature of Cassiodorus's exposition of the Psalms, though his critics have suggested that such terminology had sufficient currency that we need not restrict its deployment in these glosses to Cassiodorus himself.[160]

Types of Glossing on the *Consolatio*

Apart from the free-standing commentaries to 3m9, across the glossing that survives from before 1100, it does not seem possible to identify a systematic program that can be compared with the later medieval commentaries to the *Consolatio*, beginning with that of William of Conches,

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[158] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*, pp. 1–2.

[159] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*, pp. 29–36, 48–52. An edition of the rhetorical notes occurs on pp. 38–45.

[160] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute*, was reviewed critically, for example, by Guido Milanese in *Maia* 34 (1982), 270–73, and by Margarent Gibson in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984), 274–78. Troncarelli restated his arguments in "Tradizioni ritrovate. Risposta ad alcune obiezioni ad un libro recente," *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 31 (1985), 215–26, and again in *Boethiana Aetas*.

writing in the early 12th century.[161] A constant is the task of Christian interpretation, but otherwise the glossators appear simply to react to what the text brings up. There is nevertheless very great interest in their responses, and what follows is an attempt to convey some flavor, albeit fleeting, of their activity.

Gernot Wieland established a typology for categorizing the glossing found in texts like the *Consolatio* which were subjected to intensive study, and his typology has since been refined by other scholars.[162] He distinguishes lexical glosses of various types—grammatical and syntactical glosses—and then a large, all-embracing category—commentary glosses. From the present chapter's perspective, it might be thought that lexical, morphological, grammatical, and syntactical glossing is irrelevant as being too banal an engagement with the text. Yet, the wide prevalence of such close attention to Boethius's words must be indicative of the way that the *Consolatio* was being read first at the basic level of a word-by-word construing of his literal meaning.[163] At times, such glosses give the impression that for some readers the text presented a challenge, or at any rate, that glossators felt it necessary to offer help. But just as the glossing on any one manuscript is many-layered, so we may legitimately envisage a many-tiered readership. For anybody setting out to provide a commentary on a curriculum-text such as the *Consolatio*, the literal meaning is just as important as the moral, and such glosses may be aids to fluent reading rather than directly didactic, that is, making a specific point about grammar. The glossing in the manuscripts that we have discussed offers examples which correspond to all the types of lexical and other analysis that Wieland and others have enumerated: synonyms for words (some of which are consistent across all manuscripts), suggested prefixes for verbs, alternative verb endings, the supplying of prepositions, comments on the case of nouns or adjectives, and identification of the antecedent for the relative pronoun and other aids for construing difficult word-order. There seems no need to give examples. It should be noted that not all one-word interlinear glosses are necessarily lexical or grammatical, but some also

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[161] See Lodi Nauta, ed., *Guillelmi de Conchis Opera Omnia II Glosae super Boetium*, (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis) 158 (Turnhout, 1999).

[162] Gernot Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35* (Toronto, 1983); cf. the comments by O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, pp. 80–101.

[163] Compare Hexter's observation that texts which originally had no direct connection with elementary Latin learning were subsequently used to some degree for grammatical instruction, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, p. 31.

can offer interpretation: Boethius's exclamation *o meritos!* in 1p4.36 might well be glossed with *happy* (*felices*) or *righteous* (*iustos*), but equally with the word *interjection* (*interiectio*) or *ironically* (*yronice*).

An aspect of the literal reading of the text that is particular to the *Consolatio* is the glossators' concern to provide what we might call stage management, that is, given the dialogic nature of the text, an identification of the speaker, whether Boethius or Philosophy. Some earlier manuscripts mark this in the main text with B and P, but there are also plenty of glosses that do the same thing. A slightly more sophisticated level of attention to the literal reading of the text is represented by glossators' efforts at textual criticism, that is, reporting variant readings, an activity which may have begun early in the text's circulation and contributed to the contaminated nature of its transmission. The next level of commentary is to highlight the rhetorical figures used by Boethius, which we already have mentioned as possibly deriving from early on, in particular the supplying of terms for those figures in Greek script.

Wieland's final category of annotation is that of commentary glossing, of which he identified six broad sub-types—interpretative, summarizing, *quia*-explanatory, etymological, encyclopedic, sourcing—as well as a further miscellaneous group.[164] Using this scheme for the glosses for Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, Sinéad O'Sullivan suggested an instructive modification: to allow for a more thorough analysis of the exegetical drive of the interpretative glossing, highlighting its spiritual dimension.[165] She applied to glosses the traditional four-fold framework of exegesis, that is, of literal, allegorical, tropological (that is, moral) and anagogical (spiritual or mystical) explication.[166] All these kinds of interpretation can be found among the glossing to the *Consolatio*, to varying degrees, but they are not necessarily used in any systematic way; nevertheless they aptly describe the mentality with which the glossators approached the text.

Lexical and grammatical glosses, as well as serving as signs of the pedagogical application of the text at hand, also interpret the literal level of interpretation, while facilitating passage upwards to higher reflection. Historical understanding also is amplified by glosses of the kind that Wieland termed encyclopedic, which seek to explain place- or personal names, to identify unfamiliar objects or concepts, or to fill out the narratives that lie

[164] Wieland, *The Latin Glosses*, pp. 147–89.
[165] O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, pp. 81–82.
[166] O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, pp. 90–101.

behind Boethius's often highly allusive references to historical and mythological events. Etymological glosses also may serve this purpose.[167] Glosses of this type often go far beyond the initial remit of aids to understanding the Boethian text, to embrace knowledge for its own sake: all three of the examples already cited, on the Evripos Strait (p. 00 above), on Lynceus and Alcibiades (p. 00), and on the words *bibliotheca* and *anchora* (p. 00), can be read in this light. The *Consolatio* offers a great deal to comment upon, and the glossators' voracious curiosity covered every branch of knowledge: philosophy, astronomy, natural history, topography, onomastics, Roman history, mythology, and law.

Even seemingly straightforward things could elicit an explanation. To take a couple of examples, in the first line of 4m2, kings, presented in this meter as examples of impotence masquerading as power, are described as sitting *solii culmine* [on the height of the throne]. *Solii* attracts the gloss, derived from Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 7.169, "throne is the name for a royal seat, like a chest made of solid wood, as protection for the royal body."[168] Just a little further on, at 4p3.2, Philosophy notes that the victor's crown is the reward for running on the race-track (*stadium*). A number of manuscripts provide the helpful information: "a stade is an eighth of a mile, having 125 feet. It is so-called from 'standing.' "[169] The group of English manuscripts already highlighted take this core of information, probably derived from Isidore's *Etymologies* (15.xvi.3), and add the further interesting, if not directly relevant, note (also from Isidore), "and the ancients hand down that Hercules ran just such a space. The business of running takes place at athletic games."[170] Then the slightly later P10, apparently connected in some way with this group, has the same gloss, with the extra observation at the end "*gimnus* means naked" (*gimnus dicitur nudus*). So it is that a thirst for knowledge can build endlessly on a basic gloss.

It is evident from the glosses that some things to which Boethius referred were almost out of reach—the way his reference to Lynceus and Alcibiades was handled is an example of this. At 4p6.33, Boethius alludes glancingly to Lucan's *Pharsalia* (I.128) and its comment on Cato's preference for

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[167] See O'Sullivan, *Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, p. 92.

[168] "*Solium dicitur sella regalis ueluti armarium ex solido ligno facta* [*sic*] *ad tutelam regii corporis*" (A An C2 C4 F2 Ge L1 Ma M1 P P6 P7 P9 P10 T V5, including those manuscripts taken to be representative of the Remigian tradition).

[169] "*Stadium est octaua pars miliarii cxxv passus habens. Quod a stando stadium dicitur*" (An F2 Ma M1 P7 P9 P10 St1 T V5; V1 has a very similar gloss).

[170] "*Tradunt ueteres tantum spatii decurrisse Herculem. Ipsum autem currendi officium fiebat in gimnico ludo*" (A C2 C4 Ge P P6).

the vanquished side in the Civil War; E1 glosses the reference to Cato with the uncomprehending "that is, Plato" (*Catoni .i. Platoni*), whereas other glossators are able to explain the allusion more fully. From time to time, though, even obvious things are a trip-hazard: at 4p6.30, where Boethius describes God looking out from the high watch-tower (*specula*) of providence, the word *specula* is glossed in V1 with "*specula* is where women look at their faces, and is feminine in gender and likewise *speculum* (the word for "mirror"), of neuter gender."[171] Boethius's erudite Greek quotations are another area of relative darkness for the majority of glossators at this early period, as already noted.

The other type of gloss that belongs with or, at any rate, begins at this literal stage of interpretation is one which paraphrases the text under discussion or contextualizes it by referring back to earlier statements or anticipating those yet to come. Suzanne Reynolds highlights paraphrase as an aspect of pedagogy handed down from Classical Antiquity, which spans grammatical and rhetorical instruction.[172] The prosimetric texture of the *Consolatio* particularly invites this treatment, since turning verse into prose was a well-recognized exercise in rhetorical paraphrase. Thus the meters are often glossed at the start with a summary of their main point; so, for example, 4m3, on the disastrous encounter with Circe of Odysseus's crew, receives the gloss "under the guise of a fable he shows that the foregoing points are true, namely that men, when they lay aside innocence and pervert their souls' nature, are made like beasts."[173] Similarly 4m7, on Odysseus and Hercules, is introduced with the gloss "this poem is full of fable and relates to those who wish to acquire for themselves an everlasting reputation through virtue. For it recounts the deeds of those men who knew not to yield to adversity, but instead resisted for a long time until they prevailed mightily."[174]

Such paraphrases may then shade off into a higher level of criticism, that is, not merely to restate Boethius's words, but to question them perhaps, or to make them more overtly applicable to the Christian reader. An

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[171] "*Specula dicitur ubi feminae intuentur suos uultus et est femini*[*ni*] *generis et speculum neutri generis idem*."

[172] Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading. Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 20.

[173] "*Sub colore fabulae demonstrat superiora uera esse, quod homines derelicta innocentia et animorum natura deprauata beluis similes efficiuntur*" (in A C2 C4 Es Ge L1 P P6 P10 V5).

[174] "*Hoc carmen fabulosum est et pertinet ad eos qui per uirtutem aeternum nomen uolunt sibi adquirere. nam ill*orum refert gesta qui aduersis cedere nescierunt, sed tamen diu restiterunt donec fortiter uicerunt" (A An C2 C4 F2 Ge Ma M1 P P6 P7 P9 St1 T V5).

example of questioning, or rather caution, can be found in a gloss alongside the beginning of Philosophy's discussion of divine foreknowledge and free will in 5p3 (the gloss goes on to summaries what comes next):

> these words should be read with the greatest of care and attention up to the point where the reply comes from the persona of Philosophy, since he [Boethius] advances the views of those who are less perfect, and he does not round off the views he advances. He also interjects much which ought to be contradicted.[175]

Interpretative glosses also can move towards exegesis that almost might be characterized as typological, or anagogical. In 4p6, when Philosophy embarks upon her discussion of the relationship between fate and providence, and we have already seen one example of the way the glossators responded to Boethius's approach to this topic (p. 00). At 4p6.14–15, he turns to the image of the axis around which concentric circles revolve, some closer to the axis, some further away; the things that are closest transcend the control of fate. Whatever Boethius himself intended by those things (*quaedam*), glossators consistently interpret them as "angels and holy men" or "angelic spirits and the souls of the saints."[176] Then, as if to develop this last point more explicitly, alongside the passage describing the axis and the circles, we find a longer gloss, attested in a good many manuscripts, and by Courcelle's classification attributable to Remigius:

> For sometimes the saints, placed in this frail flesh, transcend fate's sequence for a time. The most blessed Benedict, our father, when he looked down upon the whole world all at once, he was lifted aloft beyond the natural order of things by a divine spirit. Then, therefore, he also transcended fate's sequence but soon, because robed in mortal flesh, he knew himself to be trapped within the body's confines and that he was mortal like other men. Through his sanctity by which he was close to God, he passed beyond fate. But through the flesh, by which he was mortal, he fell back to it (fate) again.[177]

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[175] "*Cautissime et intentissime legenda sunt ista usque dum ex persona philosophiae respondeatur. quoniam minus perfectorum proponit opiniones nec tamen proposita concludit. plura etiam neganda interponit*" (A An C2 C4 Ge Ma M1 M4c O P P6 P7 P9 P10 St1 T To V5).

[176] "*ut angeli et homines sancti*" (E1 M2 N G P7). "*angelici spiritus animeque sanctorum*" (A An L1 Ma M1 P9 P10 T To); "*angelici spiritus*" (C2 C4 Es F2 P6 P8 V2).

[177] "*Nam sancti aliquando in hac fragili carne positi fati seriem transcendunt ad tempus. beatissimus enim Benedictus noster pater quando simul totum mundum conspexit diuino spiritu ultra omnem naturam rerum subleuatus est. tunc ergo et fati seriem transcendit sed mox quia mortali erat carne circumdatus cognouit se intra corporis septa detineri et mortalem esse aliis hominibus similem. per sanctitatem ergo qua deo erat proximus fatum excessit. sed*

In a similar vein, there is the gloss that occurs further on, attached to Boethius's observation (4p6.36) that some are spared an ordeal which might test their integrity overmuch. This prompts the following narrative, on the face of it entirely tangential, yet an improving concrete illustration of what Boethius meant:

We have an example of hardship of this kind in the passion of blessed Julian, because when he was being dragged through the streets, a noble boy, son of the man who passed judgment on him, by divine prompting believed in Christ, followed God's martyr and was thrown into prison with him. Making petition to his father, the judge, to be allowed to talk with his mother for three days, he converted her to the Lord. And so after the boy had been killed, when the judge had given orders for the mother also to be apprehended, if anyone stretched out a hand towards her, straightway it withered. Indeed God foresaw that she was not able to suffer torments. Therefore, when she had poured out her prayer, she passed onwards to the Lord in peace.[178]

These two examples also show the unexpectedly wide variety of sources which the glossators brought to bear. A gloss that makes a more direct link with the events of salvation history occurs in relationship to the same section of Book 4 (4p6.53–55). Philosophy states that God guides all things towards good, however evil they begin, and this prompts an annotation noting that two examples of this are the evil deed done by Joseph's brothers in selling him to Egyptian slave-traders (Genesis 37 onwards), which had a good outcome, and the Jews' rejection and killing of Christ.[179] Interestingly, the consequence of the latter—He made good use of their most abominable deed by redeeming mankind through the cross and his own blood—is only thus spelled out in a gloss found uniquely in C4.

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rursus per carnem qua erat mortalis ad ipsum relapsus est" (A An C2 C4 F2 Ge Ma M1 P P6 P7 P9 P10 T V5). This draws on Gregory's *Dialogues* (2.34), though not verbatim.

[178] "*Huius rei exemplum in beati Iuliani passione habemus qui cum traheretur per plateas nobilis puer eiusdem iudicis filius diuino instinctu Christum credens martirem dei secutus est et in carcerem cum eo missus. petens ergo apud patrem iudicem ut triduo cum matre loqueretur eam conuertit ad dominum. interfecto itaque puero cum matrem quoque iudex iussisset comprehendi si quis manum ad eam extendit statim arefacta est. siquidem prouidebat deus non posse eam tormenta sufferre. igitur fusa oratione perrexit ad dominum in pace*" (A An C2 C4 F2 L1 Ma M1 P P6 P7 P9 P10 T V5). The story appears to rely on the *Acta* of St Julian of Antioch (Bollandists, Acta Sanctorum, Januarius, 1.575–87).

[179] The gloss occurs in A An C2 F2 L1 Ma M1 P7 P9 P10 T V5 and in shorter form in A C4 Es Ge P P5 P6 P8 P10 V2.

Sources for the Glossing

The explanatory glosses in the surviving manuscripts draw on a great variety of sources, which already have been analyzed to some extent, for example by Courcelle and Bolton.[180] Now and then the glosses refer explicitly to a named author, with a phrase such as "*unde Virgilius*," "*apud Ouidium*," "*sicut beatus Augustinus dixit*." The names thus alluded to are Vergil (the most frequently cited of all), Ovid, Persius, Juvenal, Avianus, Caelius Sedulius, Cicero, Lucan, Suetonius, Pliny, Solinus, Varro, Hyginus, Pacuvius, Plautus, Servius, Claudianus, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Alexander.[181] Anonymous works include the *Disticha Catonis*, cited (as the words of Cato) just once. Often the glosses are rather vague about the source for some view or information, referring to "*quidam*," "*philosophi*," or "*physici*," and in reality the vagueness extends also to the named sources, in that the statements claimed for some of them cannot be found in their writings, or are mis-attributed. "*Philosophi*" and "*physici*" are usually quoted for contradiction, as for example in the glosses relating to the pre-existence of souls, in 5p2.8. Against the statement that these souls are "more free" ("*liberiores*"), we find the gloss "before they come to their bodies" (in G N), which becomes "before they come to their bodies, as the philosophers would have it" (E1 M2 O P7),[182] but also the longer gloss "he says this in accordance with the philosophers who say that souls are in contemplation and fully exercise their own force before they enter bodies, and that when they descend into the body they forget their nature and are burdened by the body's weight."[183]

To add to this list are sources that were used without acknowledgement by the glossators and have subsequently been identified, such as the First Vatican Mythographer, Isidore's *Etymologies*, Claudius Mamertus (*De statu animae*), and the *Acta* of Julian of Antioch just mentioned above. The later mythological glosses from England are greatly indebted

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[180] Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, pp. 244–48, and 280–83; Bolton, "Remigian Commentaries."

[181] Bolton, "Remigian Commentaries," p. 382.

[182] "*antequam ad corpora ueniant*," and "*priusquam in corpora ueniant ut philosophi* [or *physici*] *uoluerunt*."

[183] "*Secundum philosophos hoc dicit qui dicunt animas esse in contemplatione et suam uim plenissime exercere antequam ad corpora ueniant. cum descendunt in corpus obliuisci suae naturae et grauidine corporis eas opprimi*" (A An C2 C4 Ma M1 M4c O P6 P7 P9 P10 St1 T V5).

to Fulgentius the Mythographer.[184] These are also fragmentary evidence for the use of word-lists or glossaries, such as Paul the Deacon's abridgement of Pompeius Festus's *De uerborum significatu* (itself dependent on Verrius Flaccus).

In the early years of the new millennium, we have reached a point of utmost advantage for making new headway with research in this area, and it is to be hoped that in the next few years the full corpus of glossing and commentary in the manuscripts up to 1100 will become accessible and fully searchable, enabling any and every kind of analysis. As I have suggested, all the previous assumptions of the earlier scholarship described here are beginning to be laid open to scrutiny. What does seem certain, however, is that the *Consolatio* fascinated readers and drew them to begin annotating it from the earliest phase of its circulation onwards, producing *scholia* which were handed on, supplemented and adapted, layer upon layer.

[184] Bolton, "The Study," p. 44.

BOETHIUS'S *DE INSTITUTIONE ARITHMETICA* AND ITS INFLUENCE ON POSTERITY

Jean-Yves Guillaumin

The *De arithmetica*: A New Textbook for the Roman Libraries of the 6th Century

The first systematic and well-developed treatise on the mathematical subject in the Roman world,[1] the *De institutione arithmetica* [*De arithmetica*] also should be considered as the first fruits of the intellectual activity of the young Boethius (written *c.*500). He said this himself in the dedicatory letter to his father-in-law Symmachus,[2] and in the same letter, he set two goals for himself in the work. The first was to make a Latin translation of a Greek mathematical text that was considered fundamental, Nicomachus's *Introduction to Arithmetic*. In addition, he intended to carry out some modifications of that text that he considered necessary to make it clearer and easier for the reader to understand. We may suppose that these requirements were in reality a set of specifications imposed upon Boethius by Symmachus. These intentions fit within the framework of an enterprise that intended to complete the intellectual tool-kit that people in the intellectual milieu in Rome could use at the beginning of the 6th century. Although Roman libraries were well supplied with grammar texts, the realm of mathematics was barely represented.

Nicomachus lived at the latest towards the middle of the 2nd century A.D. He came from Gerasa, east of Jordan, in Judea, and he wrote at least three works on "Pythagorean" mathematics. His *Manual of Harmony* was dedicated to music, one of the four mathematical sciences in the Greek tradition. His *Theology of Numbers* [*Θεολογούμενα ἀριθμητικῆς*], on the mystical properties of numbers, is no longer available to us in its original version. In the state in which we have received it, the work which has come down to us under that title is of a much later date but contains quotations

[1] Because Book 7 of the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* by Martianus Capella does not have the same fullness nor the same systematic character in the treatment of the subject.

[2] *Laboris mei primitias* [first-fruits of my labour], at the end of this letter.

from Nicomachus that must go back to the authentic work. The best known of his treatises, preserved intact, is the *Introduction to Arithmetic* [*Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή*]. Three and a half centuries before Boethius, and very shortly after Nicomachus wrote it, Apuleius translated it into Latin. Nothing remains of this Latin adaptation, and we have no way of knowing to what extent Boethius may have used it—if indeed he did. In the Greek world, the *Introduction to Arithmetic* gave rise to the late commentaries of Iamblichus (d. 325), then of John Philipon and Asclepius of Tralles at the beginning of the 6th century, following a course taught at Alexandria by Ammonius. Some attenuated traces of this course seem to be found in the *De institutione arithmetica*.[3]

The Term *Quadriuium*

It is from the pen of Boethius in the *De institutione arithmetica* that we find the first use of the word *quadriuium* to designate the meeting of the four mathematical sciences: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Boethius uses the term to render Nicomachus's expression, *αἱ τέσσαρες μέθοδοι* [the four ways], but he enriched it by using in Latin a word that binds the four sciences into a group. *Quadriuium* means, in effect, the "meeting of the four sciences" in their solidarity. They converge as though at a crossroads (a meaning attested for *quadriuium,* "crossroads of four roads") where they meet, but at the same time it is a matter of a "quadruple way" whose goal is unique: to reach true knowledge, and from there, true philosophy. A moral sense also is included in this Boethian usage of the word *quadriuium,* in imitation and by antithesis of the Pythagorean term *biuium.*[4] *Biuium* occurs numerous times in the Latin literature of the 4th century. The word designates the opposite paths, that of good and

[3] Ammonius had just moved to Alexandria after the death of his teacher, Proclus (485), which had opened a period of decadence in the school of Athens. The influence of the commentaries of Ammonius on the logical and philosophical work of Boethius has been carefully analyzed by P. Courcelle, "Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 52 (1935), 185–224. Courcelle, nevertheless, does not speak of the possible relationships between the *De arithmetica* and the course of Ammonius (inherited from that of Proclus) on the treatise of Nicomachus. Some influences from that course may be hinted at in *Institution arithmétique* 1.1.11; 1.3.2; 1.4; 1.32.1 [hereafter *Inst. ar.*]; see the notes in the CUF edition, Boèce, *Institution arithmétique*, ed. J.-Y. Guillaumin, (Collection des Universités de France) 44 (Paris, 1995).

[4] See my article "Le terme *quadriuium* de Boèce et ses aspects moraux," *L'Antiquité classique* 59 (1990), 139–48.

that of evil, between which a person who has arrived at the age of reason must choose. This is an echo of the Apologue of Prodicos in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (2.1.21); the message of the "Samian letter" (Y) lives on in Latin literature of the late epoch, which was as familiar to Boethius as classical literature. With the *quadriuium*, it is a matter of four paths, not merely two, and it is no longer a matter of choosing between two, but of borrowing from all four. The moral dimension of the proposition is manifested by the relationship between the *quadriuium* of the mathematical sciences and the *quadriuium uirtutum* that unites the four cardinal virtues, all the more so because it is possible to suggest some term-to-term correspondences between certain virtues and certain mathematical sciences. Geometry, for example, is traditionally the guarantor of true equality and true justice. All that undoubtedly explains the extraordinary fortune of the term *quadriuium* after Boethius. Though he was not the inventor of the actual concept (which we find clearly in Nicomachus, but also in the Latin 5th century, in the *Wedding of Philology and Mercury* by Martianus Capella, the last four books of which are dedicated to the four disciplines), he used a very strong and suggestive word, *quadrivium*, to characterize it. That is why, following that model, the Middle Ages later used the word *triuium* to designate the meeting of the three literary arts (grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric).[5] From that time on, the sum of the *quadriuium* and *triuium* designated the meeting in two blocks of the seven sciences of neo-Platonic encyclopedism. These sciences had been precisely enumerated according to that progressive and hierarchical duality by Martianus Capella in his Books 3 to 9. However, he did so in an implicit fashion, and without using the two terms whose usage finds its basis, as we have seen, in the Boethian notion of *quadriuium*.

Mathematics and Philosophy

We can sense that, like his inspiration Nicomachus, Boethius was intrigued at least as much by the philosophical aspect of the study of arithmetic as by its strictly technical and scientific aspects in the modern sense of the term. On the place of arithmetic—and, in a general way, of mathematics—with respect to philosophy, his position varied somewhat in

[5] On the appearance of *triuium* in the Carolingian epoch, see P. Roja, "Le denominazioni *Trivium* e *Quadrivium* con un singolare accessorio," *Studi Medievali*, 2nd series, 1 (1928), 4–39 (here, 8).

his various writings, but mathematics always was recognized as having a superior status in the knowledge that leads to philosophy. Mathematics is a step in the progression towards philosophy in the *De institutione arithmetica*, Boethius's first work, and in the *De consolatione philosophiae* [*Consolatio*], his last. In the meantime, it even formed an integral part of philosophy in the treatise *De Trinitate*.[6] But, nevertheless, it is the conception of mathematics as leading to philosophy that is the most clearly developed by Boethius.

In the first pages of the *De institutione arithmetica*, after defining philosophy while invoking the patronage of Pythagoras, Boethius undertook, in effect, to explain the paths that lead to it. These are, naturally, the "four sciences," which alone are capable of leading to philosophy by knowledge of the truth (1.1.5). They alone can purify the eye of the soul that Plato spoke of, can snatch it from the orphic slime and render it once more capable of seeing the light (1.1.7). But Boethius here imitates Nicomachus (who, in 1.31, compared mathematics to a ladder (*κλίμαξί τισι ἔοικε ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα* [mathematics seem like a ladder]): he employs a suggestive image, that of the steps (*gradus*) through which the ascent toward perfect knowledge is effected, the passage from what can be felt to what can be understood (*a nobiscum procreatis sensibus ad intellegentiae certiora*, 1.1.7). Mathematics thus constitutes a "step," an indispensable stage in reaching philosophy, and within mathematics, the four sciences themselves represent four "steps," ranked in an order to which we will return later. The same mental and imagined representation of the progression of knowledge toward philosophy, using the steps of a stairway or the bars of a ladder, will be found again at the beginning of the *Consolatio*. In 1p1, the prisoner sees Philosophy appear, whose symbolic clothing is carefully described:

> One could read there, embroidered on the lower fringe, the Greek letter Π, and above a Θ. Between these two letters, one could see something like a ladder with a sort of steps allowing one to climb from the lower letter to the one above. The letter Π is the first of *πρακτική* (*φιλοσοφία*), "practical philosophy," the letter Θ the first of *θεωρητική*, "theoretical philosophy," in Latin, *speculatiua*, "speculative," "contemplative."[7]

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[6] See Boethius, "De Trinitate" 2, in *Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), pp. 8–9) (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*); and my article "Le statut des mathématiques chez Boèce," *REA* 92 (1990), 121–26.

[7] The letter Θ (=*θάνατος*) could also be painted on the clothing of a person condemned to death; compare Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology,*

In the first and last works of Boethius, the four sciences are the steps of the ladder that allow one to raise oneself to "theoretical" philosophy.[8]

Hierarchy of the Four Mathematical Sciences

However, following Nicomachus, there is an internal hierarchy of mathematics itself, and the four sciences ought to be approached one after the other, in an order that is justified by the *De institutione arithmetica*, as it was in the *Introduction to Arithmetic*. To the question—with which of these sciences ought one to initiate the study of mathematics?—Boethius responded that it should be arithmetic. That response results from a logical development. "True being" having been posited as the object of knowledge from the beginning of the treatise (1.1.2), this being has been divided from the outset into continuous and discontinuous (or discrete). From the continuous arises magnitude (examples given by Boethius: tree, rock), and from the discontinuous arises multitude (examples: troop, people, choir, heap). This multiplicity or pluralness (*multitudo*) is sometimes absolute and sometimes relative. This is because number exists in itself, as 1, 2, 3, 4 . . ., but there are also remarkable relationships between numbers (the ratios such as double, triple, half, etc.), which leads to the notion of "relative quantity." As for magnitude, it is sometimes at rest, sometimes in motion. The four sciences find their respective objects of study in the four subdivisions of being just enumerated. "Number itself" (*per se*) is the object of arithmetic; "relative number" (*ad aliquid*) is the object of music; "magnitude at rest" is studied by geometry, and "magnitude in motion" by astronomy. The logical foundations of these subdivisions in themselves allow the hierarchical order of the four sciences to appear. We postulate in effect the priority of the absolute as compared to the relative, and the priority of immobility over motion (because movement is change and thus degradation). It is therefore clear that the arithmetic has priority over music, and geometry over astronomy. But arithmetic also has priority over

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and Philosophy (Oxford, 1981), p. 225; and Henry Chadwick, "Theta on Philosophy's Dress in Boethius," *Medium Aevum* 49 (1980), 175–79.

[8] See, concerning this, Ilsetraut Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique* (Paris, 1984), p. 69; and Ilsetraut Hadot, *Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories*, translation with commentary, fasc. 1 (Leiden, 1990), pp. 104–07, where the author recalls that for certain neo-Platonic commentators, for example David (Elias), "mathematics resembles the beginning, the *τέλεια*, leading us like a ladder or a bridge from that which is completely material to that which is completely immaterial" (p. 106), so that ethics corresponds to ablutions and purifications, physics to the first degree of initiation, the *πρότελεια*.

geometry.[9] From this it follows that it is the first in the group of four sciences. This priority of arithmetic over geometry is established by means of Aristotelian argument from *priora* and from *posteriora.* If it is true that the disappearance of arithmetic brings along with it the disappearance of geometry (because, says Boethius by way of an example, if there is no longer any "three," then there is no longer any "triangle"; if there is no longer any "four," there is no longer any "square"), the inverse is not true, and the disappearance of geometry (for example, of the triangle) does not bring along with it the disappearance of arithmetic (for example, of the number three). Essential for the demonstration of the priority of arithmetic over geometry, this argument from *priora* and from *posteriora* also can be applied to the hierarchical relationship between arithmetic and music (1.1.10). The fourth place attributed to astronomy (1.1.11) is easily argued at the same time according to its contents, which depend on geometry (circle, sphere, center), and according to the musical relationships that govern the movement of the stars. In favor of the primacy of arithmetic, Boethius elsewhere had put in first place (1.1.8) the cosmological argument (coming from *Timaeus* 27 C–29 B) according to which the Demiurge became an arithmetician in his organization of the world.

From that point, arithmetic is declared by Boethius to be "the mother of the other three sciences" (1.1.8). This justifies his beginning his own enterprise as a translator of basic Greek scientific texts with a treatise on arithmetic. He reserved until later his translation of works on music, geometry, and astronomy.

As for the rest, we should note that the ranking of the four sciences, with the status of "mother" accorded to arithmetic, has a certain ambiguity. Certainly, Boethius exalted arithmetic; it has preeminence (*praecedit*, 1.1.11) over the others. But is its status that of a sovereign science? Or is it that its study must necessarily precede that of the others (*praecedit*; recurrence of *prior*) simply to furnish the material that will be necessary to enter into their systems? Another question is linked with that one: how should we view the fourth-place standing of astronomy? If arithmetic is granted the first rank of true intellectual, logical, and moral primacy, then astronomy *only* occupies fourth place, the last, a witness to the contempt and rejection that Plato displayed toward the "lay" astronomy of the Ionians. But if arithmetic occupies first place, defined by its utility, then we

[9] Which Boethius will repeat later, 2.4.2.

could say that on it is built a progression which will rise up to astronomy, certainly fourth, but four times more revered than arithmetic. We could dream, in fact, of the prestige of astronomy and astrology, which only grew in Late Antiquity and in the High Middle Ages, to the point that, in Book 3 of the *Etymologies*, Isidore of Seville granted it twice as many pages as he dedicated to arithmetic. If, then, the first work written by Boethius is a treatise on arithmetic, is it in order to give a rightful first place to a science that dominates all others by its prestige? Or, rather, is it because it constitutes an obligatory starting point from which to proceed later to the study of the other three sciences? The true answer clearly ought to blend both these explanations.

Arithmetic, Arithmology, and Logic

To recognize for arithmetic an indispensable initiatory role in approaching the three other mathematical sciences does not mean to confine it within the domain of concrete apprenticeship in calculation that the term *arithmetic* immediately suggests to a modern mind. Nothing is farther from Boethius's mind than the idea of mastering calculation. What interests him is the profound nature of number and numbers, not the techniques of the four basic (arithmetic) operations. Without a doubt, what Boethius and Nicomachus understood by *arithmetic* would be much better expressed today by the term *arithmology*. But that term has a bad reputation. In common usage, it does not suggest anything more than hollow speculations. In its original Greek meaning, however, it is a very appropriate word to define the project of Nicomachus and Boethius. They proposed to do nothing but explain the "science of number" or "of numbers," which the word *arithmology* suggests.[10] For Boethius, the *De institutione arithmetica* is, in this, a book on arithmology; it is not a practical manual of calculation.

To enter into the discourse of Boethius, the author assumes that the reader already has acquired basic arithmetical competencies. Those belong not to "arithmetic" but to what the Greek calls "logistics." Etymologically,

[10] If arithmology evokes for modern spirits a group of speculations perfectly devoid of scientific foundations, the arithmology of Boethius, if there is one, never proposes anything but verifiable arithmetic affirmations and never seeks anything other than to make them participate in a very austere philosophical vision of the world.

logistics is the "technique of calculation," and tradition clearly distinguishes it from arithmetic, in that the latter is an abstract science, while the former refers to applications of that science (in the same way that geodesy, that is to say geometry, applied to the realities of surveying, for example, is distinct from pure geometry). Logistics operates on whole numbers, counting "cups" or "apples" (which we have every reason to prefer to "sheep," though the Greek word *μῆλα* can mean either one). That is to say, logistics is addressed to the student learning to count using methods that were maintained for a long time after Antiquity but called upon later to go beyond that level when capable of approaching true "arithmetic." In Greek, we speak of the latter only in the singular; Latin continues this usage. Because if *Ἀριθμητική* designates the science itself, the *Ἀριθμητικά* of Diophantus (even if we can speak in modern languages of his *De institutione arithmetica*), in Greek, according to their title, are much more like a collection of facts to be manipulated in a concrete way than like a true theoretical treatise. We could make the same comment about the *Γεωμητρικά*, a collection of texts about practical geometry falsely attributed to Hero of Alexandria, whose title perfectly distinguishes them from theoretical *Γεωμετρία*.

The *De institutione arithmetica*, thus, is not a treatise on basic calculation but an introduction to the supreme truths of number. We must admit that fact in order to enter into Boethius's text and follow its carefully elaborated course. The starting point is, as we might expect, the definition of number, seen as *unitatum collectio* [a combination of units] or as *quantitatis aceruus ex unitatibus profusus* [a flow of quantity made up of units, 1.3.2]. The end point will be the explanation of *maxima et perfecta symphonia* [perfect harmony, 2.54], a complicated combination of numerical relationships according to certain proportions and the guarantor of supreme harmony. Between the two, a progression is developed which, beginning with the simplest, guides the reader step by step to the most complex.

Number: Even and Odd: Their Subdivisions

In fact, the first developments of Book 1 solidly concern the definition of number in general and that of its first two types, which are even and odd. "Collection of units" or "heaping up of quantity, the flow of which is made up of units," is the general definition of number. This definition, which Boethius considers to be double, though Nicomachus considers it

triple (1.7.1), perhaps goes back, in its first composition, to Thales[11] and is denounced as Pythagorean by the second.[12] An even number (to which its very name, especially in Greek—*ἄρτιος*—and in Latin, grants a sort of characteristic harmony) is one that can be divided into two equal parts, whereas an odd number is one whose two equal halves always have a single unit interposed between them, an imperfection,[13] which is indicated by its Greek name *περιττός*, "something that goes beyond the normal," "superabundant," "superfluous" that could be expressed, as Boethius does (1.3.3) in the following way: an odd number is one that cannot be divided into two equal parts. Such so-called "visual" definitions betray their origin, which is in the Pythagorean representation of numbers as collections of point-unities, whether written in a box, the *χωρίον*, or not. This representation is not unrelated to Democritian atomism. A second definition of even numbers (and consequently, by opposition, of odd ones which do not meet the stated criterion) is that such a number can be represented (or conceived of) as the product of a *quantitas* (x) times a *spatium* (y). For example, with 148 we could have 2 times 74, that is, we could obtain two *spatia*, that is two lines, each of 74 units; the *spatium* is then the largest possible, the *quantitas* of *spatia* being the smallest possible. Going the other direction, we can make 74 *spatia* of 2 units: then it is the number of *spatia* which would be the largest possible, but their spatial extension, just two units, would be the smallest possible. Between these two extreme dispositions, there are two intermediate ones: 4 *spatia* of 37 units; 37 *spatia* of 4 units. Here again, there is a visual approach that underpins the theory. Such is also the case for a third definition, which rests on the characteristic of an even number of being divisible into two equal numbers, both being odd or both being even, which makes it different from an odd number (1.5.2). Finally, he offers a definition of even and odd "by their relationship to each other" (1.6), which puts into play the difference of 1 more or 1 less that exists between them, permits us to arrive at a chapter dedicated to the exceptional and elementary character of the unity (1.7).

The text then proceeds to the subdivisions of even and odd numbers. Even numbers are divided into "pairwise evens" (the powers of two),

[11] See *Inst. ar.*, p. 186.

[12] See *Inst. ar.*, p. 186.

[13] Nonetheless, the "Pythagorean" teaching about number gives first place to the odd numbers, whose principle is in the monad and in the Self, and an inferior place to the even numbers, whose principle is the dyad and the Other: see, for example, *Inst. ar.* 2.27.6.

"pairwise odds" (formed by the multiplication of an odd number by an even number of times: so $6 = 3 \times 2$; $10 = 5 \times 2$; $14 = 7 \times 2$), and "oddly evens" (formed by the multiplication of an even number an odd number of times: so $24 = 8 \times 3$), whose properties were extensively studied in the chapters dedicated respectively to them (1.9; 1.10; 1.11). There are symmetrically three subdivisions of the odd numbers, "prime and incomposite" numbers (ch. 14 of bk. 1), "secondary and composite" numbers (like $9 = 3 \times 3$; $15 = 5 \times 3$; $21 = 7 \times 3$; ch. 15), and those (ch. 16) which are in themselves secondary and composite, but prime and incomposite in relationship to another (so 9 in relationship to 25: both are indeed products of two other numbers, but they do not share a common divisor). Boethius then gives (1.17) the method of the "sieve of Eratosthenes," which allows us to find the series of prime numbers—and also, in contrast, compound numbers: in the series of odd numbers, we strike out a number every three numbers after 3, then a number every five numbers after 5, etc. The numbers that are "composite in themselves but prime among the group" are found by the Euclidean method (*Elements* 7.1 and 10.2) of *ἀνθυφαίρεσις*, explained in Chapter 18, the alternation of the subtraction of two amounts.

Perfect, Superabundant, and Deficient Numbers

Boethius then returns to even numbers to give them a new division into perfect numbers, superabundant numbers, and deficient numbers (ch. 19 to ch. 20, para. 5). A perfect number is one that is equal to the sum of its divisors. The canonical example is that of $6 = 3 + 2 + 1$. A superabundant number is one whose numerical value is surpassed by the sum of its divisors: $12 < 6 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1 = 16$. A deficient number is one whose numerical value is greater than the sum of its "parts": $8 > 4 + 2 + 1 = 7$. To designate "superabundant" and "deficient" numbers, the text of Boethius uses the words *superfluus* and *diminutus*, which are not those of Martianus Capella, who spoke (7.753) of *ampliores perfecti* and of *imperfecti*. The title of Boethius's Chapter 19 (already present in the *capitulatio* which precedes the *De institutione arithmetica* in the manuscript tradition) enumerates *perfectos, imperfectos et ultra quam perfectos*, a set of terms which is, however, very close to the expressions used by Martianus. Nonetheless, if we wished to see in this proof that Boethius was acquainted with Martianus from around the year 500, that proof would remain tenuous, because if it is possible that the titles came from the author himself, it is also possible that they were added after the fact by a copyist who knew Martianus.

Whatever may be the facts about this, Boethius, like Nicomachus, likened the superabundant and deficient numbers to mythological monsters (the Hecatonchires and Geryon for a superabundant number, the Cyclops for a deficient number). Above all, he dedicates a chapter (ch. 20) to the generation of a perfect number, because he sees in it (1.19.9) the just measure and the "imitator of virtue" ("*uirtutis aemulator*"): a perfect number is as rare as virtue, the two other types as frequent as vice.[14] Boethius gives the first four[15] perfect numbers: 6, 28, 496, 8128. He remarks that one belongs to the first decade, the second to the series of numbers from 11 to 100, the third to the series of numbers from 101 to 1000, and the fourth to the series of numbers from 1001 to 10000.

The first portion of the *De institutione arithmetica*, which dealt with number "in itself," ends with Chapter 20 of Book 1. The second half of the book, from Chapter 21 on, proceeds to the study of "relative quantity," that is to say, of numerical relationships.

Relationships Between Numbers: Equality and Inequality

The relationship between two numbers can be one of equality or of inequality. There is clearly not much to say about equality. But there is a total of five types of relationships of inequality declared notable by the mathematicians of antiquity (the last two being combinations of the preceding ones), and each is provided with its inverse. The multiple (with its inverse, the sub-multiple) is a very simple case on which it is not necessary to expand. But we quickly enter into other typically Pythagorean and uniquely speculative classifications that, if they were taken up by the arithmetic tradition after Boethius, have not left any trace in modern arithmetics. These are cases in which the large number contains the smaller number and, in addition, just a part of that small number, or several parts of that small number. For example, 16 contains 12, but it also contains just one part of the small number, which is 1/3 of it (4): as for 25, it contains 15 but it also contains two-thirds of 15 (10). A number like 16, considered in relationship to twelve, is called in Greek the *epimore* of 12 (and 12 is also the *hypepimore* of 16); a number like 25, considered in relationship to 15,

[14] Because the good is determinate, while evil is limitless: see, further on, 1.32; following Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8.5.1239b12.

[15] Not merely the first three, as Chadwick wrote erroneously, *Boethius*, p. 74.

is called the *epimere* of 15 (and 15 is the *hypepimere* of 25). The general form of the *epimore* is n + 1 / n; the general form of the *epimere* is n + p / n. But, if we consider these two types of ratios, we see that they lend themselves to an infinite number of subdivisions. For the *epimore*, we have the *hemiole* (1 + ½) and its inverse, the *hyphemiole*; the *epitrite* (1 + 1/3) and its inverse the *hypepitrite*; the *epitetarte* (1 + ¼) and its inverse; etc. The different kinds of *epimere* are the *epiditrite* (1 + 2/3), the *epitritetarte* (1 + ¾), etc., with their inverses. The fourth and the fifth of the ratios of inequality are a combination of the multiple and the *epimore* (the "multiple *epimore*," whose inverse is the "submultiple *epimore*") and a combination of the multiple and the *epimere* (the "multiple *epimere*"). The multiple *epimore* is of the form mn + 1/n; the multiple epimere is of the form mn + p /n.

All this Greek terminology of relationships supposes a systematic enterprise of translation. Before Boethius, Martianus Capella, in Book 7 of his *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, had proposed Latin equivalents. But Boethius's terminology is not that which Martianus Capella employed. It is not possible to list here all the terms for all the types of relationships.[16] But we can show as an example that the large term that Boethius calls the *sesqualter* (following Cicero, *Timaeus* 23, to render the *ἡμιόλιος* of the Greek) was for Martianus *superdimidiu*s. The series of Greek terms in *ἐπι-* (*epitrite, epitetarte, epipempte* . . .), for which Boethius uses a series beginning in *sesqui-* (*sesquitertius, sesquiquartus*, etc.; Cicero, *Timaeus* 23, had *sesquioctauus* for the Greek *ἐπόγδοος*) was rendered in Martianus by a series beginning in *super-* (*supertertius, superquartus*, etc.). For each of the five notable relationships of inequality, Boethius dealt systematically and at length with their mode of generation and their properties, providing examples and numerical tables, which Martianus Capella did not do.

From Equality to Inequality, and From Inequality to Equality

Chapters 21 to 31 are dedicated to the study of the five ratios of inequality, the multiple, the superparticular, the superpartient, the multiple superparticular, and the multiple superpartient.[17] This clearly represents, as stated

[16] There is a detailed list in Paul-Henri Michel, *De Pythagore à Euclide. Contribution à l'étude des mathématiques préeuclidiennes* (Paris, 1950), pp. 353–57.

[17] For a more detailed comparison of the terminology of ratios in Martianus Capella and Boethius, see *Martianus Capella, Les Noces de Philologie et de Mercure. Livre VII, L'Arithmétique*, ed. J.-Y. Guillaumin, CUF (Paris, 2003), pp. 114–15.

above, the second organizational section of the *De institutione arithmetica*. This section is crowned by Chapter 32, which is the last chapter of Book 1 and which has the goal of demonstrating "how every inequality proceeds from equality." This is because equality partakes of the limited (*πέρας*) or of the defined, and inequality partakes of the limitless (*ἄπειρον*), which puts the latter in an inferior position while underscoring the connection of the relationship that it has with equality and of the relationship that the dyad maintains with the monad, or vice with virtue. We know, moreover, that what is knowable is limited and defined, while that which is undefined escapes knowledge (cf. 1.1.6).[18] We could say in another way that equality partakes of the Self and inequality of the Other, which implies, during the course of the chapter, that inequality can lead to equality which is principal, compared to equality, as the Self is compared to the Other (§ 2).

It is possible to suspect in this development of Boethius 1.32.1 (which has its parallel in Nicomachus 1.23.4) an influence from the course of Ammonius dedicated to the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of the Gerasenien, because of a detail. At the beginning of this explanation, in fact, the text of Nicomachus spoke of a "particularly subtle method" (*γλαφυρωτέρα ἔφοδος*). The commentary of Asclepius of Tralles, which is a transcription of the course of Ammonius, contains here (1.151, p. 53 Tarán) *γλαφυρώτερον καὶ βαθύτερον*, while adding the idea of the "depth" of the method, which he must have taken from the explanation of his master. But in Boethius, it is no longer a question of "subtlety" but only of "depth" (*profundissimam disciplinam*).

The "deep method" which is going to be explained next (1.32.3 ff.) is known by the name of the "rule of Adrastus," because that Peripatetic of the middle of the 2nd century B.C. knew of this principle, according to Theon of Smyrna.[19] Adrastus gave a demonstration of it, which his predecessor Eratosthenes had not done, although he also knew it (and the failure of Eratosthenes to do so seems to bear witness to the relative age of a method already well known in his time). This rule allows the derivation one from another of the numeric ratios studied in the preceding chapters

[18] Compare the end of 1.1.6. The idea, common throughout Antiquity, was formulated by Plato, *Timaeus* 55c7, and by Aristotle in several places, for example, *Physics* 1.4.187b7 (*τὸ μὲν ἄπειρον ᾗ ἄπειρον ἄγνωστον*); Boethius expresses it elsewhere (in *categ* 1), (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 64 (Paris, 1891), col. 160B [hereafter PL]): *sed infinitorum nulla cognitio est; infinita namque animo comprehendi nequeunt* [but there is no knowledge of infinite; because it cannot be understood by soul].

[19] Theon of Smyrna, *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*, p. 1.24 (ed. Eduard Hiller [Leipzig, 1878], p. 107).

(ch. 22 ff.) of the *De institutione arithmetica*, and, as such, it constitutes the crowning point of those chapters. From three equal terms, we can derive three other terms that have a different relationship. For example, take three numbers such that the ratio a/b = b/c be equal to one of the ratios described. We can form the three numbers a, a + b, and a + 2b +c (formula 1), as well as the three numbers c, c + b, and c + 2b + a (formula 2). We can generate the series of multiples by applying formula 1 several times in a row a = b = c = 1; we obtain first the doubles 1, 2, 4, then the triples 1, 3, 9, then the quadruples 1, 4, 16, etc. From the series of multiples, we can then draw the superpartials, if we apply to them formula 2: in the series 4, 6, 9, which we draw from 1, 2, 4, we have the ratio sesquialterius (3.2), the first form of the superpartial. In the series 9, 12, 16, which we draw from 1, 3, 9, we have the ratio sesquitertius (4.3), etc. From superpartials, we draw the superpartients: from the series 9, 6, 4, we draw, thanks to formula 1, the series 9, 15, 25 (with the ratio 1 2/3). From them we can also draw, thanks to formula 2, the sequence 4, 10, 25 (ratio 2 ½: multiple superpartial), etc. All these operations are illustrated by numerical diagrams. With this, Book 1 of the *De institutione arithmetica* concludes.

Book 2 begins, after recalling the priority of equality over inequality, with a chapter which is the exact inverse (*rursus*, 2.1, 2) of 1.32, since it teaches this time to lead a series of three multiple numbers to a sequence of three equal numbers, whether the first series be of three superpartials, or of three superpartients.[20] Following Nicomachus, Boethius (2.2.1) indicates in this section the true goal of the arithmetic treatise, which is evident on this precise point as well as in the whole of its developments: it is a matter of clarifying in a most important way the passages of *Timaeus* (35–36) relative to the composition of the Soul of the world by the Demiurge according to the systems of harmonic intervals. In line with what immediately preceded them, Chapters 2 and 3 of Book 2 recapitulate by how much the multiples may command of superpartials (ch. 2) and how we can create multiple ratios beginning with superpartials (ch. 3). With these points, then Boethius closes the section that the treatise dedicates to the questions touching the ratios of numbers to each other, that is to say, with what the author called "relative quantity."

[20] Boethius gives only a single developed example, that of a set of three multiples, the quadruples 8, 32, 128, asking the reader to apply the method himself to other cases. For an analysis of the details of the procedure, see our CUF edition of the *De arithmetica*, pp. 207–09.

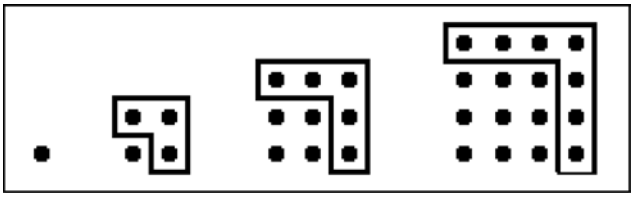
Geometrical Numbers

A third group in the *De institutione arithmetica*, then, opens in Chapter 4 of Book 2. Here, it is a matter of studying "quantity in itself in geometrical figures," that is to say, the Pythagorean figure-number. It is a return to the study of number "in itself," which constituted the first logical part of the treatise. But this first part was burdened by definitions (number; even and odd; their subdivisions). Now, we will consider numbers in their relationship with geometrical figures, representing them as "linear" (related to the first dimension), "plane" (relating to the second dimension), or "solid" (third dimension). These divisions are called by the names of geometrical figures because numbers can be represented by assemblages of units so as to form a line (every number starting with the number two), or a plane figure (starting with the number three, which, represented by three points, forms a triangle) or a solid (the first pyramid is the number four). It is number that forms and defines the figure, not the other way around. Arithmetic, more abstractly, has priority with respect to geometry, according to what had been affirmed in the hierarchical order of sciences developed at the beginning of the treatise, as Boethius explicitly recalls in 2.4.2. The fact is, however, that from Chapter 4 through Chapter 39 we come back to "quantity in itself." Would this result from an inadvertent diversion between two great groups dedicated to "relative" quantity—that of the second half of Book 1 and that of the second half of Book 2 (beginning with Chapter 40)? No—and Boethius underscores this fact from the start.[21] It is, rather, because we will see how placing the series of "geometric" numbers in ratio will permit us to establish different relationships, for example in 2.37 between squares and heteromecics.

Boethius, following a plan that he sets forth in 2.4.2, will examine (going from the simplest to the more complex) linear number (ch. 5), triangular number (chs 6–9), square number (chs 10–12); polygonal numbers: pentagon (chs 13–14), hexagon (ch. 15), heptagon (ch. 16); solid numbers beginning with ch. 20 (pyramid in ch. 21–24; cube, beam, brick, wedge, spherical number, parallelepiped, etc., in ch. 25). For each of these types of plane number, the method of generation is furnished: for example,

[21] 2.4.1: "*Nunc autem in hac sequentia quaedam de ea quantitate quae per se ipsam constat neque ad aliquid refertur expediam, quae nobis ad ea prodesse possint quae post haec rursus de relata ad aliquid quantitate tractabimus*" [Now, in the following, I will treat of some points about the quantity which stands by itself and is not relative to anything; things which may be useful to us when we treat again of relative quantity afterwards].

we form triangle numbers by the successive addition of the terms of the series of natural numbers. In effect, 3 = 1 + 2, 6 = 1 + 2 + 3; 10 = 1 + 2 + 3 + 4, etc. Each time, the augmentation is assured successively by one of the natural numbers (the number 3 to go from the triangle number 3 to the triangle number 6; the number 4 to go from the triangle number 6 to the triangle number 10, etc.). It is therefore this progressive series of natural numbers that constitutes the "*gnomons*" of the triangle number. Boethius renders the Greek term *γνώμονες* by the Latin *fundamenta* (1.10.10; 2.15.3; 2.16.2). In the represented arithmetic of the Pythagoreans, the "*gnomon*" is in the first place the figure that represents the difference between two similar rectangles or two squares. For example, if we consider the series of squares 1, 4, 9, 16, etc., the *gnomons* are respectively 3, 5, 7, etc., which is the series of odd numbers. The representation of the numbers as figures makes them appear in the form of squares, hence their name:



By extension, the *gnomon* is the difference between two numbers of a series of polygonal numbers. It is in this sense that the term (*fundamenta*) is employed in Boethius 2.15.3 and 16.2 (compare Nicomachus 2.11). In a general way, the *gnomon*, the difference between two successive numbers in a series, is thus the numerical expression of the rule for forming that series.[22]

After having dealt with the "plane" numbers from Chapters 6 through 19, Book 2 passes to the "solid" numbers beginning with Chapters 20 through 25. It examines, following the general method of the *De institutione arithmetica*, each of their kinds and also each of the respective subdivisions of the kinds, going always from the simpler to the more complex. For example, the first solid that Boethius deals with is the pyramid with a triangular base (because the number 4 is sufficient to produce it), but

[22] On *gnomons*, see Thomas Little Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1921), 1:77–83 then p. 106; Michel, *De Pythagore à Euclide*, pp. 305 ff.

the pyramid may later have a square base (and that is the number 5), or a pentagonal base, or a base formed by any polygon at all. It may be complete, or truncated (ch. 24), and its mode of generation is explained (ch. 23). The pyramid forms the object of the first developments, before those that are dedicated to other "solid" numbers (ch. 25, then ch. 29 and 30). That is because we ought to recognize in the pyramid the principle of solid numbers in the same way that the triangle is the principle of plane numbers (2.21.1).

The considerations of the "cube" and "parallelepiped" numbers, in the make-up of which there come into play the square number and the "*heteromecic*" number, implicitly permit Boethius (or even impose upon him)—before finishing with the solid numbers in Chapters 29–30—a digression (ch. 26–28) on these two types of plane numbers. He dedicates several pages to them because they are between themselves in the same opposition of complementarity as the Self and the Other from which they spring. If the square corresponds to formula 2, the *heteromecic* is defined by n (n + 1), and thus distinguishes itself from the *promecic*, which is n (n + m). In other words, the length of the heteromecic rectangle is one unit larger than its width, while in the *promecic* the length counts several units more than the width. We find here a differentiation comparable to that which existed between the superpartial ratio and the superpartient ratio. The Greek word "*heteromecic*" (which designates a type) is rendered in Boethius (passim, e.g., 2.26.1) by the Latin periphrasis *parte altera longior* [having a side longer than the other], while the term "*promecic*" (which designates the class) becomes *antelongior* (2.27.1) or *anteriore parte longior* [oblong] (2.31.7, and 9).

Proportions

We pass on now to the fourth group of the treatise, as manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 6405 underscores, for example, at the top of Chapter 40: *quartum thema incipit* [beginning of the fourth set]. This will be the study of the proportions between ratios, symmetrical with the second grouping of the *De institutione arithmetica*, whose subject is the proportions between numbers. "*Proportionalitas* is a relation of similitude between two or more ratios" (2.40.2). It can be continuous (with three terms) or discrete (with four terms). Immediately, according to their hierarchical order, the three major proportions or "means" of Greek mathematics, arithmetic, geometric, and harmonic (ch. 41.1), are introduced.

Boethius follows Nicomachus in saying that seven other means are added to these three to reach the Pythagorean number 10. P.-H. Michel[23] has clearly defined the means, which are the veritable crown of Pythagorean arithmetic, in the following way: "The mean is a group of three unequal numbers, such that two of their differences are between themselves in the ratio as one of the numbers with itself or with one of the other two." For each mean, Boethius of course does not give the formula, but contents himself with a definition founded on its characteristics, with developed numerical examples. For example, the arithmetic mean is obtained when there is "a same and equal difference between all the terms which have been set" (2.43.1), and the numerical example is that of the series 1, 2, 3. We could say, however, in modern language, that if the three numbers considered are $a > b > c$, the arithmetic mean corresponds to the formula $a - b : b - c = a : a$. The geometric mean is of the form $a - b : b - c = b : c$. The harmonic mean is of the form $a - b : b - c = a : c$. They have their "sub-contraries," a sub-contrary to the harmonic: $b - c : a - b = a : c$; two sub-contraries to the geometrical: $a - b : b - c = c : b$ and $a - b : b - c = b : a$. Means 7, 8, 9, and 10 are more recent and are only designated by their serial number. They are $a - c : b - c = a : c$; $a - c : a - b = a : c$, and $a - c : a - b = b : c$. But the most venerable mean is that called "perfect" or "harmony" (*maxima et perfecta harmonia*), and logically it is with its study that the *De institutione arithmetica* will conclude (last chapter: 2.54, whose last phrase of § 8 modulates a transition with *De institutione musica*). This ratio, which has four terms, "a" being the largest and "b" the smallest, is written as: $a : (a + b) / 2 = 2ab / (a + b) : b$. On the two proportional means of this proportion, we could establish the intervals of the harmonic scale of the Soul of the world (*Timaeus* 35 ff.). This is the ultimate goal pursued by the treatise of Boethius, following that of Nicomachus: to permit the reader to understand a Platonic text[24] whose obscurity is recognized in the *De institutione arithmetica* 2.45.1, and beyond that to understand the system of the harmony of the world. Further, we will not be astonished—to remember from Archytas, Plato, and Aristotle—that the political harmony of a city also rests on the application of proportions, as the short Chapter 45 of Book 2 suggests a little before the end of the work. This chapter was an addition by Boethius to the text of Nicomachus, which

[23] Michel, *De Pythagore à Euclide*, p. 369.

[24] Such was also, according to its very title, the goal of the Greek treatise written by Nicomachus's contemporary, Theon of Smyrna, the *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium*.

established the correspondences between the three principal means and the three great political systems, oligarchic (arithmetic mean), aristocratic (musical mean), and democratic (geometric mean).[25]

The High-Medieval Followers of the *De institutione arithmetica*: Cassiodorus

Boethius's treatise soon served as a source for the proliferation of new teaching instruments, even if they were of a substance much less rich than that of the *De institutione arithmetica*. The first *digest* of the *De institutione arithmetica* is due to the person who replaced Boethius in the function of *magister officiorum*, that is to say Cassiodorus. After the Byzantine reconquest, he had regained his lands in Calabria, where he founded the monastery of Vivarium. With his *Institutions*, Cassiodorus undertook to give his monks a guide for using the library, which consisted of books that he had brought back. Book 2 of the *Institutions* is dedicated to profane knowledge, and follows Book 1 dedicated to religious knowledge.[26] Cassiodorus approaches mathematics in Chapter 4 of Book 2. Here he deals with, in order, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, grouping first the two sciences of "number," then the sciences of "magnitude," as they had been defined by Boethius at the beginning of his own treatise. Following that, he gives, in addition (*Institutions* 2.3.21), a definition of these four sciences clearly drawn from the beginning of the *De institutione arithmetica*.[27]

Cassiodorus begins (2.4.1) by establishing the priority of arithmetic over music, geometry, and astronomy, according to the Aristotelian argument employed by Boethius, concluding with these words: *his fons et mater arithmetica reperitur* [their spring and mother is Arithmetic]. He then comes to arithmetic itself. Arithmetic has as its object "discrete quantity"

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[25] Boethius was inspired by a fragment of the treatise *On Law and Justice* [*Περὶ νόμου καὶ δικαιοσύνης*] (ed. Holger Thesleff in *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* [Åbo, 1965]), a treatise which some consider to be an authentic work of Archytas, while others believe it to be apocryphal. The arguments on both sides are evenly balanced, although inauthenticity seems most likely: see Carl A. Huffman, *Archytas of Tarentum, Pythagorean, Philosopher and Mathematician King* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 599–606.

[26] *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (1937; Oxford, 1961).

[27] Arithmetic: *disciplina quantitatis numerabilis secundum se* (quantity in itself). Music: *disciplina quae de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt* (relative quantity). Geometry: *disciplina magnitudinis immobilis et formarum* (immobile magnitude). Astronomy: *disciplina cursus caelestium siderum*, etc., the form of whose definition breaks a bit with that of the preceding disciplines, but which all the same underscores, with *cursus*, that it is a matter of magnitudes "in motion."

("*quantitas discreta*," 2.4.2); it teaches "the nature of abstract number and its accidents" ("*naturam abstracti numeri et quae ei accidunt*," ibid.). He then gives (2.4.2) definitions of even numbers (divisible in two equal parts) and of odd numbers (not divisible in two equal parts) in relationship to each other. These definitions of even and odd are less numerous than in Boethius, although they are identical to one of his.

The author then gives (2.4.3) what he calls the first division of number (only with the definitions of each category and of each subdivision, and some examples): even (with its subdivisions: the evenly even, the evenly odd, the oddly even), opposed to the odd (in which he distinguishes numbers that are prime and simple; numbers that are second and compound; numbers that are compound in themselves but prime with respect to another).

A "second division of number," according to the terms used by Cassiodorus (3.4.4), rests again on the distinction between even and odd, but it divides the even into three subdivisions: the superabundant, the deficient, and the perfect, using the same numerical examples as in Boethius, but without the mythological comparisons that the *De institutione arithmetica* provided.

The "third division" (2.4.5) is that of number considered in itself and number considered with regard to another, that is the distinction of equality and inequality. From this dichotomous structure comes the declaration of five categories or notable ratios that were identified by Boethius, and with the terminology which he used (multiple, superparticular, etc.). Cassiodorus gives the Boethian definition of each category and its inverse, with examples of each.

The "fourth division" (2.4.6) is made between discrete (discontinuous) number (that is to say the number of which Cassiodorus spoke up to this point) and non-discrete (continuous) number, which he divided into linear numbers, plane numbers (the only kinds cited: triangle, square, pentagon, circle) and solid numbers (pyramid, cube, sphere), following the Boethian schema inherited from Nicomachus.

The paragraph that follows in Cassiodorus (2.4.7) recalls the logical priority of arithmetic (referring to 2.4.1) and cites the authors of reference in matters of arithmetical science: Nicomachus and his Latin translators Apuleius and Boethius (*magnificus uir Boethius*). But it also contains a novelty in respect to the explanation of Boethius: the affirmation that arithmetic is not only beautiful (*gloriosa*), but also indispensable (*necessaria*) for human life, by which we should understand the life of the Cassiodoran monastic community of Vivarium, notably because it permits

computation and the calculations of the cellarer. Boethius, clearly, did not speak of that. We have here a first sign of the difference in attitude of Cassiodorus with respect to the Boethian theoretical explanation. After Cassiodorus, arithmetic, while still remaining wise and "scientific," enters into the reality of the monastic world. It is no longer so much a matter of "purifying the eye of the soul," although that dimension of its teaching was revindicated by Cassiodorus following Boethius.[28] Rather it is a matter of making the knowledge of the science of numbers serve the needs of everyday life. Isidore of Seville, in Book 3 of the *Etymologies*, would say some comparable things. Thereby, Cassiodorus attached himself already to the spirit of the High Middle Ages.

Finally, Cassiodorus (2.4.8) engages in a very brief development of Christian arithmology on the number one (the uniqueness of God), the number two (the two Testaments), the number three (the Trinity), and the numbers four (the four evangelists, the four living creatures of Ezekiel), five (the five books of Moses), six (the creation of man on the sixth day), and seven (the seven-fold Spirit). So end the few pages in Cassiodorus on arithmetic. The section dedicated by the *Institutions* to arithmetic can be divided in two parts, the first (a simple catalogue of the classifications of number) extremely faithful to Boethius, the second, in two parts, evoking in one part the utilitarian aspects of arithmetic and in the other the Christian arithmological virtues of each of the first seven numbers. We thus see how, influenced by Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, Cassiodorus, modifying and enriching the explanation of Boethius because of the monastic audience to which he addressed himself, remains nevertheless faithful even in wording to his predecessor in all that concerns traditional arithmetic teaching.

Arithmetic in Isidore of Seville

In the first third of the 7th century, Isidore of Seville, in Book 3 of the *Etymologies*, which is dedicated to the *quadrivium*,[29] follows the Cassiodorian framework very closely. All the same, concerning means, he adds some Boethian developments (even if they are reduced to a few numerical

[28] See my article on "La christianisation du thème de 'l'oeil de l'âme' chez Cassiodore (*Institutions* 2, 3, 22)," *Revue de Philologie* 59.2 (1985), 247–54.

[29] Isidore de Séville, *Étymologies*, Book 3 (*La mathématique*), introduction, text, translation and commentary, ed. G. Gasparotto and J.-Y. Guillaumin, (ALMA) 18 (Paris, 2009).

examples) that his source did not present. It is certainly appropriate to follow the hierarchical order of the means (arithmetical, geometrical, and "musical"), that is, his explanation[30] modifies the Boethian order of the distribution of the four sciences in treating of arithmetic, then of geometry, then of music, and finally of astronomy. In fact, each of the first three groups concluded with a paragraph dedicated to the corresponding proportion.[31] Another slight difference, albeit meaningful, in comparison to the Cassiodorian model, is that, in Isidore, the development of the utility of arithmetic comes not after the "scientific" explanation but before it. We have the impression that the author wanted first to justify the study of arithmetic strongly, in a utilitarian way, before truly approaching the details of such study. For the rest, Isidore follows Cassiodorus—that is to say, his explanation goes back substantially to that of Boethius.[32] A short prologue gives the definitions of the four sciences[33] by Cassiodorus 2.3.21; then the bishop of Seville explains the name of arithmetic according to the Greek name of "number" and establishes the priority of this science with respect to the other three (3.1.1–2); and he gives again (3.2.1) the list of authors of mathematical treatises which he found in Cassiodorus. The only truly original contributions by Isidore are found in Chapter 3, dedicated to the etymology of the names of the numbers (which the subject of his encyclopedia demanded, in fact), and in Chapter 9, a copy of a passage from Augustine on the infinite nature of numbers. Chapter 4 brings together the considerations of Christian arithmology from Cassiodorus and his plea in favor of the utility of calculation. Isidore's text (ch. 5 to ch. 7) next gives exactly the Cassiodorian teaching with the successive "divisions" of number that we read in Cassiodorus, but regrouping into a single "division" the two first divisions of Cassiodorus, which leaves only

[30] This refers to the structure of the book, for the reasons indicated, but in the prologue of the book (ALMA edition previously cited, p. 3), that did not prevent him from enumerating and defining the four sciences in the Boethian order (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy).

[31] In the ALMA edition cited: Chapter 8 illustrates successively the arithmetic (§ 1), geometric (§ 2), and harmonic (§ 3) means; Chapter 13 (last of the group dedicated to geometry) returns to the geometric mean. Chapter 22 (last of the group dedicated to music) returns to the musical mean.

[32] Even if certain details allow us to suspect that the bishop of Seville perhaps also made use of Martianus: see the ALMA edition cited, p. xii, n. 1.

[33] We note, however, that Isidore had mastered his subject less well. For example, in his definition of geometry he forgets the qualification "immobile/at rest" concerning the magnitude with which this science is concerned (prologue, p. 5, lines 1–2 of the ALMA edition), which would be enough to render unsound the system of definitions inherited from Boethius.

three "divisions of number" in the text of the *Etymologies*. Nevertheless, all the Boethian categories that later became Cassiodorian are well presented. Certainly, the Boethian content is reduced to dimensions that were proper for the encyclopedist, that is to say, the content was reduced to a sort of surface under which the depths of thought are not necessarily still perceptible. This reduction will recur in the works of Isidore's successors among the medieval encyclopedists: two centuries later, Rabanus Maurus, in Chapters 21 and following of Book 3 of his *De clericorum institutione*,[34] transmits again the Isidorian definitions of the four sciences[35] and the summarized teaching that concerns them. But the *digest* is a powerful support for access to the text of origin.

The Influence of Boethius on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

Thus it is, that by the mediation of Cassiodorus and Isidore, the teaching of Boethius in the *De institutione arithmetica*, including the theory of the *quadrivium*, was transmitted. This transmission occurred in parallel with the fortune of the text of the entirety of the treatise itself. Both the theory of the *quadrivium* and the text reached the medieval West, which received them before the reeducation by the Arabs, and they even continued to prefer it afterwards, it seems, in the environment of the university.[36]

The *De institutione arithmetica* is known by all the Carolingian commentators on Martianus Capella. Several times they expressly cite the name of Boethius in their glosses to the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, for example, when it is a matter of distinguishing between the terminology of multiples and sub-multiples used by Martianus in his Book 7 and that of Boethius. The treatise of the latter is thus used in the elaboration of *scholia* intended to comment on the text of his predecessor Martianus.[37]

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[34] PL 107.

[35] Thus, for arithmetic: *Arithmetica est disciplina quantitatis numerabilis secundum se* [arithmetic is the discipline of numerable quantity in itself] (PL 107:399).

[36] See Pearl Kibre, "The Boethian *De institutione arithmetica* and the *Quadrivium* in the Thirteenth Century Milieu at Paris," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 67–80; and, in the same volume, Michael Masi, "The Influence of Boethius *De arithmetica* on Late Medieval Mathematics," pp. 81–96.

[37] This is a good place to report on the recent volume of Ilaria Ramelli, *Tutti I commenti a Marziano Capella* (Milan, 2006), which brings together the texts of the oldest commentary on Martianus (before attributed to Dunchad or to Martin of Laon), of the commentary of John Scotus Eriugena, and of that of Rémi of Auxerre. We may see, for example, p. 1456,

Gerbert of Aurillac,[38] pope in the year 1000 under the name of Sylvester II, sent to Emperor Otto III a copy of the *De institutione arithmetica*.[39] He composed the *saltus Gerberti* to resolve a problem stated by Boethius on the same bases that the Boethian treatise had used (*Inst. ar.* 1.32 and 2.1, on the derivation of three terms of different relationship starting from three terms of equal relationship). He borrowed from him also (see *Inst. ar.* 1.2.1–2) the idea of numbers seen as the origin and point of return of all things,[40] that is to say, fundamentally, a certain idea of the universe based on the power of number.

Speculations on number occupied such great spirits of the 12th century as, in the school of Chartres, Thierry of Chartres,[41] John of Salisbury,[42] and Alain of Lille.[43] They could certainly go back to a model such as the Isidorian *Liber numerorum*,[44] but it is the *De institutione arithmetica* that they asked to provide the fundamental knowledge necessary to the presentation of a coherent system of Christian symbolism of numbers: they did not ignore any of the subdivisions of number which had been set by Boethius, which they developed in the same way (even, odd, prime, perfect, etc.).

From books and schools, the teaching of the *De institutione arithmetica* passed into architecture. Cathedrals[45] and Cistercian churches, in great numbers, were constructed with respect to numerical ratios—ratios and proportions—defined and illustrated by Boethius. The case of the church of Saint Michael of Hildesheim, for example, as been the object of a careful

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line 14, or p. 1462, line 2; but the expression *multi alii auctores* on p. 1458, line 20 also goes back to Boethius, although his name may not appear there explicitly.

[38] See N. Bubnov, *Gerberti opera mathematica* (1899; Berlin, 1963).

[39] The manuscript from Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 8 (H.J.I.V.12): see *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Correspondance*, ed. P. Riché and J.-P. Callu, 2 vols (Paris, 1993), 2:482 and 2:483 n. 5.

[40] *Vim numerorum uel in se omnium rerum continere primordia uel ex sese profundere* [The essence of numbers either contains all things in itself or makes them flow from itself], in his letter 187, to Emperor Otto III. See *Gerbert d'Aurillac, Correspondance* ed. Riché and Callu, 2:484–5.

[41] His formula *Creatio numerorum rerum est creatio* [The creation of numbers is the creation of the universe] was studied by Ferdinand Brunner, "*Creatio numerorum rerum est creatio*," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 2 vols (Poitiers, 1966), 2:719–25.

[42] *De septem septenis*, PL 199:945–64.

[43] *Et in numeris quae tanta potentia regnet / et numeri nodo stabilis liget omnia nexus* [And in numbers what a great power reigns / and binds all things with the knot of stable numeric links], he wrote in *Anticlaudianus*, PL 210:555.

[44] Isidore of Seville, *Le Livre des nombres = Liber numerorum*, ed. Jean-Yves Guillaumin, ALMA (Paris, 2005).

[45] See Otto von Simpson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, with an appendix on the Proportions of the South Tower of Chartres Cathedral by E. Levy (New York, 1956).

study.[46] We also have the documentation furnished by the album of the architect Villard de Honnecourt,[47] in the 13th century, of which one plate[48] notably presents the plan of a Cistercian church.

The treatise on arithmetic by Jordanus Nemorarius[49] (or Jordanus de Nemore, or Jourdain of Nemore), entirely Boethian in substance, was written in the 13th century, but it was printed several times[50] during the Renaissance. In fact, the intellectual influence of Boethius did not end with the Middle Ages. The four sciences of the *quadrivium* were still those whose study Rabelais, in a famous page, imposed on Pantagruel.[51] Students of the 16th century knew and practiced, following the Middle Ages, a game for two players whose conception (the rules and the definition of the pieces, founded on Pythagorean arithmetic) supposes and illustrates knowledge of the teachings of the *De institutione arithmetica*. This game, whose invention seems to go back to the first half of the 11th century, is called "Rythmomachia,"[52] and thus it is, etymologically, the game of the "battle of the numbers." It is played on a game board whose first reproduction, with the placement of the pieces, appears to have been given by an illustration on fol. 77v of the manuscript Avranches 235 (12th century).[53] The pieces of the two players, 24 for each, that would be maneuvered on the game board, resembling two checkerboards butted together, are markers that bear numbers. The fundamental opposition between the two adversaries is that of Even versus Odd. For the "Even" player, these numbers are the four even numbers of the 12, for "Odd," the four odd numbers

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[46] Hartwig Beseler and Hans Roggenkamp, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1954).

[47] *L'Album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle*, ed. J.B.A. Lassus (Paris, 1858). See also H.R. Hanloser, *Villard de Honnecourt* (Vienna, 1953).

[48] Planche XXVIII of the Lassus edition, reproducing fol. 14v of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 19093, of which this edition is a reproduction.

[49] *Jordanus de Nemore, De elementis arithmetice artis: A medieval treatise on number theory*, ed. H.L.L. Busard, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1991).

[50] In 1496, 1503, 1507, 1510, and 1514.

[51] *Des ars libéraux, géometrie, arismétique et musicque, je t'en donnay quelque goust quand tu estois encores petit, en l'eage de cinq à six ans; poursuys la reste, et de astronomie saiche-en tous les canons* [I gave you a little taste of the liberal arts, geometry, arithmetic, and music, when you were still small, about five or six years old; pursue the rest, and you will know all the canons of astronomy] (*Pantagruel*, Chapter 8).

[52] See Menso Folkerts, "La rithmomachie et le manuscrit Avranches 235," in *Science antique, science médiévale*, ed. Louis Callebat and Olivier Desbordes (Hildesheim, 2000), pp. 347–57 (here, p. 352).

[53] Arno Borst, *Das mittelalterliche Zahlenkampfspiel* (Heidelberg, 1986).

of the first ten,[54] and then the "army" of each camp is completed by series of multiples, superpartials, and of superpartients derived from the first ten numbers. The form of the markers, square or circular, could vary with the time-period, as could their color. The majority of the numbers concerned are the "plane" numbers according to the theory of Boethius, but there is also, in each field, a number that is "solid," a "pyramid" to be precise, 91 in the "even" camp and 190 in the "odd" camp.[55] The goal of the game shows that it rests on the Boethian theory of means because three *uictoriae* are possible: the *uictoria magna* in which one player has succeeded in placing in the opponent's camp three pieces in a row which form one of the means; then, with four pieces giving two means, one has a *uictoria maior*; and, finally, with four pieces giving three means, a *uictoria praestantissima.*

Considerations of Synthesis

The arithmetic treatise of Boethius profoundly marked the intellectual evolution of the West during the High Middle Ages and up to the beginning of the Renaissance. The model, Nicomachean in origin, did not have any chance of exerting by itself the least influence on western Europe of the first millennium, which had lost knowledge of Greek, but it is thanks to the Latin adaptation by Boethius that this Pythagorizing conception of number and of the world lasted and remained fertile and creative.

According to the time-honored ideal, the intention of Boethius as a mathematician was never to create new concepts. It was not a matter of inventing or of creating, but of contemplating eternal laws: "because this law established by an ordinance that is not human but divine is always presented for our contemplation."[56] The only invention of convention in the matter is the notation of the numbers (for example, the symbol V for the number 5), says Boethius in 2.4.3; furthermore, it would be more in conformity with "nature," he adds, to denote 5 using IIIII, and more generally "whatever number by as many unities as it contains" (ibid.). The role of the mathematician, in this conception, is only, to borrow a Platonic

[54] 3, 5, 7 and 9; the number 1 does not appear on any marker because the unity is the origin of number, but is not a number.

[55] If 91 (= $1^2 + 2^2 + 3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2 + 6^2$) is a complete pyramid including its peak, 190 is a truncated pyramid: $4^2 + 5^2 + 6^2 + 7^2 + 8^2$.

[56] *Semper enim hoc diuina quadam nec humana constitutione speculationibus occurrit* (2.7.7).

image used by Boethius, to "go hunting"[57] for the truth of Being. That supposes the purification and efficacy of the "eye of the soul,"[58] an expression that again is Platonic.[59]

This *Institutio*, which according to its very title is a methodical explanation, is simultaneously a scholarly and a reference work. It does not lay claim to any originality, neither with respect to its Greek model[60] nor, in a general way, in what concerns the themes of Pythagorean arithmetic. Nicomachus did not lay claim to originality either. In spite of that, or perhaps because of it, Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* became the standard reference book for arithmetic in the West for a millennium. We cannot help but be struck by the great number of manuscripts that transmitted it—around 200—between the 9th and the 15th centuries. The Renaissance accorded it at least twenty-five printed editions.[61] The Boethian notion of *quadrivium* was a determining feature in the intellectual and philosophical conception of the teaching of the cathedral schools and universities. The technical vocabulary of arithmetic, Latinized by Boethius, was employed for a long time in the Western world. The most notable numerical ratios, and the most "beautiful," were put into play in the building of religious monuments. Boethius, in his own way, thus contributed to the syncretism between the old arithmetic of the Pythagoreans for whom number was the measure of all things, and the Judeo-Christian concept of the preeminence of number because "God created everything by measure, number, and weight."[62]

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[57] The word *inquisitor* of 1.1.5 (a word which, in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, ed. A. Ernout (Paris: CUF, 1952), 8.147, refers to someone who chases game) recalls the metaphor of the "hunt for truth" which we find in *Phaedo* 66 C, *Theaetetus* 198 D, and *Euthydemus* 290 C.

[58] *Animi illum oculum* (1.1.7).

[59] *Republic* 527 D–E.

[60] Except in a few additions such as that of 2.45, or in the mention of the late character of Archytas, author of a treatise on the *Categories*. This Archytas is not the Pythagorean Archytas; in contrast to the Pythagorean, he allowed the neo-Platonic tradition: 2.41.3.

[61] The *editio princeps* is that of E. Ratdolt (Augsburg, 1488).

[62] "Omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti" (Ws 11:21).

BOETHIUS'S INFLUENCE ON THEOLOGY AND METAPHYSICS TO *C.*1500

Siobhan Nash-Marshall

It is difficult to overestimate Boethius's influence on medieval thought. Boethius, whom, thanks to Lorenzo Valla, we have all come to think of as "the last of the ancients and the first of the medieval scholastics," was one of the primary linchpins that connected the ancient and medieval worlds of thought. He was presumably the last great Roman thinker to have had direct access to ancient texts.[1] In the Middle Ages, his was "a name with which everybody had to reckon."[2] He was one of the authorities for medieval thinkers. This much is certain, and it has been accepted by scholars for some time now.[3]

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[1] The point here is a matter of debate. To just what texts did Boethius have access? The question is linked with the other debated matter of Boethius's education. It has been argued by such people as R. Bonnaud and C.J. de Vogel, who interpreted Cassiodorus's claim that "Boethius had entered the school of Athens" quite literally, that Boethius was educated in Athens and, consequently, had access to all of the texts that would have been found there. See, e.g., C.J. de Vogel, "Boethiana" I and II, *Vivarium* 9 (1971), 49–77, and 10 (1972), 1–40; and R. Bonnaud, "L'Education Scientifique de Boèce," *Speculum* 4 (1929), 198–206. Others, most notably Courcelle, argued that Boethius had studied at Alexandria and thus had access to the texts that would have been found there. See, e.g., Pierre Courcelle, "Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges de l'École Français de Rome* 52 (1935), 185–233. There is a third school that claims that Boethius did not study *abroad*, but rather had such texts as annotated copies of Aristotle's *Organon*, which he faithfully recorded in his commentaries. See, e.g., James Shiel, "Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 217–44. This last claim has not only been questioned in itself; it has also led to a rather heated discussion of the purported author of the *scholia* to which Boethius presumably had access. See, on this point, Monika Aszatalos, "Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West: The Categories," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philosophy* 95 (1993), 394–407.

[2] Edward Kennard Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1928), p. 136.

[3] See, for instance, Howard Patch, *The Tradition of Boethius* (New York, 1935), p. 6: "Seldom has any author pervaded so thoroughly, and even formed, the thought and the expression of his own and later periods. Boethius not only used Greek philosophy to supply a framework for his Christian ideas about life, just as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were to do later; but he presented his views in a fashion as graphic as that of the later battles and tournaments of the Vices and Virtues, the harangues of the Liberal Arts, and the adventures of other personifications. The lyrics too men knew by heart; they quoted them occasionally and copied their metres."

What is also undisputed among modern scholars is that one of the primary causes of Boethius's enormous influence upon medieval philosophical and theological thought was that his were among the very few late ancient philosophical and theological texts to be preserved in the Latin-speaking world after the last gasps of the Western Roman Empire and throughout the subsequent intellectual silences that fell over Europe.[4] It was primarily through his texts that medieval theologians and philosophers learned of classical and late ancient Greek and Latin thought and logic, problems and techniques. It was principally from his (and Augustine's) texts that they gleaned the problems that would shape their own discussions. It was through his texts that they developed their own distinctive philosophical and theological methods. It was through his texts that they developed their own educational system.[5] The medieval debt to Boethius was, in other words, "great and manifold [...] [It] was felt at every level of teaching.[6]

What is disputed, or remains to be determined, are the details of the rest of the picture. To begin with, it is not altogether an "established" fact that the enormous influence exercised by Boethius's texts upon medieval thought should be thought of as *Boethius's own influence*. To be sure, Howard Patch could claim, with respect to Boethius, that "Seldom has any author pervaded so thoroughly, and even formed, the thought and the expression of his own and later periods"; and Edward Rand could assert that Boethius was a "Founder" of medieval thought. But Patch and Rand, it seems, took for granted that to claim that the thought transmitted through a given set of texts was crucial to the development of medieval thought is to claim that the thought of the *author* of those texts was crucial to that development. They certainly had good reason for doing so. The medievals

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[4] A brief synopsis of the conservation and transmission of Boethius's texts can be found in Henry Chadwick, *The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 254–57. A detailed account and reconstruction of the conservation and early transmission of the *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*], which includes an account of the transmission of the *Opuscula sacra* [hereafter *Opuscula*], is Fabio Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute: la 'Consolatio Philosophiae' nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1981).

[5] Boethius was the direct source of the medieval *quadrivium* and of its notion of knowing. He seems to have coined the very word *quadrivium* in the *De arithmetica*. See, on this point, for example, Alison White, "Boethius in the Mediaeval Quadrivium," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), p. 162: "Boethius appears to have been the first writer to use the term to delineate these areas [arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy] existing in the timeless world of being. For these arts were seen not merely as isolated sources of skills and information, but as an indispensable path to abstract knowledge."

[6] David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), p. 45.

themselves believed that the authors of those texts which they considered fundamental were authorities. And Boethius had written some of the medievals' fundamental texts. Nevertheless, Patch's and Rand's presupposition can be questioned.

The point here is not insignificant with respect to the topic of this chapter. Most modern historians of philosophy—those, that is, who have bothered to deal with medieval philosophy—thought very little indeed of Boethius's own thought, until quite recently. Both Pierre Courcelle[7] and Henry Chadwick,[8] who are among the most noteworthy commentators on Boethius's works, believed that Boethius was primarily a complier, translator, and transmitter of ancient thought. They were not alone in holding this opinion. One need only to read Frederick Coplestone's,[9] or William Turner's,[10] or any other of the fundamental histories of philosophy to find similar claims.[11] David Knowles neatly summarizes what the vast majority

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[7] Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de la Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*: *Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967). As the title suggests, Courcelle's work focuses on the antecedents of Boethius's work and its influence, but not on Boethius himself.

[8] See, e.g., Chadwick, ibid., p. xiv: "Much of this study is given to the attempt to place Boethius in relation to his intellectual ancestry, so that the reader may be left with the impression that the hero of the book is hardly more than a diligent compiler and translator. That is in many ways a fair judgement, but it leaves out of the account Boethius's own valuation of what was important and urgent to be done." Chadwick's view is not original. Hermann Usener went so far as to argue that most of the *Consolatio* was a compilation or a translation of Aristotle's lost *Protrepticus* and the other neo-Platonic works. See Hermann Usener, *Anecdoton Holderi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Roms in Ostgothischer Zeit* (Bonn, 1877), and "Vergessenes," in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 28* (1873), 400–03.

[9] Frederick Coplestone, *A History of Philosophy* (New York, 1993), vol. 2, p. 104: "Even if not particularly remarkable as an original and independent philosopher, Boethius is yet of major significance as a transmitter and as a philosopher who attempted to express Christian doctrine in terms drawn, not simply from the neo-Platonists, but also from the philosopher whose thought was to become a predominant influence in the greatest philosophical synthesis of the Middle Ages."

[10] William Turner claims that Boethius's merit was "merely to preserve what the past had bequeathed and to transmit the legacy to times more favorable for the development of Christian speculation." See *History of Philosophy* (Boston, 1903), p. 235.

[11] One indicator of the prevalence of the assessment that Boethius was simply a compiler, translator, or commentator is the frequency with which he is called an "eclectic" thinker. "Eclectic" in this instance seems to be a polite term for "compiler," "translator," or "commentator," or some combination of these three. Thus, Ueberweg, Praechter, Knowles, and Whittaker all call Boethius eclectic. See, on this point, Claudio Moreschini, "Boezio e la tradizione del neoplatonismo latino," in Luca Obertello, ed., *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani* (Rome, 1981) [hereafter ACISB], p. 297.

One of the interesting questions a complete treatment of Boethius's thought should answer is why Boethius began to be considered a compiler, translator, and commentator as opposed to an original thinker in the first place. Part of the answer, no doubt, has to do with the medieval curriculum shifts. In the early 13th century, Boethius's *Opuscula* were

of historians held until not too long ago: "he [Boethius] took his logic and natural science from Aristotle, his metaphysics and cosmology largely from Plato, and added to these something at least of the teaching and interpretation of the neo-Platonists."[12] This was the prevailing attitude with respect to Boethius until very recently. This attitude had significant consequences with respect to the once prevailing view of Boethius's influence on scholastic metaphysics and theology. It entailed that Boethius was in many ways written out of the history of Western thought.

One of the primary issues which must be settled in order definitively to determine Boethius's influence on medieval thought thus concerns the content of Boethius's work. Is the thought contained therein merely a compilation of (or commentary on) the thought of others, or is it the thought of an independent thinker?[13] To be precise, to what degree should

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replaced by Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as the fundamental texts through which philosophical and theological methods were taught. One of the consequences of that shift was that thinkers commonly did not have to study or comment on Boethius's theological treatises. Indeed, the only great thinker of the 13th century known to have commented on at least two of Boethius's *Opuscula* was Thomas Aquinas. This meant that those thinkers who did read Boethius often only got a fragmented and superficial understanding of his thought. It is unquestionably true that Boethius's most obviously original thought is to be found in the tractates. It is also true that the rediscovery in the West of Aristotle's works, and those of many neo-Platonists, revealed that Boethius's work owed much to these works. It became tempting, therefore, to seek the sources of Boethius's thought and overlook his own originality. It became acceptable to assert that since Boethius's claim X, let us say, in text Y, is similar to a previous thinker P.'s claim that B in text C, and since similar things could be claimed of many of Boethius's thoughts, all of Boethius's thoughts were nothing but a reformulation of previous thought. This temptation was exacerbated after the Middle Ages when Boethius's authorship of the *Opuscula* began to be questioned. Usener is a good example of this sort of reasoning (see n. 7 above). But so too is Shiel (see n. 1 above). Indeed, historians have gone as far as to claim that Boethius did not know some of the primary texts upon which he wrote commentaries (see Aszatalos, "Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West," pp. 405–07).

[12] Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 52.

[13] The rebirth of interest in Boethius is intimately linked to this question. Once the *Anecdoton Holderi* was discovered and published, scholars began to accept that the *Opuscula sacra*, which had previously been believed to be falsely attributed to Boethius, were indeed genuine works. Not surprisingly, this forced scholars to revisit their opinions of Boethius's own thought and his place in the development of Western thought. Before the definitive attribution of the *Opuscula* to Boethius, it was possible to believe that Boethius was primarily a commentator and translator of logical works and a compiler of introductory texts, and to read the *Consolatio* as a work written in a similar vein (see nn. 7 and 11 above). The attribution of the *Opuscula* to Boethius has made this general approach to Boethius's thought untenable. Recognition of this fact was gradual, as Usener's views illustrate. See, for instance, Hugh Fraser Steward, *Boethius* (London, 1891; repr. New York, 1974), p. 102: "Although their [the *Opuscula*'s] intrinsic value may not be of the very highest, although they betray many faults of youth and inexperience (I have heard them described as so many Hulsean essays!), still they have a distinct interest attaching to them as coming, if

it be considered either? This is no place to settle this issue, or even to discuss it at length. But one of the necessary conditions of claiming that Boethius himself did influence scholastic thought more than just marginally is holding that Boethius was more than just a conduit for ancient thought.

Contemporary scholarship generally holds that we have more than enough evidence to warrant the claim that Boethius was more than just a conduit. The general trend among those historians and philosophers who currently concern themselves with Boethius's texts has been to question and correct what was once the dominant view on Boethius:[14] to indicate just how and why he should be thought of as an original and an important thinker.[15] There are, however, still few contemporary studies of Boethius's thought, and fewer yet which would offer anything more than a glimpse

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we believe the 'Anecdoton Holderi' and the almost unbroken tradition of the Middle Ages, from the same hand that wrote the 'Consolation of Philosophy,' and as forming one more link in the chain that connects Boethius with the Schoolmen." Rand, some 40 years after Steward, was still calling for a re-evaluation of Boethius, his thought, and influence; see *Founders of the Middle Ages*, p. 155: "Now that we must attribute them [the *Opuscula*] to him [Boethius], former accounts of the development of thought in the early Middle Ages must be extensively revised and the influence of Boethius be more carefully followed." This re-evaluation is still a work in progress.

Linked to this issue is the *vexata quaestio* of Boethius's Christianity. Before the discovery of the *Anecdoton Holderi*, many scholars simply declared Boethius a pagan thinker. After that discovery, scholars simply abandoned that claim. For a good review of the history of this problem, see Colin J. Starnes, "Boethius and the Development of Christian Humanism: The Theology of the *Consolatio*," ASCIB, pp. 27–38.

[14] One of the important milestones in this contemporary movement was the *Congesso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani* held in Pavia in 1980. See ACISB passim.

[15] See, for instance, John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford, 2003), p. 4: "I shall argue that, in his theological treatises (*Opuscula*) and in the *Consolation*, Boethius is an original and important thinker—one who fully deserves to have been treated by medieval readers as a great author." Marenbon's is just the latest of a series of recent works whose aim is not just to re-establish that Boethius was indeed a great thinker, but to attempt to give a broad account of his thought. The first of these was Luca Obertello's magisterial two-volume *Severino Boezio* (Genoa, 1974). The Italian school, to which Obertello belongs, oddly enough never really lost sight of Boethius and has done much to further our understanding of Boethius's metaphysical innovations. Recent figures include such historians as Bruno Maioli (e.g., *Teoria dell'essere e dell'esistente e classificazione delle scienze in M. S. Boezio* [Rome, 1978]), and Claudio Micaelli (e.g., *Studi sui trattati teologici di Boezio* [Naples, 1988], and *Dio nel pensiero di Boezio* [Naples, 1995]). Eleonore Stump has done a crucial service to our understanding of Boethius's *topics* not just by publishing translations of both Boethius's *De Topicis Differentiis* and his *In Ciceronis Topica* (Ithaca, NY, 1978 and 1988, respectively) but also by analyzing Boethius's topics in her various articles on the subject. John Magee has given us both a critical edition of Boethius's *De Divisione* (*Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Divisione Liber* [*Philosophia Antiqua*] 77 [Leiden, 1998]) and an in-depth study of Boethius's translation of and commentaries on the *De Interpretatione* (*Boethius on Signification and Mind* [Leiden, 1989]).

of where its originality lies.[16] The notable exceptions here are studies of Boethius's solutions to specific problems such as God's knowledge of future contingents or, again, his definition of God's eternity. There is still a lot of work to be done to understand Boethius's specific contribution to the development of Western philosophy and theology. The corollary to this point is clear: much has yet to be done to determine Boethius's influence on medieval metaphysics and theology. What also remain to be determined with respect to Boethius's influence on medieval thought are the specifics regarding those medieval authors who studied his works and whose texts were influenced by Boethius.

There are two primary ways of tracking the influence of a given set of works upon medieval thought. There is what we might call the "direct method," which includes not just undertaking such things as: studying the medieval commentaries on, and analyses of, these works; classifying these commentaries; and tracking the development of the changes that one finds in them. It also includes listing the citations of the works whose influence one wants to determine in works other than the commentaries; cataloguing these citations; and so forth. There is also what we might call the "indirect method," which includes: discovering the use of those basic methods, principles, arguments which the texts whose influence one is attempting to determine contain, in texts that do not make direct reference to those works; tracking the interpretation, use, and development of these methods, principles, arguments; and so forth.

Much has yet to be done with respect to both of these methods when it comes to determining Boethius's influence on medieval thought. To be

[16] The problem here is manifold. It concerns not just the style and type of work Boethius wrote but also his sources. The stylistic problem is simple and concerns two works primarily: the *Quomodo* and the *Consolatio*, which many consider the key to Boethius's metaphysics—and consequently to his entire thought, if one follows the division of sciences he lays out in the *De Trinitate* 2. Both of these texts are difficult. The *Quomodo*, or *De Hebdomadibus*, is "hermetic" and apparently lends itself to many diverse interpretations, as the incredible variety of interpretations of that work demonstrates. The *Consolatio*, in contrast, is a multi-layered work, which, like Plato's dialogues, also lends itself to different interpretations. Thus, the "key" to Boethius's thought is difficult to establish. No one, as of yet, has a definitive reading of either of these texts, let alone of both together. The textual problem is that most of Boethius's own works are commentaries. And though it is by no means impossible to discern a commentator's originality, it is certainly not easy. Finally, there is the problem of Boethius's sources. These are not just a topic of debate (see n. 1). There is still a lingering suspicion among many scholars that Boethius's works rely on sources unknown to us. Giving a convincing account of Boethius's thought requires solving all three of these problems.

sure, many commentaries on Boethius's works have been studied.[17] Several have been published.[18] But both the examination and publication of medieval commentaries on Boethius's work are far from complete.[19] So, too, is the examination of the citations and use of Boethius's texts in works other than the commentaries. Most important, the difficult job of cross-referencing the commentaries and determining their development is still in progress.

As for the indirect examination of Boethius's influence on medieval thought, it is not nearly as far advanced as the direct examination. Nothing makes this quite as clear as the fact that St Anselm scholars seem not yet to have commented adequately on the centrality of Boethius's metaphysical works to Saint Anselm's thought, centrality which arguably can be seen not just in Anselm's proofs of the existence of God but also in the startling similarity of his doctrine of the will in the *De libertate arbitrii* and the first chapters of the fourth book of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*].[20]

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[17] This is especially true of commentaries on the *Consolatio*. Courcelle's *La Consolation de la Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* is a rather thorough guide to these commentaries. It has been supplemented by several other more recent works, including two works of Troncarelli's: *Le Tradizioni Perdute*, which gives a better account of the early transmission of the work, and *Boethiana aetas. Modelli grafici e fortuna manoscritta della 'Consolatio Philosophiae' tra il IX e XII secolo* (Alessandria, 1987). See also *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. Lodi Nauta and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Leiden, 1997).

[18] See, e.g., Gilbert de la Porée, the archbishop of Poitiers, *Commentaries on Boethius*, ed. Nikolaus Häring (Toronto, 1966); William of Conches, *Guillelmi de Conchis Glossae super Boethium*, ed. L. Nauta (Turnhout, 1999); Clarembald of Arras, *The Boethian Commentaries of Clarembald of Arras*, ed. D.B. George and J.R. Fortin (Notre Dame, 2002); and St Thomas Aquinas, An *Exposition of the "On the Hebdomads" of Boethius*, ed. J.L. Schultz and E.A. Synan (Washington, DC, 2001).

[19] A good illustration of the status of our knowledge of medieval commentaries of Boethius's work can be seen in the case of the commentaries of Thierry of Chartres. In the 1970s, Häring published a set of manuscripts which are commentaries on Boethius's *Opuscula* and attributed them to Thierry and his school. Thierry of Chartres, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and His School*, ed. Nikolaus Häring (Toronto, 1971). Subsequent scholarship has, however, cast some doubt on Häring's attribution. See, e.g., John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy* (*480–1150*) (London, 1988), pp. 146–48. The same thing can be seen in the case of the gloss of the *Quomodo substantiae*, which was originally attributed to John Scotus Eriugena, and subsequently to Remigius of Auxerre (see nn. 40 and 58). These are just some examples of a more general problem.

[20] Several scholars have commented on the centrality of a variety of Boethius's works to Anselm's ontological argument. See, for example, D.P. Henry, "The Proslogion Proofs," *The Philosophical Quarterly* 5 (1955), 147–51, who claims that Boethius's logical works are central to that work. Courcelle, Obertello, and A. Ghisalberti, in contrast, comment on the similarity of Boethius's definition of God in *Consolatio* 3p10 and Saint Anselm's definition of God in the *Proslogion*. Courcelle seemed to think that Boethius's argument was very

The incompleteness of both the direct and indirect examination of Boethius's influence upon medieval thought is clearly a consequence of the previously prevalent belief that Boethius was just a conduit for ancient thought. Scholars do not tend to focus their efforts on analyzing the influence of an unoriginal thinker. It should not be surprising, as such, that as long as Boethius was generally considered to be merely a compiler of ancient thought, scholars did not focus their attention upon medieval commentaries on and citations of his work. Nor should it be surprising that medievalists have not paid much attention to the abundant medieval use of Boethian principles, arguments, distinctions, and definitions. One cannot very well recognize either these principles or arguments, or the fact that they originate in Boethius, if one does not acknowledge the originality of their author.[21] *En fin*, it should not be surprising that the

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similar to Anselm's (see, *La Consolation de la Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, p. 171). Obertello and Ghisalberti, in contrast, think that the similarity is only superficial (see, e.g., A. Ghisalberti, "L'ascesa boeziana a Dio," in ACISB, pp. 183–89). But no one, to my knowledge, has done a serious study of the influence of Boethius's metaphysical works upon Anselm's proofs in the *Monologion*, nor, indeed, of his definition of freedom. Most notably, no one seems to have commented on the similarity of Anselm's opening arguments in the *De libertate arbitrii* and Boethius's *Consolatio* 4p1–4p2. That similarity lies not just in the thrust of Anselm's and Boethius's arguments, both of which ultimately claim that freedom is a perfection. It is also linguistic. Both Anselm's definition and Boethius's arguments, for instance, rely upon the crucial distinction between *voluntas* and *potestas*. Indeed, many scholars openly claim that Boethius's view of freedom and evil have nothing to do with Anselm's (see, for instance, Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 176: "despite his great debt to aspects of Boethian metaphysics and theology, [Anselm] developed his views on justice and evil without any apparent influence of the *Consolation*"). There is, however, no questioning the fact that Saint Anselm knew the *Consolatio*, and consequently there is no reason in principle why Anselm could not have had the *Consolatio* in mind when he wrote his *De libertate arbitrii.*

The example I am citing is just one of the many similarly striking examples. Wayne Hankey gives another in his "The *De Trinitate* of St Boethius and the Structure of the *Summa Theologiae* of St Thomas Aquinas," ACISB, pp. 367–75. Hankey points out that many 20th-century theologians claim that Thomas Aquinas is the originator of the distinction between the *de deo uno* and the *de deo trino.* A careful look at Thomas Aquinas, however, demonstrates that Thomas Aquinas not only derived this distinction from Boethius and the Pseudo-Dionysius, but also "finds the authority" for it in Boethius and the Pseudo-Dionysius.

[21] See, on this point, Joseph Pieper, *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems of Medieval Philosophy* (South Bend, IN, 2001), pp. 30–31: "It is the general rule that the more something is assimilated, the more its tokens of origin are lost. This is true for many of Boethius's intellectual legacies. The carefully delineated concepts of person, fate, eternity [...] the philosophical principle that all knowing necessarily proceeds according to the mode of the knower—for these axioms of philosophy we are indebted to Boethius. The signature of their author has been obliterated because they have long since become common property." The principle to which Pieper refers, and which some contemporary authors have come to call the "Principle of Modes of Cognition," can be found in Boethius's second

re-evaluation of Boethius's own thought brings with it the attempt to sort out his influence. It is to be hoped that this trend continues.

My two general points here are meant not just to give an account of the current state of Boethian affairs. They are also a caveat of sorts: no article written at the present time can hope to give an exhaustive overview of Boethius's influence on medieval metaphysical and theological thought. There is simply too much basic work left to be done to hope for a comprehensive overview.[22] It is also true that Boethius's influence on medieval thought is so pervasive that no article would begin to do it justice.

In what follows, I will attempt merely to sketch a partial picture of that influence, based both on current manuscript work and, above all, on an impartial recognition of Boethius's originality as a thinker. The sketch will be divided into two primary parts. In the first part, it will outline and broadly discuss the characteristics of Boethius's thought and their significance with respect to the development of medieval thought. In the second, it will briefly present the history of the process through which medievals came to appropriate Boethian texts and thought. The second part will itself be divided into two sections, which will deal with the logical and the "theological" texts respectively. It will illustrate how medievals

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commentary on the *Isagoge* and, more important, in *Consolatio* 5p5–5p6. This principle is a good example of: Boethius's originality as a thinker; the reasons why modern scholars often question that originality; and Boethius's influence upon medieval thought. To begin with the matter of "originality," Boethius was not the first thinker to formulate something like the principle at hand. As Sharples has shown, something like Boethius's principle can be found in both in Iamblichus and in Proclus. It is this sort of fact that has led scholars to discount Boethius's originality altogether. But this judgment is too quick. Sharples has also shown both that the principle as it is to be found in the works of the aforementioned neo-Platonic thinkers is incomplete and that it is Boethius who completed it. Thus, as true as it is to claim that the principle did not completely originate in Boethius, one must also recognize that the principle as it was later used owes much to Boethius. Thus, to reduce Boethius to his sources is a grave mistake (see R.W. Sharples, "Introduction," in R.W. Sharples, ed., *Cicero: De Fato and Boethius Philosophiae Consolationis IV.5–V* [Warminster, UK, 1991], pp. 26–29). As for the influence of the principle, one need only note that *cognitum est in cognoscente per modum cognoscentis* [the known is in the knower according to the way in which the knower knows] was crucial to Thomas Aquinas.

[22] This is one of Troncarelli's complaints with respect to the status of studies of medieval manuscripts of the *Consolatio*. See, on this point, Fabio Troncarelli, *Cogitatio Mentis. L'eredità di Boezio nell'alto Medioevo* (Naples, 2005), p. 9: "*Se esaminiamo, ad esempio, le edizioni critiche della Consolatio, ci rendiamo conto che un uso poco coerente dei manoscritti ha generato una condizione di confusione, in conseguenza della quale è asai difficile stabilire se alcune questioni siano irrisolvibili o, piuttosto, non siano state ancora risolte*" . . . [If, for example, we examine the critical editions of the *Consolatio*, we will realize that the hardly coherent use of the manuscripts has generated a condition of confusion, the consequence of which mas made it very difficult to establish if certain questions are unresolvable, or, on the other hand, have as yet to be resolved . . .]."

came to understand and use Boethius's texts through two examples: (1) the problem of the meaning of "nothing"; and (2) the problem of the meaning of *esse*.

Boethius and Medieval Theology and Metaphysics: A Synopsis and Outline

Speaking in the most general terms, Boethius's primary contributions to medieval philosophical and theological thought are commonly held to be three: (1) Boethius furnished medievals with the texts through which they learned logic; (2) he helped to develop a philosophical vocabulary for the Latin speaking world; and (3) he gave the medievals a method with which to do theology.[23] All three of these claims are true. Left unqualified, they are also misleading. They could be seen to imply that Boethius only taught the medievals logic, vocabulary, and a theological method, or indeed that Boethius taught them logic, vocabulary, and a theological method discretely. And neither of these latter claims is true. Moreover, the three claims are perfectly compatible with the assertion that Boethius was only a marginal figure with respect to the development of medieval metaphysics and theology. And this last proposition is simply false.

So, perhaps it is best to begin a general discussion of Boethius's influence on medieval metaphysics and theology by specifying that what is meant when one claims that Boethius taught the medievals logic, vocabulary, and a theological method is that Boethius transmitted to the medievals what Luca Obertello calls the *universo Boeziano*—the *Boethian universe*—by which he means the "organic set of doctrines" concerning reason, knowledge, and being, which comprised the Boethian "mental universe."[24] That is to say, Boethius transmitted to the medievals: (a) a specific set of intellectual tools with which to articulate their approach to reality—including the Christian mysteries; (b) a specific way of viewing and using these tools, which indicates not just how these tools are to be used in the case of "natural" truths but also how they are to be used in the case of "truths of faith"—that is, a specific way of understanding the relationship between reason and faith; and (c) a specific set of interrelated

[23] Rand is the *locus classicus* for this point (see his *Founders of the Middle Ages*, pp. 154–55).

[24] Luca Obertello, "L'universo boeziano," ASCIB, pp. 157–69, repr. in Luca Obertello, ed., *Boezio e dintorni* (Florence, 1989), pp. 41–66.

problems concerning "ultimate realities"—forms, universals, the relationship between the God and creation, and solutions to these problems.

This was no mean feat. If "the distinguishing mark of Latin philosophy in the Middle Ages is to be found in its double aim: the understanding of Christian faith and its defense against those who attack it,"[25] then by transmitting to the Middle Ages a "mental universe" which includes: (a) a specific set of intellectual tools with which to articulate one's approach to reality—including the truths of faith; (b) a specific view of the relationship between reason and truths of faith; and (c) a set of interrelated problems concerning "ultimate realities," Boethius gave thought in the Middle Ages a frame within which to be woven, a weaving technique, the pattern to follow, and some of the threads with which to weave that thought. Patch was not exaggerating when he claimed with respect to Boethius's influence on medieval thought, "Seldom has any author pervaded so thoroughly, and even formed, the thought and the expression of his own and later periods." And, for this, he was not just a model for Scholastics; he was an *auctoritas*.

The point here can be made more precisely. Scholastic thought has been said to have at least three overarching traits, which allowed thinkers to pursue the aims of understanding and defending revealed truths: (1) the principle of reasoned argument or *ratio*—the belief that rigorous argumentation can be used profitably to discover and defend truths; (2) the principle of authority or *auctoritas*—the belief that authorities were to be trusted and invoked both in one's discovery and defense of truths; and (3) the principle of harmony of faith and reason, or *concordia*—the belief that truths of faith and reason were not contradictory but mutually enriching and were, therefore, to be coordinated and harmonized.[26] To this we might add a fourth trait, which is the ground of the first and third traits: (4) the principle of unity of science or *unitas*—the belief that all human knowledge ultimately concerns the same object. All four traits are obvious to whoever reads medieval philosophy and theology. They are the presuppositions of the *quaestiones* and *disputationes* through which Scholastics taught philosophy and theology and with which they often recorded their

[25] Jorge Gracia, "Introduction," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge Gracia and Timothy B. Noone (Oxford, 2003), p. 3.

[26] I am using Timothy Noone's categories and definitions (see "Scholasticism," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p. 55). The third characteristic was clearly a difficult one for medieval thought to hold once Aristotle's philosophical texts were reintroduced in the West.

own philosophical and theological thought. *Quaestiones* and *disputationes* proceed through rigorous argumentation; they always rely upon argumentation to discover and formulate a solution to a specific problem. They always report (and rely upon) authorities in order both to develop and to corroborate these solutions. The problems that the Scholastics attempted to solve in the *quaestiones* often concerned matters of faith. This means that Scholastics had not just to trust that rigorous argumentation could be used profitably to discuss matters of faith, but, more basically, that faith and human reason are not "discordant": that the "truths" discovered by reason cannot contradict matters of faith. *Questiones*, then, also often invoked sciences other than theology, or philosophy, in their solutions to specific theological and philosophical problems, precisely because Scholastics believed in the ultimate unity of the sciences (*unitas*).

It was Boethius who directly conveyed all four of these traits to Scholastic thought, not just because he had written (or translated) the logic books through which Scholastics acquired *ratio*: learned how to argue, and when to trust argumentation, although his logic texts were certainly a necessary condition of the scholasticism. Nor did Boethius convey these traits just because he was crucial to the development of the language with which Scholastics learned to argue, although this too was crucial. Nor again did Boethius transmit these traits just because he had both formalized the "principle of unity" in an education system which was used throughout the Middle Ages, and had compiled many of the texts which were used in that system,[27] although this too was indispensable for the development of

[27] I am speaking here, of course, of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, which Boethius had developed and for which he had compiled most of the manuals in use throughout the Middle Ages, precisely because he had a unitary view of knowledge. On this point, see Obertello, *Boezio* (Genoa, 1974), p. 567: "*In Boezio, dunque, vige, codificato ed esposto in forma che rimarrà canonica per tutto il Medioevo, il principio che la scienza è un tutto unitario, in cui la distinzione degli elementi costitutivi non equivale a una scissione interna. Come i punti del cerchio sono equidistanti dal centro, così i diversi tipi di scienza e di conoscenza nei riguardi della realtà; ma come ogni punto del cerchio si colloca in prospettiva rispetto agli altri punti, così ogni tipo di considerazione scientifica, formalmente determinata, si colloca nei confronti delle altre*" [In Boethius, therefore, the principle that science is a unitary whole—in which the distinction between the constituent elements does not equate to an internal division—is dominant and is codified and expressed in a form that will remain canonical in all of the Middle Ages. As each of the points of the circumference a circle is equidistant from the center, so too are the different types of science and knowledge with respect to reality; but just as the every point of the circumference of a circle has the determinate position it does because of its relation to the other points, so too is it for every type of formally determined scientific consideration in relation to the others]. For Boethius's division of disciplines, which was also transmitted to the medievals, it can be found in the

scholasticism. Boethius conveyed these traits to the Scholastics primarily by example. He was the first Latin thinker to have all four traits that we commonly associate with scholasticism.

That he adhered to the principles of *auctoritas* and *unitas* was no novelty. These traits were common to ancient thought. What was a novelty was his adherence both to *ratio* and to *concordia*. Boethius was the first Latin thinker to use rigorous logical argumentation systematically in order both to shed some light upon revealed truths (the Christian mysteries) and to settle theological disputes.[28] His *De Trinitate* and *Contra Eutychen et Nestorius* are models in this sense. In the prior he applies Aristotelian categories to God in order both to determine how one can defend the "Unity of the Trinity,"[29] and to see under what categories one can attribute properties to God. In the latter, he used Aristotelian logic and physics to defend the orthodox belief that Christ was one person with two natures against the Monophysite and Nestorian heresies. It is not by chance that these works were declared "the output of incipient scholasticism" when they were not considered genuine Boethian works.[30] They exhibit all four traits commonly associated with Scholasticism.

The point here is important not just because Boethius's *Opuscula sacra* [hereafter *Opuscula*] justifies the claim that he was the "first of the Scholastics." It is important also because it demonstrates that Boethius did not just give Scholastic thinkers the means with which to develop their own arguments (logic, language, and a method). Boethius gave Scholastics a means and an end: he showed them both how to argue *and* why and

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De Trinitate 2 and *De arithmetica* 1.1. It is also true that Boethius proposed an alternative division of disciplines in his logical works.

[28] See, on this point, Brian E. Daley, "Boethius's Theological Tracts and Early Byzantine Scholasticism," *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984), 158–91. Daley discusses the methodological change of 6th-century thought. His point is that the entire Christian world experienced a shift towards scholasticism in the 6th century. This point is strengthened by V. Schurr's thesis that it was the "Scythian controversy" which led Boethius to write his theological treatises. See V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der 'skythischen Kontroversen* (Paderborn, 1935).

[29] The specific belief Boethius is trying to defend and understand is: "*'Pater' inquiunt, 'deus filius deus spiritus santus deus.' Igitur pater filius spiritus sanctus unus non tres dii*" ["The Father," they say, "is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God." Therefore Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God, not three Gods]. See *De Trinitate* 1.7–9. For the texts of the *Opuscula*, I shall be using *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973) (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*).

[30] This was Prantl's opinion as summarized by Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, p. 155 (see K. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik der Abendlande*, 2nd edn [Leipzig, 1885], 2.22, pp. 108 ff.).

how rigorous argumentation could profit those Christians who wanted to understand and defend their faith. He himself had done precisely that. And Scholastics both followed Boethius's lead and used his work as a model for their own theologizing and philosophizing.[31] This is one of the primary ways in which Boethius transmitted the *universo Boeziano* to the Scholastic thinkers: Latin scholasticism is to a large degree a Boethian legacy.

But there is more to the "*universo Boeziano*" than *ratio, auctoritas, concordia*, and *unitas*. As the first Latin thinker systematically to use *ratio* in order to shed light on *fides*, Boethius was the first Latin thinker directly to encounter the dangers inherent in *fidem* [...] *rationemque coniungere*, to use his own phrase,[32] that is, in using logical argumentation to shed light upon Christian mysteries: collapsing truths of faith into truths of reason and undermining the alterity which the Christian mysteries claim God to have. He was, as such, the first to point out the limits of using rational argumentation to shed light on dogma in the midst of doing just that.[33] Consequently, he was also the first Latin thinker sharply to distinguish that metaphysics, which belief in God's alterity requires, from the theology, which is developed through *ratio* from belief in the Christian mysteries. He was also the first to formulate that metaphysics axiomatically. The *Quomodo substantiae* (or *De Hebdomadibus*) is a metaphysical *summula* whose axioms delineate the fundamental metaphysical principles

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[31] See, on this point, e.g., G. Schrimpf, *Die Axiomenschrift des Boethius* (*de Hebdomadibus*) *als philosophisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalter* (Leiden, 1966); G. Evans, "More Geometrico: The Place of the Axiomatic Method in the Twelfth Century Commentaries on Boethius' *Opuscula*," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire de Sciences* 27 (1977), pp. 207–21; M. Gibson, "The *Opuscula* in the Middle Ages," *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, pp. 214–34; M. Dreyer, *Nikolaus von Amiens: Ars fidei catholicae—Ein Beispeilwerk axiomaticher Methode* (Münster, 1993); and M. Dreyer, *More mathematicorum: Rezeption und Tranzformation der antiken Gestalen wissenschaftlichen Wissens in 12 Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1996).

[32] *Utrum Pater et Filius*, line 71 in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*.

[33] See, for example, Boethius's *De Trinitate* 6.22–26, in which he claims that the kind of relations which are present in the Trinity are unlike any relations in creation. His point, of course, is that one cannot expect the category "relation" to hold for God as it does for creation. His point is not limited to the category of relations. Throughout the *De Trinitate* he makes similar claims with respect to other categories. What his points imply is that there are limits inherent in the application of *ratio* to *fides*: that God is inherently beyond human logic. This is precisely what he claims in the *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, but his claim is bolder: "*Deus et materia integro perfectoque intellectu intelligi non possunt, set aliquo tamen modo ceterarum rerum privatione capiuntur*" [God and matter cannot be apprehended by the intellect, be it never so whole and perfect, but still they are apprehended in some way through the removal of other things] (1.13–15). See, on this point. A. Trapè, O.S.A., "Boezio teologo e S. Agostino, ASCIB, pp. 15–25.

and distinctions inherent in a creationist metaphysics without invoking truths of faith.[34]

As the *Quomodo substantiae* shows, the *universo Boeziano* also contains terms, definitions, distinctions, beliefs, and principles. These are many and diverse and were extraordinarily influential. To begin with the terms, Boethius had developed some of the Latin philosophical vocabulary that the medievals were to use both in the course of his translation of Aristotle's logical works and in his commentaries thereon.[35] This was, of course, one of the results of his dissatisfaction with Victorinus's translations. But his dissatisfaction was crucial to the legacy that Boethius left to posterity. Boethius, as Magee claims, "brought new life to the Latin philosophical idiom."[36] It is also true, however, that the theological and metaphysical vocabulary, which Boethius had used and developed in his *Theological Tractates*—the *Quomodo substantiae,* or *De Hebdomadibus, Contra Eutchen et Nestorium*, and *De Trinitate* primarily—and the *Consolatio*, for all of its apparent shortcomings,[37] was crucial to medieval metaphysics and theology. In those works Boethius gives what would become classical definitions to vital metaphysical terms. Some cardinal examples which are often cited are his definition of "person" as *naturae rationabilis individua substantia* [an individual substance of a rational nature][38] and his definition of eternity as *interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio* [the whole simultaneous and perfect possession of boundless life].[39] Both of

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[34] See Bruno Maioli, *Teoria dell'essere e dell'esistente e classifcazione delle scienze in M. S. Boezio: una delucidazione* (Rome, 1978) p. 14: "*Le regulae del De Hebdomadibus costituiscono, nel loro stile estremamente conciso ed esoterico, un concentrato metafsico dove Boezio condensa in formule rigorosamente assiomatiche, ma non immuni da un certo alone oracolare ed enigmatico, la summula del suo cosmo ontologico*" [The *rules* of the *De Hebdomadibus*, in their extremely concise and esoteric style, constitute a metaphysical concentrate where Boethius condenses in rigorously axiomatic formulas, which do not altogether lack a sort of oracular and enigmatic aura, the *summula* of his ontological cosmos].

[35] See, on this point, e.g., Magee's *Boethius on Signification and Mind.* In the first two chapters of the work, Magee analyzes the decisions Boethius as translator had to make with respect to Aristotle's *De Interpretatione.* These decisions were crucial, and, as Magee himself points out, they have been enormously influential with respect to the development of Western thought (see also Aszatalos, "Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West," pp. 367–407).

[36] Magee, "Boethius," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p. 220.

[37] I am thinking here of such complaints as the one Marenbon makes concerning vocabulary in his *Early Medieval Philosophy* (*480–1150*), p. 37: "The whole of this passage illustrates well how antiquity handed to the early Middle Ages no clear Latin terminology for philosophical concepts: the distinctions of vocabulary suggested by authorities such as Boethius gave the illusion of clarity to conceptual confusion."

[38] *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* 3.5.

[39] *Consolatio* 5p6, 5p9–5p11.

these definitions are still used today. Boethius's works also contain what would become essential distinctions for medieval thinkers. Some examples of the metaphysical distinctions are those between *esse* and *id quod est*, between *esse* and *forma*, between *forma* and *imago*, between *persona* and *natura*, and between *subsistentia* and *substantia*. There are, of course, many others.

Boethius was also a source of problems for medieval thinkers, partly because of the very principles that he conveyed to them, partly because Boethius's works are at times very difficult, and partly because the *universo Boeziano* is not always consistent.[40] *Concordia* and *unitas* are very difficult ideals when applied to a set of imperfectly consistent beliefs. Some of these problems were relatively insignificant. Some were crucial to medieval thought as a whole. The *Consolatio*'s "*O qui perpetua*" (3m9) with its Platonic imagery was, for instance, a great source of concern for early medieval thinkers. How could one *harmonize* Boethius's claim that there is a "world-soul"—which Bovo of Corvey quickly realized was "contrary to the Catholic Faith"—with the claims Boethius makes in his very Catholic *De Trinitate*? Bovo was actually the first of the medieval thinkers to indicate this problem. Those thinkers who preceded him, for example Remigius of Auxerre, had Christianized the *metrum*, thus avoiding the problem altogether.[41] Those who followed Bovo did not have this luxury. They explicitly had to defend their reasons for accepting or rejecting Boethius's talk about the "world soul." Adalbold of Utrecht was one 11th-century thinker who argued for acceptance. Another was William of Conches in the 12th century. Manegold of Lautenbach, however, was one of those who cautioned against accepting pagan thought and disapproved of talk about the "world soul."[42]

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[40] See, on this point, e.g., Claudio Micaelli, "Boethian Reflections on God: Between Logic and Metaphysics," in Siobhan Nash-Marshall, ed., *Boethius*, Special Issue, *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 78.2 (2004) [henceforth ACPQ], pp. 181–202. Micaelli shows some of the discrepancies between Boethius's approaches to speaking about God, most notably his shifting between apophatic and kataphatic language with respect to one's definition of God. There are many other such discrepancies. One apparent one, for instance, is a shift in the meaning of the terms *esse* and *id quod est* as Boethius uses them in the *Quomodo substantiae* and the way in which he uses them in the *De Trinitate*.

[41] There are two partial editions of Remigius's commentary: See H.F. Steward, "A Commentary by Remigius Austissioderensis on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1916), pp. 22–42; and Remigius of Auxerre, *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii consolationem Philosophiae commentarius*, ed. Edmund Taite Silk (Rome, 1935).

[42] For an overview of this problem, see John Marenbon, "Boethius and the Problem of Paganism," ACPQ, pp. 329–48. For the texts of both Bovo of Corvey's and Adalbold of

A more significant problem that emerged when early medievals thought of the "*O qui perpetua*" in conjunction with Boethius's definition of *eternity* was the problem of the "eternity of the world," by which the early medievals meant not the eternity of matter or of the material world, which in the 13th century would become the topic of heated debates after the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, but the eternity of the forms or ideas.[43] The problem here can be quickly summarized: if forms exist *ante rem*, that is, before those things whose formal cause they are, and time begins with creation, then forms must, it was claimed, be eternal. But if forms are both eternal and the essences of created things, then created things must themselves be eternal. And if this is the case, then how can one claim that "created things" are "created"? And if they are not created, how is one metaphysically to account for the difference between God and creation? That the "*O qui perpetua*" should elicit such a debate is not surprising. The *metrum* evokes Plato's *Timeus* with its talk about the pre-existence of human souls. The "eternity of the world" elicited a heated debate in the early 12th century.[44]

Another problem, which is closely linked to the problem of the "eternity of the world" (although its immediate source is not the *Consolatio* but Boethius's translation of and commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*), is the prince of all problems medievals discovered in Boethius's works: the problem of universals. Universals were a problem for medievals not just because Porphyry had famously raised and left unanswered three crucial questions concerning the ontological status of *species* and *genera* which had considerable impact upon the realism of human thought.[45] Epistemic realism—the relationships between signs and those concepts to which they refer, and between true concepts and those realities to which they

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Utrecht's commentaries on Boethius's "*O qui perpetua*," see R.B.C. Huygens, ed., "Mittelalterliche Kommentare sum *O Qui Perpetua* [...]," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 373–427. For Manegold of Lautenbach, who was primarily a polemicist, see W. Hartmann, ed., *Liber contra Wolfelmum* (Weimar, 1972). Of special interest with respect to the Christianization of the *metrum* is Lodi Nauta's edition of William of Conches's glosses on Boethius (see n. 18).

[43] One of the concurrent causes of the problem of universals in this sense was John Scotus Eriugena, the third chapter of whose *Periphyseon* makes the rather bold claim that things could be both eternal and created.

[44] For a very good discussion of this problem, see R.C. Dales, "Discussions of the Eternity of the World During the First Half of the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 57 (1982), 495–508, and "Time and Eternity," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49 (1988), 27–45.

[45] The relevant Boethian texts from the second commentary on the *Isagoge* can be found in P.V. Spade, ed. and trans., *Five Texts on the Medieval Problem of Universals: Porphyry, Boethius, Abelard, Duns Scotus, Ockham* (Indianapolis, IN, 1994), pp. 20–25.

correspond—was certainly a crucial issue for medievals, for whom reading and understanding Scripture was of utmost importance. *Ratio*, or the principle of reasoned argument, requires epistemic realism. But epistemic realism was not all that was at stake when it came to universals. The ontological status of universals also has significant theological and metaphysical ramifications, some of which are closely linked to the problem of the "eternity of the world." These ramifications can be inferred from Boethius's own definition of *universal* in his commentary on the *Isagoge*: that which is "simultaneously"—*uno tempore*; "common to many"—*multorum enim est quod commune est*; "as a whole"—*totum sit in pluribus*; and "able to constitute and form the substance"—*constituere valeat et formare substantiam*—of those many things which instantiate it. These ramifications are many. To begin with, how is one to come to terms with the fact that the definition calls for universals both to be wholly *intrinsic* in those particular things of which they are constitutive, and *independent* of them—common to many? This is quite a conundrum. What is more, if universals are the formal causes of those things in which they are instantiated, as the definition claims they must be, and if causes must precede their effects in time, then universals must pre-exist the many things in which they are instantiated.

This point raises a host of problems. If universals exist *ante rem*, for instance, how are they related to God? Do they exist in God's mind? If so, how can God both have a plurality of ideas and be simple? Again, are universals created or uncreated? Both options, it seems, are problematic. If universals are both created and necessary requisites of the existence of created things, then God cannot truly be said to create *ex nihilo*. If, however, universals are uncreated, then things themselves must in some sense be uncreated. And this too is contrary to faith. As these metaphysical problems show, there is no easy answer to the problem of universals. If one then adds the epistemic problems to the metaphysical ones, one can see the reason why De Libera has called the "problem of universals" the "quarrel of universals."[46] Indeed, if one wants to solve the epistemic problem posed by universals by accepting their *real existence*, then one runs into a host of metaphysical problems, as the thought of the school of Chartres shows. If one wants to avoid the problem's metaphysical

[46] Alain de Libera, *La querelle des universaux: De Platon à la fin du Moyen âge* (Paris, 1996). De Libera's book is one of the crucial recent studies of the problem of universals. Literature on this problem is, of course, plentiful.

ramifications, and claims that universals only exist in thought, one runs into a host of theological problems. The claim that universals exist only in thought makes dealing with such matters of faith as "original sin" and "universal redemption" very difficult indeed. How can "human nature" have fallen in Adam if there is no such thing as a universal human nature that is instantiated in each and every human being? It is such questions as these that illustrate the primary reasons early nominalists such as Roscelin ran into so much trouble with the Church.

The problem of universals does not just show how crucial Boethius's texts were to the development of medieval thought. It also illustrates one of the primary reasons why Boethius's texts were so powerfully attractive to Scholastics. Boethius did not just raise the problem of universals and comment on it in a logical context, although his solution to the epistemic side of the problem in his second commentary on the *Isagoge* became very influential to advocates of moderate realism, once it was understood.[47] He also dealt with some of the metaphysical ramifications of the problem in his *Opuscula* and in the *Consolatio.* In the *Quomodo substantiae*, on the one hand, he outlined a series of axioms which deal precisely with the relationship between forms and instantiations thereof, which is so troubling for creationist metaphysicians. In the *Consolatio*, on the other hand, he also gave some crucial pointers with respect to the relationships between divine ideas and creation.

As the questions which Boethius's works raised in the minds of medieval thinkers indicate, medieval philosophers and theologians did not just glean Boethius's texts for techniques and opinions, or mechanically study and absorb them, as the claim that Boethius taught the medievals logic, language, and method might imply. Rather, medievals treated Boethius's texts as the works of an *auctoritas*. From the very beginning, they *correlated* and tried to *harmonize* the various points which Boethius made in his works, often in very imaginative ways, applying those principles of *ratio, unitas*, and *concordia*, which they learned from and saw exemplified in his works. They discovered problems in their attempts to harmonize these points, some of which Boethius himself would not have recognized. One such problem, which we shall examine in greater detail, concerned his claim: "*quoniam etiam ipsum nihil aliquid significat, sed non naturam*" [even nothing signifies something, but not nature] (*Contra Eutychen et*

[47] See, on this point, e.g., M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Medievale* (Louvain, 1934).

Nestorium I.16–17). They attempted to solve those problems, often using the argumentative techniques, language, definitions, and distinctions which they learned from Boethius's texts. It is for these reasons that it is best to describe Boethius's influence upon medieval thought as the transmission of a "mental universe." Boethius was one of the masters of medieval thought: his work provided a model, an authority, and a source book. That is to say, medieval thought grew in large part through the absorption, mastery, coordination, and application of the content his texts. His greatness as a teacher can be seen in the variety of thought to which his works gave rise.

Nihil and *Esse*: The Transmission of Boethius's Logical and Theological Works

The variety of thought elicited by Boethius's texts, and the multifarious ways in which Boethius's texts elicited that thought, make it difficult to give a linear account of Boethius's influence on scholasticism.[48] In what follows, we will briefly track Boethius's influence on Scholastic thought by describing the process through which medievals came to discover, study, and build on his texts. We will deal with the logical and theological texts distinctly. This distinction should not be taken to imply a real distinction in the medieval absorption the logical and theological texts.

(a) *Logic Texts and the Problem of Nothing*

Boethius's translations of and commentaries on various works of Aristotle's *Organon*, not to mention his monographs on topics and on syllogisms, were among the primary texts through which the medievals learned logic, at least until the end of the 14th century. It is also true that medievals came gradually both to study and to grasp the content of these logical works. In the late 8th/early 9th century, Alcuin certainly knew at least Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, as well as his *De Topicis Differentiis*. His *De Dialectica* shows as much. This is not much, to be sure, but the works themselves, along with a few others like the Pseudo-Augustine's *Categoriae Decem* and Alcuin's own use of them,

[48] See, on this point, e.g., Christophe Erismann, "The Medieval Fortunes of the *Opuscula*," in John Marenbon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (Cambridge, 2009), 155–77.

whetted the Carolingians' appetite for logic, and they began assiduously to seek more of Boethius's logical works. By the 840s, Lupus of Ferrières had hunted down Boethius's *In Ciceronis Topica*, and possibly also the *Categories*.[49] By the late 10th century, Boethius's translation of the *Catogories* had begun to replace the *Categoriae Decem* as the standard text on that subject, and masters such as Notker Labeo, Gerbert of Aurilliac, and Abbo of Fleury knew and taught a wide array of Boethius's logical texts, including his works on syllogisms (*De Syllogismo Categorico* and *De Hypotheticis Syllogismis*). They studied Boethius's commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *De Interpretatione*. Towards the end of that century, Garlandus Componista shows considerable knowledge of the *In Ciceronis Topica* and the *De Topicis Differentiis*. At the beginning of the 12th century, Boethius's translations of the *De Sophisticis Elenchiis* and the *Topics* began to be studied. His translation of the *Prior Analytics* was included in Thierry of Chartres's *Heptateuchon*, a collection of texts for schools. After that, Boethius's logical texts, translations, and commentaries became part of the standard curriculum throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, although they were not always equally well studied.

Discovering Boethius's logical texts was not the only thing that took place gradually in the Middle Ages. Medieval thinkers came to understand logic just as gradually.[50] To be sure, Alcuin and his circle were enthusiastic about logic. But more often than not they overestimated their capacity to think logically, causing more problems than they solved by conflating grammatical, logical, and ontological distinctions. An excellent example of this can be seen in the Carolingian Fredigius of Tour's discussion on *nihil* in his *De substantia nihili et tenebrarum*.[51] In that work, Fredigius forwards three arguments to "demonstrate" that nothing is something—a *res existens*. All three variously make the claim that since *nothing* is a meaningful word—it signifies something—and that which it signifies must exist. Thus, since "nothing" is what is signified by the word *nothing*,

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[49] For a wonderful account of the Carolingian hunt for logical works, see Margaret T. Gibson, "Boethius in the Carolingian Schools," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), 43–56.

[50] A good overview of the medievals' gradual absorption of logic is Sten Ebbesen's "Ancient Scholastic Logic as the Source of Medieval Scholastic Logic," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzman, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 101–27. A more detailed account of the medieval appropriation of Boethius's logical texts can found in John Marenbon's *Early Medieval Philosophy* (*480–1150* and *Later Medieval Philosophy* (*1150–1350*) (London, 1991).

[51] For a good discussion of this text, see Marcia L. Colish, "Carolingian Debates over Nihil and Tenebrae: A Study in Theological Method," *Speculum* 59 (1984), 757–95.

nothing itself must exist.[52] Conflations of this sort immediately became a matter of great concern for the early medievals precisely because of the sort of argument formulated by Fredigius. The argument clearly has significant theological ramifications regarding both creation and evil. And early medieval thinkers discovered the means with which to sort out the differences between grammatical, logical, and ontological distinctions in Boethius's logical texts: in his translations of Aristotle's *Categories* and *De Interpretatione* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and in his commentaries on all three. They did so very quickly, as can be seen in Ratramnus of Corbie's *Liber de anima ad Odonem Bellovacensem*, which he wrote in response to a monk of Fly who raised concerns similar to those of Fredigius, and even invoked Boethius's authority to ground his claim that *nihil aliquid significat*. After all, Boethius had claimed that: "*quoniam etiam ipsum nihil aliquid significat, sed non naturam*" [even nothing signifies something, but not nature] (*Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* I.16–17). "*Nihil aliquid significat*," Ratramnus states in that work, is a contradictory statement, and proceeds to show why by using Boethius's commentary on the *Categories*. In the generations that followed, the medievals' capacity to distinguish between grammatical, logical, and ontological distinctions grew hand-in-hand with their mastery of Boethius's logical texts. By the time Saint Anselm wrote his *De Grammatico*, thinkers had begun to become quite adept at using Boethius's translations of the *Categories* and *De Interpretatione* and his commentaries thereon to sort out the difference between grammatical and logical distinctions. Anselm himself contributed to this by distinguishing the referents of logical and grammatical distinctions, that is, between *significatio* and *appellatio*. Logical distinctions, he claims in the *De Grammatico*, calling upon Aristotle's *Categories* and using Boethius's commentary thereon, concern *significations*—what terms signify, that is, thoughts, or *intellectus*. Grammatical distinctions, in contrast, concern *appellations*—the ways in which words refer to reality. Anselm also applied this distinction to the problem of nothing in his *De casu diaboli*, where his primary concern was that of the nature of evil,[53] and in the *Monologion*, where his

[52] See Fredigisus of Tours, *De substantia nihili et tenebrarum: edizione critica e studio introduttivo*, ed. Concettina Gennaro (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto universitario di magistero di Catania—serie filosofica, saggi e monografie) 46 (Padua, 1963), p. 127: "*Omnis significatio eius significatio est quod est. Nihil autem aliquid significat. Igitur nihil eius significatio est quod est, id est rei existentis*" [Every sign is what the thing it signifies is. Indeed nothing signifies something. Therefore nothing is what the thing it signifies is, that is, of an existing thing].

[53] See *De Casu Diaboli* 11.

concern was creation.[54] As important as it is, the distinction that allowed Anselm to come to terms with Fredigius's problem, only offers a partial solution to a part of the problem posed by the conflation of grammatical, logical, and ontological distinctions. What remained were such issues as: sorting out the relationships between *significationes* and *appellationes*; understanding why terms "signified" something and referred to something; and whether the referents of *significationes* were "real" or not. These were matters with which successive generations of medieval logicians—from Abelard to Paul of Venice—dealt. The point of departure for later logicians who dealt with this matter—or the *terminists*—as it had been for generations, was Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*.[55]

(b) *Theological and Philosophical Texts and the Problem of the Meaning of* Esse

Boethius's *Opuscula* and the *Consolatio* were known by Alcuin at the beginning of the 9th century. Early on, the *Opuscula* were considered a single text and could be bound with Boethius's logical texts.[56] They were some of the primary texts through which Carolingians studied philosophy and theology. A number of glosses on both the *Opuscula* and the *Consolatio* were written at that time.[57] In the 12th century, the *Opuscula* were central to philosophical and theological training. Although they were not part of the curriculum in most medieval universities after the rediscovery of Aristotle's philosophical texts, they were still considered authoritative texts throughout the Middle Ages. The greatest thinkers of the High Middle Ages produced remarkable commentaries on them. The distinctions which they contain had a lasting effect on Scholastic thought.

As was the case with the transmission of Boethius's works on logic, it took medieval thinkers time to grasp and absorb Boethius's philosophical

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[54] See *Monologion* 19.

[55] The *locus classicus* for terminist logic is L.M. de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, 4 vols (Assen, 1962–67). Terminist logic was one of the "modern" developments drawn from Boethian sources. Another was the theory of consequences, which was drawn from Boethius's texts (translations and monographs) on the *Topics*. See, on this point, Eleonore Stump, "Topics: Their Development and Absorption Into Consequences," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Kretzmann, Kenny, and Pinborg, pp. 273–300.

[56] See, Gibson, "Boethius in the Carolingian Schools," p. 53.

[57] See on this, e.g., F. Troncarelli, *Cogitatio Mentis.*; J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd Series) 15 (Cambridge, 1981). Chapter 5 examines early glosses on the *Opuscula*.

and theological thought and language.[58] As was also the case with the logical texts, medieval thinkers often used Boethius's texts as the starting point from which to develop their own thought, which in this case came to mean metaphysical and theological systems. Both of these things can be seen in early glosses and later commentaries on Boethius's *Opuscula*. A comparison of these glosses and commentaries shows not just the development of medieval understanding of the meanings of crucial terms which appear in those works. It also shows the increasing ease with which medievals dealt with abstract metaphysics. The meaning of the terms *esse* and *id quod est* in the axioms of the *Quomodo Substantiae* (or *De Hebdomadibus* as it was known in the Middle Ages) provide very good examples of both of these phenomena.[59] The terms and Boethius's contrast between them were crucial to all of Scholastic thought.[60]

As was the case with logic, early medieval thinkers were just as aware of their need to master the lessons Boethius taught even as they were overenthusiastic in their attempts to do so. Scholarship tentatively has attributed one of the early glosses on the *Quomodo* to Remigius of Auxerre.[61] The gloss begins with a definition of *hebdomadibus*. The term, the glossator claims, derives from *ebdomadas*, which, he states, is one of the two Greek words for *conceptio* ("*conceptiones animi Graeci duobus nominibus appellant*" [the Greeks call conceptions of the soul by two different names])—the other being *entimema*, which the glossator specifies as deriving from

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[58] A thorough review of the present status of the studies of Boethian manuscripts is Claudio Moreschini, "Sulla tradizione monoscritta della *consolatio* e degli *opuscula theologica* di Boezio: proposte per una recensio," in Claudio Moreschini, *Varia Boethiana* (Naples, 2003).

[59] There is quite a bit of contemporary literature on this distinction of Boethius's, most probably because it was crucial to Thomas Aquinas. For a general bibliography and review of the literature see my *Participation and the Good: A Study in Boethian Metaphysics* (New York, 2000).

[60] Thus, we find the distinction not just in Thomas Aquinas and his followers, for whom the distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* was one of the primary metaphysical distinctions, but also in such thinkers as Hugh of Saint Victor (see the *Didascalion* 1.6), Albert the Great (see, for instance, *De bono*), Alexander of Hales, Eckhart, and so on. An interesting review of the influence of Boethius's *Quomodo substantiae* can be found in Micaelli, *Dio nel pensiero di Boezio*, especially Chapter 2.

[61] Rand, in "Johannes Scottus," in *Quellen und Untersuchungen* 1.2 (1906), claims that the gloss in question is Eriugena's, since it undoubtedly owes much of its interpretation of Boethius to Eriugena. Later scholars have attributed it to Remigius of Auxerre. See, e.g., Giulio d'Onofrio, "Agli indizi della diffusione della *Consolatio* e degli *Opuscula Sacra*," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani*, and "Giovanni Scoto e Boezia: traccie degli *Opuscula Sacra* e della *Consolatio* nell'opera eriugeniana," *Studi Medievali* 3.21 (1980), 707–52. This attribution is also not definite. The problem is that the gloss in question seems to be the final edition of a gloss that was revised by different people over time.

the Greek word for "time," which he claims in turn is the correlative of the Latin *anima*! To get to the real point at hand, the meaning of *esse* and *id quod est*, the glossator claims that *id quod est* "is that which already appears [...] that which through creation has already issued forth in genera and species" ("*id est quod iam apparet* [...] *quod iam per creationem in genera ac species prodiit*"). Again, he specifies that *id quod est* exists in time ("*quod apparet iam in tempore*"). *Esse*, he claims, means *essence*. It is not *id quod est*, he continues, because *id quod est* has already "issued forth" ("*iam prodiit*") "through creation," while *esse* is "latent in God's mind" ("*in mente dei latet*"). It is for this reason, the glossator states, that Boethius claims that *ipsum esse nondum est* [*esse* itself is not yet]. "*Nondum est*," he writes, means "has not yet been created" ("*nondum est creatum*"). *Esse*, according to the glossator as such, seems to mean *the essence of created things before they are created*, or alternatively, the *essence of things as it exists latently in God's mind prior to its creation*. This is certainly a "creative" interpretation of the meaning of Boethius's term *esse*, which seems to call on Boethius's statements on Providence and divine eternity in the *Consolatio*, and illustrates the reasons why the "eternity of the world" would become such a vivid topic of debate. With this said, it is also a philosophically and theologically problematic interpretation of the term *esse*. It is philosophically problematic for many reasons. The primary reason is that to claim that something exists before it exists, albeit in the mind of God, sounds very much like a contradiction. It is also true that the glossator's interpretation of *esse* makes it virtually impossible for him to understand the axioms that follow the second one (which we have seen). That is, it makes it impossible for him to understand such things as Boethius's distinction between *substance* and *accidents* and his problems with participation. It is a theologically problematic interpretation, at the same time, because to claim that the essence of created things exists latently in God before it is created borders on pantheism.[62] It was problems such as these (both the

[62] This is borne out by the glosser's comments that "*Ipsum vero esse nondum est, donec incipiat apparere, quia esse hominis non est antequam in genera et species prodeat. Dum vero latet eius esse, quod est in providentia dei, quodam modo secundum se nondum est, sed secundum providentiam divinam, in qua omnia quae future sunt esse coeperunt et quodam modo sunt quamvis adhuc non appareant*" [Being itself is not yet, until it begins to appear, because being man is not before he comes forth in genera and species. While his being is latent, that is in God's providence, in some way is not yet in itself, but is according to divine providence, in which all things which are future begin to be and in some way are although they do not as yet appear]; and that "*Omnes enim res quaecumque sunt, ante essentiam, id est antequam in formam essendi ueniant, deus sunt et sapientia sunt in pro uidentia et dispositione eius, quia in deo nihil aliud potest esse nisi dues*" [Indeed all things

philosophical and the theological ones) that led later thinkers to refine their interpretations of the meaning of *esse* in the *Quomodo substantiae*.

Gilbert of Poitiers, who wrote a commentary on the *Hebdomadibus* nearly three centuries after Remigius, and based his entire metaphysics on the distinction between *esse* and *id quod est*, begins his commentary with a long prologue in which he comments on both the meaning of "Hebdomads" and the life of the philosopher. In his mind, the two are linked. As Remigius had before him, he takes *hebdomades* to mean *conceptiones*, although he specifies that those *conceptiones* which are *hebdomads* are not similar to *enthymemes* ("*diuersae ab illis conceptionibus quae 'enthymemata' appellantur*"). For *hebdomads* are the highest of *conceptiones*, those which are understood only by the few ("*a sensu simplicium omnino procul sunt*"). Gilbert thinks that Boethius's *hebdomades* are the product of a true philosopher (*sapientiae amator*) and are those *conceptiones* which contain "the understanding of God." As for the meaning of *esse*, and *id quod est*, Gilbert has a complex approach to the axioms in which Boethius delineates what he means by these terms. He seems to have believed both: (1) that not all of Boethius's axioms are philosophical;[63] and (2) that Boethius's axioms admit of distinct philosophical and theological readings. With this said, Gilbert begins his interpretation of the axioms with a distinction between *esse*—being—and *esse aliquid*—being something. *Esse*, which is not further specified, he claims, is the *esse* of that which subsists "through its own principles"—"*subsistens essentia sui principii*." *Esse*, in this sense, means God. *Esse aliquid*, in contrast, is the *esse* of that which is created—"*illa uero, quae in ipso creata est, subsistentia non esse sed esse aliquid*" [that which is in iself created, is not subsistence, but is something]. Having made this first distinction, Gilbert makes another. This second distinction regards *esse aliquid* and is between the *subsistentia* [subsistence] of an *esse aliquid*—a created thing—and that *subsistentia*'s [subsistence's] inhering in a *subsistens*—a subsistent thing. The distinction here, which he specifies is purely formal, is that between "bodily-ness" ("*corporalitas*") and a body ("*corpus*"); that is, it is the distinction between the "form" that is instantiated in a subsistent thing and that determines the "whatness"

whatever they are, before being, that is before they acquire the form of being, are God and wisdom in his providence and disposition, because in God nothing else can be if not God] (see *Commentum in Opuscula* 3, "Johannes Scottus," pp. 51 ff.).

[63] Specifically, Gilbert seems to have thought that the seventh axiom ("*Omne simplex esse suum et id quod est unum habet*" [For every simple being, being and what it is are one]) does not admit of a philosophical reading: "*Hoc in solis theologicis exemplari potest*" [This can be exemplified only in the theological].

("*esse aliquid*") of that thing—"*illius exemplaris exemplum et imago*"—and the thing which instantiates that form. It is a purely formal distinction, Gilbert claims, because the *subsistentia* or "form," which is instantiated in a subsistent thing, cannot in any way really exist apart from the subsistent thing in which it is instantiated. Body-ness is in no way really distinct from that body which instantiates it. It is for this reason, he claims, that Boethius states that *esse nondum est*—being is not yet.

Putting this first set of distinctions together, we have that *esse*, according to Gilbert, means: (a) God—or that which susbsists through its own principles; (b) the "*subsistentia*"—or form—which both is instantiated in and which determines a subsistent thing; and (c) the "subsistens"—the thing which instantiates and is determined by the "subsistentia." Gilbert adds one more distinction to his list. This final distinction regards *esse aliquid* as (b). Forms, Gilbert claims, are of two basic sorts: there are those forms which directly determine the *subsistens*, and those which further determine that which already subsists—*ea quae subsistent*. The first kind of form, Gilbert claims, is *esse aliquid in eo quo est* and is (b) the "subsistence" of the subsistent thing (*subsistens*)—its *subsistentia*. The second kind of form is *esse aliquid tantum* [merely being something], and is both the form and the instantiation of a "subsistent" thing's accidental property. What this means, of course, is that *esse* for Gilbert also means (d) the accidental property of a *subsistens*.[64]

Although Gilbert's interpretation of the meaning of *esse* is certainly philosophically less problematic than Remigius's, it poses significant problems of its own. Gilbert's belief that (b)—*esse aliquid* qua "form"—cannot in any way be distinct from (c)—*esse aliquid* qua "instantiation of that form," for instance—leads him to hold that (b) must always be a singular *subsistentia* (form)—the singular cause of a particular thing's being what it is. This is problematic because it makes accounting for universals and what were to become known as the transcendental properties of being (goodness, unity, truth) very difficult. This is not an irrelevant point. It is a question which the *Quomodo substantiae* forces its interpreter to face. The primary problem with which that work deals concerns a transcendental property of being—goodness—and the reasons why that property can be

[64] For an overview of Gilbert's metaphysics, see Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 149–56. There are several good examinations of Gilbert's commentaries on Boethius's *Opuscula*. One is Bruno Maioli, *Gilberto Porretano. Dalla Grammatica Speculativa alla Metafisica del Concreto* (Rome, 1979); another is Lauge Nielsen, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Gilbert Porreta's Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130–1180* (Leiden, 1982).

attributed substantially to created things. Gilbert, thus, overlooks half of Boethius's problem. A second problem with Gilbert's account of *esse* is that Gilbert's insistence that (b) is the form that both is instantiated in and determines (c), combined with the claim that (b) cannot in any way be distinct from (c), makes it very difficult to hold that (c) is not (a)—that is, that *esse aliquid* is not *esse* in the first sense: God.[65]

Problems such as these did not just raise great concern among Gilbert's contemporaries; they also led subsequent medieval commentators on the *Quomodo* further to refine their interpretation of Boethius's *esse*. This can be seen in Thomas Aquinas's commentary, which was written roughly a century after Gilbert's. Thomas Aquinas's commentary is at once simpler than Gilbert's, and more succinct. It does not include such things as distinct theological and philosophical readings of the axioms, or claims that not all of Boethius's axioms are philosophical. Thomas Aquinas's commentary is the work of a master who recognizes that the *Quomodo* contains crucial metaphysical distinctions—the distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* was as central to Thomas Aquinas's metaphysics as it was to Gilbert's—and who is completely at ease in the world of abstract metaphysics. This does not mean that Thomas Aquinas could resist forwarding his own etymology for the word *hebdomad*—which in his version derives from the Greek *ekdidomi*, which he claims means "to edit" (*edere*)—or reflecting on the reasons why Boethius's work is called *De Hebdomadibus.* There seems to have been something irresistible to medievals about that word.

Etymologies aside, Thomas Aquinas prefaces his interpretation of Boethius's axioms (and meaning of the terms *esse* and *id quod est*) with a series of sober distinctions. First, when one speaks generally of "*esse*," he claims, one is referring to "being" as common and as indeterminate. Being, he continues then, can be determined in two ways: by belonging to a subject, or by qualifying a subject. Thus, to contrast *esse* (being) and *id quod est* (that which is) is both to contrast *esse* (being) and the *subject* to which it belongs; and it is to contrast what it is to be without qualification

[65] Thus, in his interpretation of the sixth axiom: "*omne quod est participat eo quod est esse ut sit; alio vero participat ut aliquid sit. Ac per hoc is quod est participat eo quod est esse ut sit; est vero ut participet alio quolibet*" [Every thing that is participates in that which is being in order to be; it participates in something else in order to be something. And it is for this that what is participates in that which is being in order to be; it is in order to participate in something else]. Gilbert claims that each thing that is participates in its own *esse* in order to be it: "*Omne quod est* scilicet omne subsistens *participat eo quod est* eius *esse* non quidem ut eo sit aliquid sed ad hoc tantum *ut* eo *sit* [*Everything that is,* that is every subsisting thing, *participates in that which is* its own *being* not indeed in order that it be something but only *in order* to *be*].

and qualified being, being which is something. Boethius's opening distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* is to be understood in both ways, he concludes. Second: Boethius's opening distinction between *esse* and *id quod est*, he says, cannot be taken to be a distinction between two existing things (*non est hic referenda ad res*), precisely because *esse* here means common and indeterminate being. Rather, it must be thought of as a distinction between principles or concepts (*rationes seu intentiones*). *Esse* in this context, Thomas Aquinas claims, as such, cannot be a *res*, something which exists (as it would have to be, if it were that which exists in the mind of God). Third: Boethius's opening distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* must be understood in light of his further claim that *id quod est* can participate in something, where *esse* per se cannot. Drawing his conclusions, Thomas Aquinas thus claims that: Boethius's opening distinction is a conceptual distinction between *common or indeterminate being*—that is, being as it is abstractly conceived—and *determinate being*—the actual being of a subject; and between unqualified being (*quod est esse simpliciter*) and qualified being—being that is something (*id quod est esse aliquid*). It is, he continues, the distinction between that in which existing things participate in being (abstractly conceived) and those things that actually participate in being. It is a distinction which is parallel to the distinction between the act of running and an actual runner. Aside from being one of the exemplary commentaries on Boethius's work, Thomas Aquinas's commentary ensured that the *Quomodo substantiae*'s distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* remained a part of Scholastic and neo-Scholastic thought up through modern times.

The commentaries on the *Quomodo substantiae* are just one example of the crucial influence of Boethius's thought upon the development of Scholastic thought. I began this chapter claiming that it is difficult to overestimate Boethius's influence on medieval thought. I will end it by reiterating the same thing. For the centrality of Boethius's texts to the medieval understanding of *esse* and *id quod est* is just one example of that influence, as crucial as it is. As Etienne Gilson and L.M. de Rijk indicate, there are many others. "*Le grand historien Etienne Gilson a bien remarqué que c'est à propos du probème du Bien que la pensée de Boèce fut la plus personelle et la plus féconde*" [The great historian Etienne Gilson has done well to point out that it was with respect to the problem of the Good that Boethius's thought was the most personal and the most fruitful].[66]

[66] L.M. de Rijk, "Boèce logician et philosophe: ses positions sémantiques et sa métaphysic de l'etre," ASCIB, 141–56.

BOETHIUS'S WORKS ON LOGIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES

John Patrick Casey

Recent appraisals of Boethius rightly have highlighted his contribution to the study of logic in the Middle Ages.[1] After all, he translated seminal Aristotelian and Hellenistic logical texts, he provided commentaries on their often tersely expressed and obscure content, and he authored his own independent textbooks. These works enjoyed fairly wide diffusion throughout the Middle Ages, and in the minds of medieval philosophers, Boethius's authority as a logician ranked alongside that of Aristotle's. Yet, odd as it may seem, logic as we study it today does not owe much, or really anything, to Boethius's own work. He was not a terribly original logician insofar as much of the content of his commentaries and the textbooks was derived, if not simply borrowed wholesale, from ancient exemplars. Furthermore, his work bequeathed to his ardent students in the Middle Ages some common late ancient confusions about some fairly basic matters of logic.[2] All was not lost, however. For it turned out that medieval scholars found that Boethius also had provided them with the means for finding their way out of the confusion. In this chapter I plan to tell that story. But I will also say something about some other important Boethian contributions to medieval logic, in particular his definition of the problem of universals and his translation of Aristotelian logical works.

Telling such a story has some hefty prerequisites, including working knowledge of first-order logic, a more than casual acquaintance with the relevant texts of Boethius, Aristotle, and the Stoics, as well as a familiarity with medieval logic. Many readers have met these; many more have not. But even for the non-expert, such a story as that of Boethius's contribution to the study of logic in the Middle Ages—even if only in broad outline—is one worth knowing. Accordingly, this chapter will presume very little by way of the prerequisites, and, given limitations of space, it will aim to

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[1] For the most recent assessments of Boethius and his influence on later medieval philosophy, see John Marenbon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (Cambridge, 2009); and John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford, 2003), especially pp. 164–82.

[2] As with many other philosophers, Boethius confused Stoic propositional logic with Aristotelian hypothetical syllogistic. Anthony Speca has studied this confusion in *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic Logic* (Leiden, 2001).

present Boethius's contribution to medieval logic in its broad outlines. I will begin with a brief introduction to the basic features of ancient logic relevant to Boethius's most noteworthy contributions to medieval logic. Then in the following three sections I will discuss the three primary avenues of Boethius's influence upon medieval logic: his translations, commentaries, and original logical treatises.

Logic

In the late ancient world, the Aristotelian and the Stoic systems of logic were considered to be incompatible rivals.[3] For a time, following the death of Aristotle, the Stoic system was in the ascendancy, but Late Antiquity saw the resurgence and eventual dominance of an altered form of Aristotelian or Peripatetic logic, one which contained confused elements of Stoic logic.[4] The form of Aristotelian logic survived and was translated into the Middle Ages in the work of Boethius. This meant that medieval logicians learned about categorical propositions, syllogisms, and the problem of universals, rather than propositions, disjunctions, and conditionals. But, since the Aristotelian logic Boethius passed along contained confused elements of Stoic logic, it also meant they were slow to recognize the nature and the power of propositional logic and its independence from the Aristotelian system.

Aristotle's works on logic are collected in what was later called the *Organon*, or "instrument"—the first five or so works in the traditional catalogue of his works. Late ancient philosophers read these works as telling a single story, one that starts with an analysis of the basic elements of logic in the *Categories*, continues with an account of predication in *De interpretatione* (known through much of the Middle Ages under its Greek name, *Peri Hermeneias*), and proceeds to develop the complex theory of reasoning in *Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics, Topics* (with the *De sophisticis elenchis*).

Aristotelian logic is a "logic of terms," in which the fundamental elements of analysis are terms, classes, or categories, such as "rational ani-

[3] For a more general picture of the history of logic up until Boethius (and well after), see William and Martha Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford, 1962); and, more recently, Dov Gabbay and John Woods, eds., *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 1, *Greek, Indian, and Arabic Logic* (Amsterdam, 2004), and vol. 2, *Medieval and Renaissance Logic* (Amsterdam, 2008).

[4] See Speca *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic Logic*, p. 5.

mals" and "featherless bipeds." What these terms are in themselves—e.g., are they things or are they ideas?—is not a question Aristotle explicitly addresses in his logical works. But it is nonetheless one that will become central to subsequent discussion of his logic. Late ancient philosophers working under the influence of Plato, such as Porphyry, raised, but did not answer, questions about the ontological status of the terms. On the strength of Porphyry's authority, and Boethius's subsequent translation and commentary, such questions became essential to any further study of logic.

For Aristotle, logic involves the analysis of these terms as they relate to each other within categorical propositions (or statements).[5] Aristotle's theory of categorical propositions constitutes one of his two most salient contributions to the study of logic as we know it; the other, which we will discuss in a moment, is the theory of the categorical syllogism.[6] As Aristotle outlines the theory in the *Peri Hermeneias* and *Prior Analytics*, there are four different types of general categorical statement; they constitute four basic and irreducible ways of predicating one quality of a subject. To give his classic example, the proposition "every man is an animal" affirms the predicate "animal" of the subject "man."[7] What Aristotle noticed is that, given the properties of these kinds of statements, they arrange themselves into a series of necessary relationships. For instance, if "every man is an animal" is true, then it follows necessarily that "not every man is an animal" is false. The key innovation is that the relationship that obtains between these two contradictory pairs is a purely formal one such that the terms need not even mean any specific thing. They can be, as Aristotle points out in the *Prior Analytics*, simply the variables A and B. This discovery of pure formality allowed Aristotle to discover more complex logical relationships among these types of proposition, such as the categorical syllogism.

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[5] The term *logic* does not appear in its modern sense until Alexander of Aphrodisias (3rd century A.D.) (Kneale and Kneale, *The Development of Logic*, p. 7). For the medieval period, however, the use of the term *dialectic* seems to have been the preferred one for all of what we would call "logic"; both *logic* and *dialectic* were used interchangeably. See Marenbon, "The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100," in Gabbay and Woods, eds., *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 2, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Logic*, pp. 2–3.

[6] By this I do not mean to diminish Aristotle's contributions to other branches of logic, such as modal logic (the logic of possibility, necessity, and contingency). For Aristotle's discussion, see *De interpretatione*, Chapters 12 and 13.

[7] The other three are as follows: no man is an animal; some man is an animal; and some man is not an animal. For Aristotle's outline of his theory of categorical propositions, see *De interpretatione*, Chapters 4–8, 10, and 14.

The categorical syllogism, which Aristotle develops in the *Prior Analytics*, is "a discourse in which, certain things being stated, something other than what is stated follows of necessity from their being so."[8] It is a relationship of three categorical propositions and three separate terms (each occurring twice). Here is a typical example:

> Every A is B[.]
> Every C is A[.]
> [I]t follows that every C is B.[9]

That is the syllogism known since the Middle Ages as "Barbara"—the vowels stand for the type of propositions that compose it.[10] In the schematic formulation, A is the "middle term" that joins the two terms of the conclusion. Of course *Barbara* is only one of several different types of valid syllogisms Aristotle discovered. Indeed, the remarkable thing about the syllogism, like the categorical statement, is the relative ease with which one can uncover the rules of the system. This is due in part to the relatively simple formality of its components, the categorical statements. There are, after all, only four different categorical statements, and each has four separate parts. This means there is a finite, and small, number of possible syllogisms. Aristotle seems to have discovered several different methods for identifying valid forms of syllogism (and excluding invalid ones).

The categorical statement and the categorical syllogism were the focus of Aristotle's efforts. As remarkable and important as these discoveries

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[8] *Prior Analytics* I.i.24b19–20, trans. A.J. Jenkinson, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. 1, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Oxford, 1984). I should note that Aristotle also uses the term *syllogismos* in a broader sense when he means argument more generally. In the *Prior Analytics*, however, he means the categorical syllogism.

[9] I ought to caution that this is a variation on Aristotle's specific usage. Throughout his works, Aristotle used different ways to express categorical propositions and syllogisms, some of which, such as "A is predicated of B" or "A belongs to B," would induce nightmares in the beginning logic student.

[10] That is to say, the "A" proposition is "every A is B" type. "Barbara" is the first in a series of names in a famous medieval mnemonic poem which contains the various individually valid forms of categorical syllogism and an axiomatic system for establishing their validity. Here is a very early version and explanation of the poem found in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus* (or *Summulae Logicales*):

Barbara Celarent Darii Ferio Baralipton
Celantes Dabitis Fapesmo Frisesomorum.
Cesare Cambestres Festino Barocho Darapti
Felapto Disamis Datisi Bocardo Ferison.

See Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump, eds., *The Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts*, vol. 1, *Logic and the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 224.

are, they represent, however, only one part of ancient logic. Another ancient system of logic, that of the Stoics, differs from Aristotle's both in its general view of the relationship of logic to philosophy and in the fundamentals of their logical systems. In contrast to Aristotle, who considered logic a tool of philosophy, the Stoics considered logic to be one of the three major divisions of philosophy, alongside physics and ethics.[11] For the Stoics, the most fundamental unit of analysis is what today we might call the proposition (*axioma*)—for instance, "Socrates writes."

One might notice immediately how a proposition of this sort differs from the four general statements studied by Aristotle. In the first place, any proposition is an *axioma*—not just one of a specific (that is a general) type, as was the case with Aristotle. Second, and more important, the Stoic *axioma* treats propositions as fundamental or basic bearers of truth value.[12] The proposition above can be true or it can be false. Diogenes Laertius gives Chrysippus's definition of a proposition as follows: "that which is true or false; or a complete object which can be asserted on its own, as Chrysippus says in his *Dialectical Definitions*: 'a proposition is what can be asserted or denied on its own, for example, "It is day" or "Dion is walking." ' "[13] Some propositions are simple, some are not. Non-simple propositions are composed of many simple ones. The Stoics were interested in the relationships that obtained between simple propositions. For example,

> *if* it is day, it is light;

or

> *either* it is day or it is night;

or

> *both* it is day *and* it is night.[14]

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[11] The scattered sources of Stoic logic can be found in K. Hülser, *Die Fragmente zur Dialektik der Stoiker*, 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1987–88). For a detailed discussion of Stoic logic, see Jonathan Barnes, Susanne Bobzien, and Mario Mignucci, "Logic," in Keimpe Algra, Jonathan Barnes, Jaap Mansfeld, and Malcolm Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 92–176.

[12] Barnes, Bobzien, and Mignucci, "Logic," pp. 94–95.

[13] Diogenes Laertius 7.42–83 [hereafter DL], in Brad Inwood and Lloyd Gerson, eds., *Hellenistic Philosophy: Introductory Readings*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis, 1997), p. 117.

[14] See DL 7.70–72.

The Stoics focused their attention on what we might call basic logical connections, such as implication, disjunction, conjunction, and negation. Chrysippus (280–207 B.C.) developed Stoic logic's theory of conditionals.[15] Foremost among the Stoic discoveries in logic were the "five indemonstrables." Here are the first two of them:

> If the first, then the second, but the first; therefore the second;
> If the first, then the second; but not the second; therefore not the first.[16]

Those who have studied logic will have recognized the first as *modus ponens* and the second as *modus tollens*. The "first" and the "second," of course, stand for *propositions*, not terms. These and other "indemonstrable" theorems were used by the Stoics to outline a more expansive system of logical relationships.[17] But, for reasons both mysterious and depressing, few original Stoic logical writings survive.[18] Their doctrines are known to us in the testimony of ancient sources such as Apuleius, Galen, Sextus Empiricus, and Diogenes Laertius, not all of them friendly (and some of them—Sextus—positively hostile) to the Stoic doctrines.[19]

The two logical doctrines are not incompatible. In fact, the Aristotelian system easily can be shown to presuppose the Stoic system. Any of Aristotle's four categorical statements can be reinterpreted as a statement in the Stoic system. For instance, if we take the following categorical proposition,

> every A is B

we can reinterpret it as a Stoic conditional statement as follows:

> if something is an A, then it's a B.[20]

The same analysis applies to the syllogism as well. Any syllogism can be recast as a Stoic conditional. This intuition, that the one theory implies the other, will haunt the medieval philosophers who read Boethius's texts on logic—in particular, as we shall see in a moment, his work on the

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[15] DL 80.

[16] DL 80–81.

[17] See Barnes, Bobzien, and Mignucci, "Logic," pp. 103–15.

[18] See Sten Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic as the Source of Medieval Scholastic Logic," in Norman Kretzman, Eleonore Stump, and Jan Pinborg, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 103.

[19] See Kneale and Kneale, *The Development of Logic*, p. 142.

[20] Some readers might be familiar with this statement in its symbolic form in predicate logic: $(x)(Ax \supset Bx)$.

Topics and the *Hypothetical Syllogism*. As they reflect on the nature of the inference that binds terms to each other in true categorical statement, and categorical propositions to the conclusion of an Aristotelian syllogism, they eventually will rediscover this connection between the two: the Aristotelian system and the Stoic one. But such insight was not easily gained, for the route they ended up taking was not a direct one. This route went through, in a rather indirect way, Aristotle's theory of topical argument.

Topical argument has its origin in Platonic dialectical argument. As Aristotle points out in his *Topics*, these sorts of arguments differ from categorical syllogisms in that they have, at best, plausible rather than necessary conclusions. They are, in a very broad and non-technical sense, "probable" or "inductive" arguments. The *Topics* is Aristotle's attempt to give some system to these sorts of arguments as well as to develop strategies for making them successfully. By the time of Boethius, however, the study of topical reasoning had undergone significant changes, of which Boethius's works are virtually the sole testimony. As we shall see in greater detail in the final section of this chapter, this transformation of the topics helped philosophers such as Abelard rediscover propositional entailment on the Stoic model.

One might wonder, at this point, what kept ancient and medieval philosophers from taking note of the power of propositional inference much earlier. One reason, as we have seen, was the absence of the Stoic's actual texts. Another more powerful reason was that late ancient authors wrote and studied logic in a unique way. They relied heavily on the texts of authorities, and much of their scholarly production consisted in writing commentaries, *scholia* (comments), and glosses on authoritative texts.[21] Sometimes texts simply reproduce the *scholia* and the glosses with little revision.[22] This practice seems (and is) uncreative. But it is one that Boethius practiced, and, as "tutor of the Middle Ages," passed along.[23]

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[21] For a more detailed discussion of this practice, see Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic," pp. 101–27. See also Marenbon, "The Latin Tradition of Logic to 1100," pp. 1–81.

[22] James Shiel argues that Boethius did little more than copy the *scholia* in the margins of his Greek manuscripts ("Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," in Richard Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence* [London, 1990], pp. 373–92). Sten Ebbsen and John Marenbon challenge this thesis (Ebbsen, "Boethius as an Aristotelian Commentator," in Richard Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle Transformed*, pp. 373–92; and Marenbon's *Boethius*).

[23] Eleonore Stump, *Boethius's De topicis differentiis* (Ithaca, NY, 1978), p. 13.

Boethius's Translations of Aristotelian Logical Texts

A Latin speaker in the early 6th century had access to a few works on Aristotelian logic. Among them were an exposition of Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* by Apuleius (2nd century A.D.), a work on Aristotle's *Categories* called *Decem Categoriae* (a work that rivaled Aristotle's own *Categories* in popularity in the early Middle Ages), a Latin translation of an epitome of Aristotle's *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* by Vettius Agorius Praetaxtatus (d. 384), and translations of Aristotle's *Categories* and *Peri Hermeneias* as well as Porphyry's *Isagoge* (neither of which appears to have survived into the Middle Ages) by Victorinus.[24] Dissatisfied with the available texts, Victorinus's *Isagoge* in particular, Boethius originally intended to translate all of the works of Aristotle and Plato. He also meant to comment on each of the works, explaining how the views of Aristotle and Plato were really in agreement on the most significant issues.[25] In reality, however, Boethius's translation project got only as far as Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories, Peri Hermeneias, Prior Analytics, Topics*, and *De sophisticis elenchis*.[26] Nonetheless, this represents a monumental achievement, especially if one thinks that without these translations there might have been very little logic to study in the Middle Ages, as none of the direct translations of Aristotle or Porphyry's works survived. This remained the case until the 12th century, when new texts arrived and new translations of old ones were made.[27]

Boethius was a very literal translator, even following the original Greek word order. The first of his translations, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, attests to his dedication to detail: he expresses annoyance at the sloppiness of Victorinus's (now lost) translation.[28] In his earnestness, there is evidence that he produced multiple versions of nearly all of his translations through the course of his lifetime.[29] For these reasons, a medieval reader of Boethius's translations could be fairly confident in the accuracy of his translation.

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[24] See Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic," for a more detailed discussion of available logical texts.

[25] *Commentarium in Librum Aristotelis Peri Hermeneias pars posterior*, ed. C. Meiser (Leipzig, 1877), 79:9–80:9.

[26] A full discussion of Boethius's works in their most recent editions can be found in John Magee and John Marenbon, "Appendix: Boethius's Works," in Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 302–10.

[27] For a discussion of Boethius's translations and the history of the Organon, see Friedrich Solmsen, "Boethius and the History of the Organon," *The American Journal of Philology* 65.1 (1944), 69–74.

[28] See Chadwick, *Boethius* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 134–35.

[29] See Minio-Paluello, *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle* (Amsterdam, 1972).

The story of the texts themselves is a complicated one, as they did not arrive together at the same time.[30] Some, it seems, did not even bear Boethius's signature. The first of Boethius's translations to become known in the Middle Ages was the *Isagoge*, followed by the *Peri Hermeneias* and, eventually, the *Categories*.[31] These three texts, which formed the core of what became known as the *logica vetus* or "the old logic," were the most important of Boethius's translations in the Middle Ages. In the first centuries of the Middle Ages, they were the only editions of Aristotle's and Porphyry's works. The other translations, *Prior Analytics, Topics*, and *De sophisticis elenchis*, which would, with James of Venice's translation of the *Posterior Analytics*, be known as the *logica nova* or "the new logic," do not become known until after 1120. Where they were in the meantime, no one seems to know.[32]

The first evidence of the translations is found in the 8th century, more than two centuries after Boethius's death in 524/25. It is difficult to say what intellectual life was like in Europe in those intervening years.[33] The first known edition of the translations can be found in Alcuin of York's *Dialectica*, which makes use of Boethius's translations of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and *Peri Hermeneias* (but not the *Categories*).[34] For the *Categories*, the *Dialectica* relies on the pseudo-Augustine's *De decem categoriae*.[35] The actual text of Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *Categories*, which, after all, the *Isagoge* was meant to introduce, did not become known until two centuries after the translation of the *Isagoge*.[36] Boethius's own translation of Aristotle's *Categories* (known in Latin as the *Praedicamenta*) appears in the record near the end of the 10th century.

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[30] A discussion of the complicated history of the texts of Boethius's works on logic can be found in Osmund Lewry, "Boethian Logic in the Medieval West," in Margaret Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981). I rely on his account extensively throughout this chapter.

[31] The best source for the manuscripts is George Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus* (AL), *Codices* pars prior (Cambridge, 1955), pars posterior (Bruges-Paris, 1957); and L. Minio-Paluello, Arisoteles Latinus, Codices (Bruges-Paris, 1961).

[32] See Bernard G. Dod, "Aristoteles Latinus," in Kretzman, Stump, and Pinborg, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, p. 46.

[33] See Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 2–5.

[34] Lewry, "Boethian Logic," p. 93.

[35] This text seems to have been the basis of the knowledge of Aristotle's *Categories* (even such a thinker as John Scotus Eriugena [9th century] based his discussions of the categories on it in his *Periphyseon*).

[36] And even then its journey up until that point is a tortured one (Lewry, "Boethian Logic," p. 91; and Minio-Paluello, "The Text of the *Categoriae*: The Latin Tradition," *Classical Quarterly* 39 [1945], 63–74).

In addition to the simple fact of their existence, the translations of the *logica vetus* shaped the early medieval logic curriculum in much the same way they had shaped the ancient one. A typical course would begin with the *Isagoge*, then proceed from the *Categories* to the *Peri Hermeneias*. Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II), a well-known teacher of logic at the Cathedral School at Rheims, provides a typical example of how early medieval instruction coalesced around these few Aristotelian texts and their Boethian commentaries. Gerbert's course began with the *Isagoge* and then proceeded in order through the *Categories* and the *Peri Hermeneias*, followed later by Cicero's *Topica* and Boethius's logical treatises.[37] For the next century and a half, Boethius's translations of the *Categories, Peri Hermeneias*, and *Isagoge* appear in numerous manuscripts and under various forms.[38] The texts themselves often bear witness, in the form of interlinear glosses and marginalia, to their use.[39]

Beyond their direct influence on the study of logic, the wide diffusion of the texts of the *logica vetus* helped frame early medieval philosophical theology.[40] Medieval theologians, for instance, applied Aristotelian logical notions in their explorations of the mysteries of God's incarnation, God's nature, and His knowledge of future contingents, among much else. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these early medieval theologians, Saint Anselm of Canterbury, without the explicit attribution typical of later medieval theologians, draws on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias, Categories*, and Porphyry's *Isagoge*.[41] Though the presence of Aristotle can be detected in his discussions of the Incarnation, the Trinity, and God's knowledge of

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[37] Lewry, "Boethian Logic," p. 95.

[38] They appear, for instance, in compilations on logic, in glosses, and commentaries. Important among these, *Regule magistri Gerlandi super dyalecticam*, draws on the *Isagoge, Categories*, and *Peri Hermeneias* (combined with other Boethian texts). See Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 98–101.

[39] John Marenbon has studied the glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian works during this period. See his works: *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge, 1981); "Glosses and Commentaries on the *Categories* and *De interpretatione* before Abelard," in J. Fried, ed., *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1997); and "Medieval Latin Commentaries and Glosses on Aristotelian Logical Texts, Before ca. 1150 A.D.," in Charles Burnett, ed. *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts* (London, 1993), pp. 77–128.

[40] For an extensive discussion of the theological implications of the *logica vetus*, particularly in the work of Anselm, see John Marenbon, "Anselm and the Early Medieval Aristotle," in John Marenbon, ed., *Aristotle in Britain During the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 1–19.

[41] Lewry suggests that there is some dispute about whether Anselm was familiar with Aristotle's *Categories* or with the pseudo-Augustine's *Decem Categoriae* paraphrase ("Boethian Logic," p. 100). But D.P. Henry is fairly convinced that Boethius's knowledge of

future contingents, the nature of omnipotence, and other problems, what is most noteworthy in Anselm's case would be the modalities of necessity and possibility in their relationship to God's existence, God's omnipotence, and the nature of truth.

Elements of the *logica nova*—including Boethius's translations—appear as early as 1120. The era of the *logica vetus*, an era defined by Boethius's partial translation of the Peripatetic logical program, comes ironically to a close after 1120 with the discovery of the second set of Boethius's own translations, of the rest of the *Organon*: *Prior Analytics, Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*. Their recovery moves the study of logic beyond the narrow confines of the *logica vetus*. Not long after this, the rest of the Aristotelian corpus begins to appear, accompanied by copious ancient and Arabic commentaries. While some of Boethius's translations continued to circulate after 1150, newer texts and translations rendered them obsolete.

Boethius's Commentaries and the Problem of Universals

Boethius's commentaries are significant for the study of logic in the Middle Ages for two primary reasons. First, they provided exclusive, expert guidance to the oftentimes incomprehensibly terse texts of Aristotle and Porphyry which they accompanied. In this regard they influenced what sorts of problems medieval philosophers would talk about. Second, they preserve the style and content of the late ancient Scholastic study of logic.[42] And so they influenced how medieval philosophers learned and wrote about logic. We have an apt example of both of these aspects of Boethius's influence in his introduction of the problem of universals. Before we turn to that issue, however, we should take a broader look at Boethius's commentaries.

It is certain that Boethius wrote commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Cicero's *Topica*, and Aristotle's *Categories* and *Peri Hermeneias*. There is evidence that commentaries were made on the *Posterior Analytics* and *Topics*, but these have been lost.[43] Some suggest that Boethius wrote a

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the *Categories* and *Peri Hermeneias* was direct (*The Logic of Saint Anslem* [Oxford, 1967], pp. 7–8).

[42] Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic as the Source of Medieval Scholastic Logic," pp. 101–02. There was more to this practice than commenting on Aristotle's texts.

[43] See Chadwick, *Boethius*, pp. 137–38; Jonathan Barnes, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," in Margaret Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981) p. 87, n. 8; John Marenbon *Medieval Philosophy* (London, 1998), p. 25, n. 2.; and Sten Ebbsen

commentary on the *Prior Analytics*, but that is a matter of some disagreement.[44] The list of surviving commentaries—the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, and the *Peri Hermeneias*, and Cicero's *Topica*—suggests that the period of their greatest diffusion was during the time of the *logica vetus*, that is, prior to about 1150. During this period, they nearly were exclusive witnesses to the Scholastic tradition of the late ancient world, insofar as they draw on sources unknown to philosophers in the medieval West. As these sources become known after 1150, the commentaries faded in importance, but they continued to be read and studied throughout the Middle Ages.

Philosophers of the early Middle Ages knew Boethius's commentaries in the form they have come down to us: sections of original text usually in Boethius's translation followed by (sometimes extensive) commentary. They also knew them, however, in two other forms: as glosses on the texts of Aristotle and Porphyry; and as the bases for expositions and other commentaries on logic (which as a result did not bear Boethius's name). In cases such as these, readers of the original texts of Aristotle and Porphyry lifted sections wholesale from Boethius's commentaries and inscribed them in the margins and in between the lines of their texts of Aristotle or Porphyry. One edition of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, for example, contains carefully selected passages from each of Boethius's commentaries (as well as other authoritative texts) scattered throughout.[45] One finds similarly glossed texts of the *Categories* and to a lesser extent, *Peri Hermeneias*.[46] Beyond the marginalia and glosses on Aristotle's texts, however, some compendia and paraphrases depend substantially on Boethius's commentaries. Notker of St Gall's Old High German translations of the *Categories* and *Peri Hermeneias* are paraphrases that contain a good deal of material from Boethius's commentaries.[47] Another text of the late 10th century—a set of expositions of the *Isagoge* and *Categories*—consists largely in mate-

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"Manlius Boethius on Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora*," *Cahiers de l'institus du Moyen Âge Grec et Latin* 9 (1973), 68–69. And perhaps there might be one on the *Topics* (see Luca Obertello, *Boezio* (Genoa, 1974).

[44] Lorenzo Minio-Palluelo suggests he did: see "Glosses on *Prior Analytics*," *Aristoteles Latinus* (1961–) III.1–4, pp. 295–372. Minio-Paluello argues that *scholia* in a medieval manuscript are the commentary on the *Prior Analytics*: see *Aristoteles Latinus* (1961–), III.1–4 lxxix–lxxxviii (for the *scholia*, see pp. 295–372).

[45] Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries before c.1150," p. 82.

[46] Cologne, Dombibliothek, 191; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2788. See Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries before c.1150," p. 83, and his "Glosses and Commentaries on the Categories and De Interpretatione before Abelard."

[47] See Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries before c.1150."

rial adapted from Boethius's commentaries.[48] But the practice of plagiarizing from Boethius grew to be more diffuse and complex than these two examples suggest. Even as medieval logicians began to explore new genres and compose their own commentaries on Aristotle, they continued to rely on borrowing text from Boethius's commentaries. Even when they did not use his words, they borrowed the form. Most 12th-century commentaries, for instance, use the form of introduction set forth by Boethius in his first commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. They discuss the intention, utility, order, authenticity, title, and nature of the work.[49]

In their turn, Boethius's commentaries on the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, and *Peri Hermeneias* themselves largely depend on ancient Greek neo-Platonic models. Some of this dependence is really just plagiarism as we might define it today. This lack of originality, though shocking to us, would not have been at all strange to a contemporary of Boethius. For the most part, scholarship consisted in borrowing, adapting, or translating the words of masters.[50] The basic principles of this long-used approach stem from the notion the authorities have correctly set forth as the basic principles of logic. The study of logic, therefore, consists in mastering their texts.[51] Original or not, in writing these commentaries, Boethius captured a particular strain of late ancient neo-Platonism descendent from Porphyry. Porphyry, a prolific neo-Platonic thinker (few of whose original works survive), first included Aristotle's logic in the neo-Platonic curriculum (and he wrote two commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*, only one of which survives). Boethius in his turn wrote two commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, the second of which (relying on his own translation) would turn out to be one of the most influential works of philosophy in the early Middle Ages.

For Porphyry, Aristotle's *Categories* concerns words insofar as they signify things.[52] To put this another way, Aristotle's ten categories—substance, quantity, quality, relation, habit, place, time, action, passion, disposition—are not the ten basic ways of *being* but the then-basic ways of *signifying*. Boethius foregrounds this notion in his commentary on

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[48] Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries before c.1150," p. 83.

[49] Marenbon, "Medieval Latin Commentaries before c.1150," pp. 92–93.

[50] See Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic," pp. 101–02; and Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 19–20.

[51] Ebbsen, "Ancient Scholastic Logic," p. 101.

[52] *In Categorias Aristotelis Commentaria*, ed. J.-P. Migne, in *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 64 (Paris, 1891), col. 160A [hereafter PL].

the *Categories*, but it gains a new and more powerful importance when it is read together with some remarks in his second commentary on the *Isagoge*. In the *Isagoge*, which serves as an introduction to the *Categories*, and therefore to the whole of the subject matter of logic, Porphyry discusses the five basic kinds of predicates (or predicables): genus, species, difference, property, and accident. In a historically momentous passage, Porphyry raises but does not answer three foundational questions about the nature of these predicables: (1) whether they are real or only in the mind; (2) whether, if they are real, they are corporeal or incorporeal; finally, (3) whether they are separated from sensible things or not.[53] According to Boethius, Porphyry mentions these questions at this point in the *Isagoge* in order to disabuse the reader of the notion that the *Isagoge*'s treatment of the five kinds of predicates is exhaustive. Boethius takes up these questions with a justification that can, in hindsight, only be viewed as hilarious: so that the reader does not remain anxious about them.[54] Anxious medieval readers spent hundreds of years debating them.

Boethius begins his analysis by outlining the implications of each of Porphyry's questions.[55] First, since everything the mind understands either corresponds to reality or is merely imaginary, genus and species (i.e., universals) must either correspond to reality or they are imaginary. Second, if universals do exist, then another even more difficult question follows. Since everything that exists is either corporeal or incorporeal, genus and species will have to be one or the other. Third, say it turns out that genus and species are incorporeal, then they will either subsist in connection with bodies (like lines or surfaces which are separable from bodies but cannot subsist separate from them) or beyond or outside of them (such as God, the mind, and the soul, which can exist separate from bodies). Having outlined the implications of the question, Boethius sets about his discussion by considering two opposing positions: on the one hand, genera and species either exist and subsist in reality or, on the other, they are formed by the intellect alone. The opposition, Boethius thinks, is exclusive; the falsity of the one will entail the truth of the other.

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[53] *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, ed. S. Brandt, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 48 (Vienna, 1906). An English translation of the critical sections of this text can be found in P.V. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals* (Indianapolis, 1994), pp. 20–26.

[54] *In Isagogen*, ed. Brandt, p. 161.

[55] For the discussion that follows, see ibid., pp. 161–63.

Boethius constructs his solution as a response to Porphyry's three questions. He argues, in response to the first question, for a theory of abstraction. Universal things, like for instance lines, exist in bodies, not separate from them, yet we can abstract them from bodies with our mind. These universal things are incorporeal, but they exist *in* bodies—although they are separable from them. As to whether these universal things are corporeal or incorporeal, Boethius argues that genus and species exist in corporeal and sensible things—even though they are *understood* apart from them. Finally, as to whether they are in sensible things or separate from them but in agreement with them, the answer is both. Insofar as they exist in individuals, species and genus are singulars, but when they are thought of, they are universals. The likeness—which is the genus—is in the individuals as sensible, but when this likeness is thought, it is incorporeal and universal. But it is the same likeness, for the likeness is the species. So they subsist in the realm of sensible particulars but are understood apart from bodies. Boethius's position is, therefore, a kind of compromise between realism and conceptualism. This has led one commentator to remark that Boethius's discussion of universals was "sufficiently vague to allow for use by almost any conceivable theory, yet sufficiently meaningful to facilitate communication and argument."[56] While that may be unduly harsh, the ensuing debate does not center so much on Boethius's solution as his having proposed the problem in the first place.

One might wonder what place such a theory as this has in the study of logic; it seems after all to be rather a question of ontology or epistemology. Moreover, elsewhere in his work Aristotle seems to deal directly with these sorts questions. Recall, however, that logic as Boethius understood it (and as he bequeathed it to the Middle Ages) had the term, not the proposition, as its fundamental element of analysis. It is only natural, therefore, that understanding the nature of the term was a matter of intense interest and philosophical activity.

Furthermore, in addition to its central place in logical theory, Boethius's text found itself at the beginning of the typical medieval logic course, and medieval logic textbooks often began with Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Boethius's commentary, followed by the *Categories* and the *Peri Hermeneias* (as well as the logic textbooks). These works lay out the basic elements of logic in their greater complexity—from the "significant utterance" of the *Categories* to the categorical proposition of *Peri Hermeneias*. The

[56] Martin Tweedale, *Abelard on Universals* (New York, 1976), p. 63.

categorical proposition discussed in the *Peri Hermeneias* forms the foundation of the categorical syllogism, the paradigm of reasoning.[57]

The medieval problem of universals emerges against this backdrop. As we have seen, Boethius's discussion focuses primarily on ontological questions—that is to say, on whether universals are corporeal or not. To put the matter roughly, so conceived the debate mirrors that between two schools of ontological realism, roughly analogous to Aristotelianism and Platonism. Both schools maintain that universals, or forms, are real: they just disagree about what that means. One might have expected the medieval debate on the nature of universals to develop along these broadly ontological lines. Indeed, later in the Middle Ages such notions as a theory of abstraction will re-emerge in a different form in a second iteration of the debate over universals. Even Porphyry and Boethius will be called upon in this later debate, but they will no longer be the key players.

In a related fashion, the early medieval debate does not develop simply as a response to Boethius's interpretation of Porphyry's text. It takes a detour through Aristotle's *Categories* and *Peri Hermeneias*. Boethius has his role to play here as well. In his commentary on the *Categories*, Boethius remarks that "since 'man' is predicated only of individuals, on that account it is called a species, and since animal is said of different species, we call animal a genus. And these are in a sense names of names."[58] For some 11th-century philosophers, considerations such as these suggested that universals were just words, or "names of names."[59] In their wake, one finds Anselm referring with disdain to those who think that universals are "*flatus voces*."[60] From this point forward, the debate over the nature of universals becomes a debate between nominalists and realists. Nominalists maintain some version of the view that universals are mere names; realists claim that universals are things that really exist.

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[57] For more on the importance of this question to the study of logic as it was understood by 12th-century philosophers, see Ian Wilks, "Peter Abelard and His Contemporaries," in Gabbay and Woods, *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 2, *Medieval and Renaissance Logic*, 85–92.

[58] *In Categorias Aristotelis Commentaria*, ed. Migne, in *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii opera omnia*, PL 64:176D.

[59] For a discussion of the early interpretation of this passage, see Marenbon, "Glosses and Commentaries on the *Categories* and *de Interpretatione* before Abelard," pp. 36–39; and John Marenbon, "Vocalism, Nominalism and the Commentaries on the *Categories* from the Earlier Twelfth Century," *Vivarium* 30, 51–61.

[60] *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi*, in F.S. Schmitt, ed. *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archepiscopi opera omnia* 2 (Edinburgh, 1946), p. 9.

Logicians of the 12th century went on to develop several philosophically nuanced variations of these views. Abelard, a famous nominalist, describes one such view in his autobiography. Speaking of his chief rival, the realist William of Champeaux, he writes:

> I returned to him to hear his lectures on rhetoric, and in the course of our philosophic disputes I produced a sequence of clear, logical arguments to make him emend, or rather abandon, his previous attitude to universals. He had maintained that in the common existence of universals, the whole species was essentially the same in each of its individuals, and among these there was no essential difference, but only variety due to multiplicity of accidents. Now he modified his view in order to say that it was the same not in essence but through non-difference. This has always been the dialectician's chief problem concerning universals, so much so that even Porphyry did not venture to settle it when he deals with universals in his *Isagoge*, but only mentioned it as a "very serious difficulty."
>
> Consequently, when William had modified or rather had been forced to give up his original position, his lectures fell into such contempt that he was scarcely accepted on any other points of dialectic, as if the whole subject rested solely on the question of universals.[61]

None of William's work survives, so it is difficult to assess Abelard's characterization of the debate. This does illustrate, however, how far the basic terms of the debate had shifted from Boethius's initial, comparatively simple ontological considerations. Notice, for instance, that Abelard's objection to William raises an issue only indirectly present in Boethius's text, the problem of individuation. If things really are universal, Abelard wonders, then what will make them distinct from each other? This is an acute observation, one that will become the center of the debate in the second iteration of the problem of universals later in the Middle Ages. Indeed, while a full account of this debate still waits to be written, since much of the raw material waits to be read, the work of Peter Abelard is an interesting case in point.[62]

Abelard's own approach to solving the problem of universals shows his distance from Boethius. In his *Glosses on Porphyry* in his *Logica*

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[61] Abelard, *Historia Calamatitatum*, trans. Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (New York, 1974), p. 60.

[62] See John Marenbon, "Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," Gabbay and Woods, *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 2, *Medieval and Renaissance Logic*, pp. 65–81, for the most recent appraisal of the research on the early iterations of the debate between nominalists and realists.

Ingredientibus, Abelard begins with Porphyry's three questions, but he quickly changes course to his own questions about universal *names*:

> For other, similarly difficult questions too can be raised about these same genera and species. For instance, the question about the common cause of the imposition of universal names. That question is: "diverse things agree according to *what*?" Or also the question about the understanding of universal names, by which understanding no thing appears to be conceived. Neither does it appear that any *thing* is dealt with by a universal word. There are many other difficult questions as well.[63]

In the ensuing account, Abelard highlight's Aristotle's definition of a universal in *Peri Hermeneias* as something "by its nature *predicated* of a number of things."[64] This is not to say Abelard will not have recourse to Boethius throughout his discussion; scarcely a page goes by without some reference to him. But he does not seek at all to solve Boethius's problem; he seeks rather to recast Boethius's problem as one which concerns the semantics of universal terms. How, in other words, do universal terms refer to things? Boethius, in other words, asked the wrong question.

There exist, of course, many more variations on nominalism and realism. Here we have surveyed only the extent to which the very framing of the issue influences the meaning of the debate, which started with Boethius, had moved well beyond him. The problem of universals will be reproposed, however, with the arrival of the *logica nova*. But it will be driven primarily by the recovery of the remaining works Aristotle—in particular the *Posterior Analytics, Metaphysics*, and *De anima*, with the commentaries of later Hellenistic and Arabic commentators (especially Avicenna). These texts push the conversation about universals well beyond the limits of the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*.

Boethius's Original Logic Texts

For a stretch of the early Middle Ages, Boethius was better known as a logician than Aristotle. Not everyone, however, was impressed. John of Salisbury, for instance, complained about the preference of some for Boethius over Aristotle:

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[63] *Logica Ingredientibus*, trans. P.V. Spade, *Five Texts*, p. 27.
[64] *Peri Hermeneias* 7.17a39–40.

> Against those who, in their conservatism, exclude the more efficacious books of Aristotle, and content themselves almost exclusively with Boethius, much could be said. There is, however, no necessity to advance any arguments on this point. The inadequacy of the knowledge of those who have consumed all their time and energies studying Boethius, with the result that they hardly know anything, is so universally apparent that it excites compassion.[65]

One can hardly blame them, however, as Aristotle does not make it easy to decipher the basic principles of the theory of the categorical syllogism. Furthermore, despite the negative appraisal, Boethius's original works on logic bridge an important gap where the originals were not available. They also continued to be important. In a curious testimony to the longevity of Boethius's authority as a logician, much the same charge was made against Walter Burleigh two centuries later:

> After the aforesaid *Summa* [Ockham's *Summa totius logicae*] published by Friar William, Burleigh compiled another tract on Logic in which there is nothing which is not taken from the preceding *Summa* or from Boethius's book on the categorical and the hypothetical syllogism.[66]

While it may be preferable to learn directly from the master, nowadays few would consider teaching Aristotelian logic out of the *Prior Analytics*.

Five of Boethius's original logical treatises survived into the Middle Ages.[67] Two of them—*Introduction to Categorical Syllogisms* (*Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos*) and *On the Categorical Syllogism* (*De syllogismo categorico*)—cover the basics of Aristotle's theory of the categorical syllogism and categorical statement.[68] The other treatises cover various extensions of late ancient Aristotelian logical theory. *On Hypothetical Syllogisms* introduces the general theory of hypothetical syllogisms, which are syllogistic arguments containing hypothetical statements. This was not, by the way, a type of argument Aristotle had developed, though at one point

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[65] *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury*, trans. Daniel McGarry (Berkeley, 1962), p. 243.

[66] Boehner's translation of an extract from Erfurt *Amploniana* 0.67, fol 123b in Philotheus Boehner, *Medieval Logic*: *An Outline of its Development from 1250 to c.1400* (Manchester, 1952), p. 141.

[67] At least one work, *On the Order of the Peripatetic Discipline*, a treatise on the correct way to study logic, did not survive. For discussion, see John Magee, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Divisione Liber* [*Philosophia Antiqua*] 77 (Leiden, 1998), p. 7.

[68] For a more detailed discussion of these two works, especially their developments of Aristotelian logical theory, see Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 46–49. For a discussion of these works from a more strictly logical point of view, see Christopher J. Martin, "The Logical Textbooks and Their Influence," in Marenbon, *Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, pp. 56–84.

in the *Prior Analytics* he suggested that he would.[69] Boethius's discussion remains, in fact, the only extended treatment of hypothetical syllogisms surviving from antiquity.[70] *On Topical Differentiae* also regards a form of argument, one first articulated by Aristotle in the *Topics* but completely transformed by later ancient thinkers. Finally, the treatise *On Division* examines, in an admittedly derivative way, an ancient theory of logical and ontological division. It ought to be said that even though these represent what we might call Boethius's "original" contribution to the study of logic in the Middle Ages, they remain nonetheless, like his commentaries, decisively derivative.[71]

As a group, the treatises found themselves in one way or another at the center of the medieval logic curriculum starting from about the time of Gerbert of Aurillac, when one finds the first evidence of their appearance in manuscripts. These texts, or parts of them, appear in manuscripts of the 10th century.[72] They also were combined with texts by other authors (such as Apuleius, Victorinus, and the pseudo-Augustine) into textbooks used in logical instruction. One notable exemplar of this tradition is the compendium of Abbo of Fleury, who across two books adapted elements of the *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos, De syllogismis cateogoricis, De syllogismis hypotheticis*, and the *De differentiis topicis* as well as Apuleius's *Peri Hermeneias*.[73] Another Fleury text, *Regule magistri Gerlandi super dyalecticam*, weaves together Boethius's treatises and commentaries in an attempt to produce a logic textbook akin to Abbo's.[74] *On Division* and *De topicis diferentiis* were regular, albeit perhaps minor, parts of the university curriculum in the 13th century.[75] Subsequent to that, as university records attest, their centrality to the curriculum waned.[76] Nonetheless, they remained important philosophical works in their own right until late in the Middle Ages. Robert Kilwardby devotes some of his course on the *logica vetus* to Boethius's *De divisione*, and Albert the Great produced a full

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[69] See *Prior Analytics* 50a39.

[70] Speca, *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic Logic*, p. 67. This, of course, does not mean that other works on hypothetical syllogisms did not exist.

[71] See, for instance, Mark W. Sullivan, *Apulein Logic* (Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 209–27.

[72] See Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 95–96.

[73] *Abbonis Floriacensis Opera Inedita* i. *Syllogismorum Categoricorum et Hypotheticorum Enodatio*, ed. A. van de Vyver (Bruges, 1966). See also Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 96–97.

[74] See Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 96–100.

[75] Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 113–18. Over the course of the century, their significance in the curriculum seems to have diminished.

[76] Lewry notes that, by the middle of the 13th century, *De divisione* and *De topicis differentiis* were required to be heard only once, cursorily. See "Boethian Logic," p. 114.

commentary on that text. Though scholars continued to study *De divisione* until the end of the Middle Ages, Albert the Great's commentary, judging by its wide diffusion in manuscripts, remained the most popular of the available commentaries.[77]

Beyond their use as a source for late ancient logical theory, as tools in logical instruction, and in the composition of logical textbooks, two of Boethius's works—*De topicis differentiis* and *De hypotheticis syllogismis*—contributed, albeit unintentionally and indirectly, to the development of the medieval theory of consequences and eventually to the rediscovery of propositional logic. This evolved from the somewhat unlikely way medieval philosophers read these texts. This is a rather complicated story, one that requires us to have the main ideas of the two texts present to mind.

Recall that a categorical proposition brings together two terms by predication; one term, the predicate, is affirmed or denied of another term, the subject—so, "every man is an animal," to use our example: *animal*, the predicate, is affirmed of *every man*.[78] Categorical syllogisms are composed of these kinds of propositions (three of them, to be exact). A hypothetical proposition, on the other hand, involves connections or disjunctions between two or more categorical propositions, and to use Boethius's example,

> *if* it is day, it is light.[79]

The first book is devoted to discussing, in ever increasing degrees of complexity, the various kinds of hypothetical propositions. The second and third books discuss the various forms of hypothetical syllogisms. Here is one example from Book II:

> If it is a man, it's an animal[.]
> [I]t's a man,
> therefore it's an animal[.][80]

The rest of *De Hypotheticis Syllogismis* describes, in vertiginously complicated detail, various forms of hypothetical syllogism. While that task is important in its own regard, what is interesting about this text—and what will influence later medieval philosophers—is how it handles the logical connective *if*.

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[77] Lewry, "Boethian Logic," pp. 116–17.
[78] *De Hypotheticis Syllogismis* (hereafter HS), ed. L. Obertello (Brescia, 1969), p. 206.
[79] Ibid., p. 206.
[80] Ibid., p. 254.

To those who know some propositional logic, propositions such as the one above will sound very familiar. In fact, until very recently, some scholars believed Boethius *was developing*, or at least *was significantly aware of*, propositional logic.[81] In working out the various schemas for hypothetical syllogisms, Boethius uses variable letters such as A and B. One might be tempted to think, therefore, that when Boethius says "if it is A, it is B" ("*si est a, est b*") he means A and B to be *propositions*, not *terms*. But, for Boethius, A and B do *not* stand for simple *propositions*—the Stoic *axioma*—but rather *predicates* affirmed (or denied as the case may be) of some subject. So in the proposition, "if it is A, then it is B," Boethius has in mind something like, "if it is a man, then it is an animal." This is completely different. A careful study of the rest of the text confirms this view. It also reveals that Boethius has nothing useful or accurate to say about Stoic propositional logic, which is especially evident in his account of propositional negation.[82] These confusions ended up causing headaches for later philosophers, in particular Abelard.

While much could be said of hypothetical syllogisms, where they most influenced medieval philosophy was in connection with topical argument. What ancient philosophers called "topical reasoning" might seem rather obscure to philosophers today and so it merits a brief introduction. The closest analogue might be what logic texts today tend somewhat sloppily to call "inductive" reasoning; that is to say, reasoning whose best result is probability or plausibility, not formal validity.[83] Take the following syllogism, for instance:

> Everything just is good[.]
> Every virtue is just[.]
> [H]ence, every virtue is good[.][84]

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[81] This confusion was not noticed until recently. K. Durr, *The Propositional Logic of Boethius* (Amsterdam, 1951), and Barnes, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," read it as a propositional logic. Niels Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages* (Munich, 1984), Christopher Martin, "Logic of Negation in Boethius," *Phronesis* 36 (1991), 277–304, and Speca, *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic Logic* noticed Boethius's confusion.

[82] While Boethius mentions the Stoic indemonstrables in Book V of *On Cicero's Topics*, his account of the proposition in that chapter makes it obvious he does not appreciate the Stoics insight (Martin, "The Logic of Negation").

[83] Introductions to logic commonly available tend to give only these two options—deductive and inductive—and the distinction is drawn as one between necessity and probability. Recent research in informal logic, however, has greatly expanded the conceptual geography beyond that simple division (for instance, Douglas Walton, *Media Argumentation* [Cambridge, 2007], pp. 1–46).

[84] *Boethius's De topicis differentiis* (hereafter DTD), trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1978), II.1181D.

That, of course, is the "Barbara" syllogism we have discussed above. We noted there that the *form* alone of this syllogism, regardless of what the terms mean, guarantees its validity; that is to say, its conclusion necessarily follows from its premises, as Boethius hastens to point out.[85] Some syllogisms are categorical, or predicative, as Boethius calls them, and some are hypothetical, but both depend on logically rigorous notions of necessity. As one might imagine, that kind of reasoning, however, has a rather limited scope. It leaves out the vast range of claims that can never achieve that kind of necessity. As we shall see presently, later medieval philosophers did not seize on the notion of non-deductive, plausible or inductive argumentation that one might think *De topicis differentiis* to be developing.[86] As we shall see presently, they took the notion of topical argumentation, as Boethius outlined it, in an unexpected direction.

The four books of the *Topical Differentiae* are devoted to explaining the principles of topical argumentation. The first three (drawing heavily on the accounts of Cicero and Themistius) classify the different sorts of topical inferences, while the last book considers the rhetorical (i.e., not the logical) implications of the theory. In its most basic outlines, Boethius understands topical inferences as a way of finding arguments, rather than a way of judging the arguments of others (or of assessing their validity).[87] A "topic" (or in Latin *locus*) as Boethius describes it, is the "seat" (*sedes*) of an argument. It is both a maximal proposition and the differentia of a maximal proposition. A "maximal proposition" is a self-evident or obvious proposition, such as "what suits the whole fits the part also" (1188C). The *differentia* of a maximal proposition, in contrast, is how the maximal propositions differ from each other. In this case, the differentia is "from the whole" (1188C). One might employ this topic to show that human affairs are ruled by providence: "if the world is ruled by providence, but men are part of the world, then human affairs are ruled by providence" (1188C). The topic functions as a kind of logical rule which guarantees the validity of such inferences. There are many such rules, and, as some have correctly pointed out, Boethius's description of the topics seems to involve all sorts of different kinds of statements—both categorical and conditional. What

[85] DTD II.1183B.

[86] There has been something of a reawakening of interest in topical inferences lately. Scholars working in the field of informal logic and fallacies have turned to ancient and medieval accounts of the topics for a more robust account of how people actually reason. See, for instance, Douglass Walton, Chris Reed, and Fabrizio Macagno, *Argument Schemes* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 275–307.

[87] DTD, I.1173C.

caught the interest of later medieval philosophers, however, were conditional inferences such as this one.

We could say much more about Boethius's theory of topical argument, but our focus is on its relationship to conditional statements. Recall that the logic Boethius bequeathed to the Middle Ages in his translations, his commentaries, and in the textbooks now under discussion was decisively Aristotelian. Its foundation, as we have discussed in section one above, is the term, the basic component of the categorical statement. While interest in the nature of the term drove the medieval discussion of universals, interest in the categorical proposition drove the early medieval discussion of logic. Boethius's term-driven conception of the hypothetical proposition shows the extent to which he was wedded to this notion as a foundational one. It also illustrates that he had no appreciation for the achievements of the Stoics, even though he had mentioned some of their foundational notions.

Nevertheless, later medieval philosophers found the tools for the rediscovery of propositional logic by seeing connections, some of them clearly mistaken, between hypothetical syllogisms and topical arguments. For reasons yet to be fully understood, students of logic in 9th-century St Gall, who were *not* reading Boethius's *De topicis differentiis* and *De hypotheticis syllogismis*, and who seemed largely unaware of Aristotle in Boethius's translation, understood topics and hypothetical syllogisms to be related notions. Niels Green-Pedersen suggests they confused some comments in Boethius's commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* to mean that the topical argument includes hypothetical syllogisms. They also seem to have taken hypothetical syllogisms to be about genuine propositions in the Stoic sense, though they failed to exploit that notion.[88] This connection, however initially strange, between the *De topicis* and the *De hypotheticis*, nonetheless, persisted, and was applied by later medieval logicians to a reading of the work of Boethius.

In the 12th century, Abelard was among those who saw this connection between hypothetical syllogisms and topical argument as a way to explore his intuitions about the nature of conditionals. Abelard was also acute enough to notice the shortcomings of Boethius's account of hypothetical syllogisms and to grasp the difference between an Aristotelian categori-

[88] See Niels Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of Topics in the Middle Ages* (Munich, 1984), pp. 140–45.

cal proposition and a truth-functional proposition of the Stoic variety.[89] One particularly serious shortcoming uncovered by Abelard—and consequently fundamental to his wresting an authentically propositional logic out of Boethian texts not at all designed with that purpose in mind—was his account of propositional negation. Students of propositional logic know that the negation operator applies to the entire statement. So if one negates the proposition, "Every S is P," one gets, "*Not* every S is P," the negation being placed before the entire proposition. For Boethius, the negation of "Every S is P" is "Some S is not P." It is worth noting that in one place, Boethius had even considered the placement of the negation prior to the entire proposition, but he rejected it because this would have made it unclear which term was being applied—in our example, the S or the P.[90]

In addition to that fundamental insight into the basic conception of a propositional operator, Abelard also sought to explain how one true proposition could be shown to follow another true proposition in a conditional statement. Like the logicians in 9th-century St Gall, he did this by exploiting the connection between the theory of the hypothetical syllogism, which covered conditional statements, and the theory of topics, which dealt with maximal or self-evident propositions. Even though this work clearly draws on the texts of Boethius, it has very little to do with Boethius's conception either of the hypothetical syllogism or topical inference. Abelard's insights would eventually lead, much later in the Middle Ages, to the full-blown theory of consequences.

Recall that categorical syllogisms are valid in virtue of their form. That is to say, given a certain arrangement of terms in the premises, the conclusion will follow necessarily. Abelard calls that relationship a "perfect inference."[91] Here is his example:

> Every man is an animal[.]
> Every animal is an animate thing[.]
> Therefore, every man is an animate thing.

Other inferences, however, are imperfect. For example:

> *If* it is a man, it is an animal.

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[89] This fact alone, in the words of Christopher Martin, would make him "one of the greatest of all philosophical logicians." See his "Logic," in Jeffrey E. Brower and Kevin Guilfoy, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 166.

[90] In his second commentary on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* (*In De interpretatione maior* 7.164ff). For discussion, see Martin, "Logic," pp. 165–67; and his "Logic of Negation."

[91] *Petrus Abaelardus Dialectica*, ed. L.M. De Rijk (Assen, 1970), p. 253.

This inference is called imperfect because it does not depend on the form.[92] Abelard's approach to conditional statements such as these involves reading the topical *differentiae*, as Boethius developed them in *De topicis*, as inference warrants (*vis inferentiae*) for conditional statements.

In this example, the topical *differentia*, "from species," provides the warrant for the entailment: being a species always entails, to put this another way, the presence of the genus. Though Abelard has to be credited for appreciating the possibilities for extending the theory of topics to consequences, he is eventually frustrated in his quest for a unified theory of inference.[93]

Though not the first, Abelard, of course, stands at the beginning of the process that will separate the topics from Boethius's notion of plausible argument. This process will continue until the topics are completely absorbed, to borrow a phrase from Eleonore Stump, into the theory of consequences. Later medieval logicians no longer distinguished perfect from imperfect inferences in reference to the categorical syllogism, as Abelard had done. As they reflect on the conception of the topics as inference warrants, they will whittle the original list containing scores of them to just a few. This move toward greater generality and economy for the theory of inference warrants a mind that has the presence of a much more basic logical notion at work.[94] By the 13th century, logicians working on the topics had come to view categorical syllogisms as dependent upon topics, rather than separate from them.[95] This meant that the topics, to Boethius a theory employed to classify ways of organizing plausible arguments to aid in finding them, had morphed into a general theory of deductive inference, encompassing even the hallmark of Aristotelian logical theory, the categorical syllogism. The topics had become strictly a way of evaluating arguments. This eventually would lead to a general theory of inference not unlike the propositional logic of the Stoics that had been forgotten. No one could rightly claim that Boethius, whose work on the topics was the source of this radical rethinking of the categorical syllogism, might possibly have anticipated this.

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[92] *Dialectica*, p. 254.

[93] See Martin, "Logic," pp. 186–92; and his "The Logical Textbooks and Their Influence," pp. 80–82.

[94] See Martin, "Logic," pp. 166–76, for a discussion of the basics of Abelard's theory of entailment.

[95] See Stump, "Topics: Their Development and Absorption into Consequences."

The absorption of the categorical syllogism into the theory of topics, in fact, seems a fitting way for our discussion to end. In his translations, his commentaries, and his logical textbooks, Boethius labored to make Aristotle comprehensible to the Latin world. This project, truncated though it might have been from the beginning, succeeded far beyond what he could have imagined; he not only helped Aristotle's logic, in all of its richness and glory, to dominate an entire age, but he also helped bring that dominance to an end.

BOETHIUS'S INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: THE VERNACULAR AND THE *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE*

Paul E. Szarmach

> *Nam ex Latino rhetorico fasmate in propriam ueterat linguam uolimina, numero ignoto, ita uarie, ita praeopime, ut non tantum expertioribus sed et audientibus Boetii lachrymosus quodammodo suscitaretur motus.*
>
> [For from the ornate Latin tongue he turned unknown numbers of books into his own language with such variety and richness, that not only for scholars, but for any who might hear it read, the tearful passion of the book of Boethius would be in measure brought to life.][1]

Writing sometime in the later 10th century, Æthelweard (d.988?) in his *Chronicle* links Alfred the Great (d.899) with the *De consolatione philosophiae* [*Consolatio*], doubtlessly the lachrymose volume cited above. Æthelweard is summing up the king's career at the moment of death to include his political life and his literary skill. Given the dedication of the chronicle to Matilda, abbess of Essen, a great-great-granddaughter of Alfred, one could easily dismiss this remarkable literary obituary as a form of second-hand flattery or, given the near century elapse of time, a mistaken (or even misleading) statement. M[alcolm] R. Godden remarks that Æthelweard's characterization of the volume is an "odd response to the work as a whole" and wonders whether Æthelweard "had done more than glance at the beginning."[2] This section of the *Chronicle* is what it is, and there is nothing within it that undercuts a straightforward reading. The details

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[1] A.P. Campbell, ed. [and trans.], *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), p. 51 [*en face*]. In his Preface (p. vii), Campbell notes the difficulty of translating Æthelweard's Latin: "[The translation] amounts in hard passages only to a suggestion of a possible meaning." See Campbell's further observations on Æthelweard and his "remarkable" Latin, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii. My thanks to Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe for a discussion of this passage. For concise introductions to Æthelweard and mention of his son Æthelmær, see Joyce Hill, s.n. in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel Rosenthal (New York, 1998), pp. 9–10; Sean Miller, *s.n.* in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1999), p. 18.

[2] M[alcolm] R. Godden, "King and Counselor in the Alfredian Boethius," in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck, ASMAR 24, MRTS 334, in collaboration with Brepols (Tempe, 2008), pp. 191–207, at p. 191, n. 2.

about style and presentation are gratuitous and therefore more likely to be genuine. Certainly the whole of the story of Boethius inspires *more* than idle tears and, if I may be indulged, Æthelweard is to be forgiven for not finishing the whole of the *Consolatio* (if he did not) since there is speculation that Boethius did not finish it either.[3] What this passage does prove is that at the end of the 10th century a powerful layman gives testimony that the *Consolatio*, Alfredian and Boethian, was the talk of elite circles. At least Æthelweard was under the apprehension that there was a translation by Alfred. One could easily dismiss this remarkable association as mistaken (or even misleading), as scholars have dismissed Alfredian authorship of the extant Old English Bede despite Ælfric's explicit claim that Alfred translated Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[4]

The Old English *Boethius*, however, gives more evidence about Alfred in the prose Proem:

> *Ælfred kuning wæs wealhstod ðisse bec and hie of boclædene on Englisc wende, swa hio nu is gedon. Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwlium andgit of andgite, swa swa he hit þa sweotolost 7 andgitfullicast gereccan mihte for þam mistlicum 7 manigfealdum* [*woruldbisgum*] *þe hine eft ægðer ge on mode ge on lichoman bisgodan.*
>
> [King Alfred was the translator of this book, and turned it from book Latin into English, as it is now done. Sometimes he set it down word for word, sometimes sense for sense, in whatever way he could most clearly and intelligibly explain it, on account of the various and multiple worldly cares which often busied him in mind and body.][5]

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[3] See Gerard O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 28–29, for a brief introduction to the controversy surrounding the "Sixth Book."

[4] *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Text*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS Supplementary Series 5 (1979), p. 72. Ælfric, speaking about Gregory the Great, says that many books reveal Gregory's holy life, including the "Historia Anglorum," which Alfred translated from Latin into English. The consensus opinion is that the extant translation does not reflect Alfred's dialect. See also Dorothy Whitelock, "William of Malmesbury on the Works of King Alfred," in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway* (London, 1969), pp. 78–93, which is reprinted in her *From Bede to Alfred: Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and History*, Variorum Reprints, CS 121 (London, 1980), vii.

[5] Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, ed. and trans., with a chapter on the *Metres* by Mark Griffith and contributions by Rohini Jayatilaka, *The Old English Boethius*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2009), ed. vol. 1, p. 239, trans. vol. 2, p. 1 (hereafter cited as Godden-Irvine by volume and page). Only the B text survives at this point. The edition proceeds from The Alfred Boethius Project, as described in "The Alfredian Boethius Project," *Old English Newsletter* 37.1 (Fall, 2003). The project team continues its work by an investigation of the commentary tradition on the *Consolatio* with special reference to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. *King Alfred's Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Walter Sedgefield (1899; repr. Darmstadt, 1968). Sedgefield offers a translation in *King Alfred's Version of the "Conso-*

These external and internal witnesses to the cultural presence of Boethius's *Consolatio* in the vernacular would appear to seal the case for Boethian influence, at least in a general sense, and with direct, royal endorsement. Æthelweard further states that there were other Alfredian translations (but surely not an unknown number), adding the noteworthy and perhaps probative detail that the translation of the *Consolatio* was read aloud to a non-scholarly audience. In the traditional view of the Alfredian *corpus*, four other works are implicitly within the Æthelweardian number, viz., *Pastoral Care, Soliloquies*, prefatory matter in the *Laws*, and *Prose Psalms*.[6] The voice of the Proem repeats the tag on translation, "word for word, sense for sense," which the Alfredian voice cites in *A Preface* to the *Pastoral Care*.[7] The allusion to worldly cares is an Alfredian complaint as well.[8] That Boethius is "book Latin" or "literary Latin" suggests some special awareness for the elevated style of the original.[9] Much later, William of Malmesbury (d. *c.*1143) fills in details as he describes the role of the Welshman Asser who, at the command of Alfred, explained the *Consolatio* in simpler language so that Alfred could translate it more easily, which is a claim not easily accepted.[10]

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lations" of Boethius Done Into Modern English, with an Introduction (Oxford, 1900), p. [lvi]. Jayatilaka offers online "A Select Bibliography," *The Alfredian Boethius Project*, http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/BoethiusBibliography.html. See also *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, ed. Bill Griffiths (Pinner, Middlesex, 1991). Nicole Guenther Discenza compiles a more general bibliography: "Alfred the Great: A Bibliography with Special Reference to Literature," in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 463–502. For the key word *wealhstod*, see the *Dictionary of Old English* online for occurrences of the word. Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898 [repr. 1964]), s.v., give "one who serves as a medium between speakers of different languages" as well as "interpreter of written language," "translator," "expounder," and "mediator."

[6] See Janet Bately, "The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On," in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Century Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 107–20. In a concise survey of the question, Bately shows how lexical evidence can link the Alfredian works. See Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, pp. 135–39, for their view on the Alfredian canon.

[7] The *Preface*, so-called in tradition but really not an entrée into Gregory's *Pastoralis* or its translation, appears in many an Old English reader. Still serviceable is *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, EETS Original Series 45 (Oxford, 1871 [repr. 1958]), pp. 2–9.

[8] See W.H. Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of St Neots*, repr. with an article on Asser's Life of Alfred by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), cap. 91, pp. 76–79, for Alfred's "tribulations"; the standard translation with introduction and notes is Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (London, 1983).

[9] See "boc-leden" in the *Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form, A-F* (Toronto, 2003).

[10] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* cap. 80. David Preest translates *The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 117. Michael Lapidge observes that in Asser's *Vita Alfredi*

Despite these apparently straightforward references to Alfred's involvement in the influence of Boethius, there has always been an uneasiness about Alfred's personal participation in the renaissance/revival that otherwise bears his name. Even those who want to maintain the traditional view tend to become uncomfortable in explaining how Alfred could fight off the Vikings, run the kingdom, and in one glorious decade, roughly the 890s, create a remarkable literary output. Perhaps the royal stamp on *Boethius* is best to be understood as a contribution by a staff or court ghostwriter whose hand may be traceable in several works connected by its apparent presence. When John F. Kennedy announced to the cheering multitudes in Berlin that he was a kind of doughnut ("*Ich bin ein Berliner*"), many chortled at this presidential error in idiomatic German, but it was long-time aide Theodore Sorensen who wrote the speech.[11] Nevertheless, Kennedy took all the linguistic barbs. Those less inclined to accept Alfredian authorship can use the tools of language to incisive effect. A generation ago, R. Ian Jack used the rapier of wit to observe that Alfred was neither the father of the English navy nor the father of English prose, but rather merely the father of Edward the Elder.[12] There is the position that Alfrediana, as now known, is ultimately the product of propaganda.[13] Yet, on the publication of a new Oxford Press edition to replace the Sedgefield edition, the co-editor and project director of the new edition, Godden, has posed a new challenge to Alfredian authorship of the Old English *Boethius* based primarily on his close study of the texts through his work on the edition. In his latest article, Godden observes that "it seems very unlikely that King Alfred himself translated it, and doubtful whether he even knew of it."[14] Godden reads the Alfredian *Boethius* as "a sympathetic account of an

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"no identifiable quotation or phrase from [the *Consolatio*] has been identified" and that this absence "may cast doubt on the reliability of William's statement"; see his "Asser's Reading," in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Reuter, pp. 27–47, at p. 40.

[11] Sorensen admits that he was the erring writer in his memoir, *Counselor: A Life at the Edge of History* (New York, 2008), pp. 324–25, and recalls when he explained to the citizens of Hamburg why President Kennedy could not say to them: "I am a Hamburger."

[12] R. Ian Jack, "The Significance of the Alfedian Translations," *Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, Proceedings and Papers* (Canberra, 1970), p. 359.

[13] R.H.C. Davis, "Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth," *History* 56 (1971): 169–82. The article now appears as Chapter 3 in the collection of his essays, *From Alfred the Great to Stephen* (London, 1992), pp. 33–46. Davis observes, p. 46: "Alfred needed [propaganda] so badly that he had much of it put into writing and circulated to the more important churches in a literary campaign [. . .]"

[14] M[alcolm] R. Godden, "King and Counsellor in the Alfredian Boethius," in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Blanton and Scheck, pp. 193–209, at p. 193 n.4. See also Godden's "Did King Alfred Write Anything?," *Medium*

attempted revolt against a legitimate king," which would be an odd story for King Alfred to write, but not for an author working in a contemporary tradition of political questioning.[15] Still, the traditional view has contemporary adherents. Nicole Guenther Discenza takes a traditional view of the *Boethius* and develops it within recent trends in theory (notably the work of Pierre Bourdieu wherein "cultural capital" is a major concept) and in translation studies.[16] David Pratt offers a comprehensive study of political thought of the Alfredian era and the learned activity within that period.[17] For Pratt, the Alfredian *Boethius* "captures the height of royal ambitions."[18] Janet Bately has reviewed the new controversies, concluding that Godden and Michael Treschow, et al., have not been persuasive.[19] She maintains her opinion that "behind the translations or rather renderings [...] there was one mind at work (though probably never entirely on its own), and that it is reasonable to conclude that that mind was King Alfred's.

All of the foregoing may serve as an introduction, however selective, to the vernacular presence of the *Consolatio* and the problematics of royal involvement. So much could be exceptional: a royal translator giving authority to a vernacular translation of the *Consolatio* at the end of the 9th-century "rediscovery" of Boethius. Even if one strips away royal

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Aevum 76 (2007): 1–23. Professor Godden kindly shared with me in advance of publication the consensus judgment of the editing team as it appears in the edition [e-mail message of 23 August 2008]: "In preparing this edition we have therefore worked on the hypothesis that the Old English *Boethius* was the work of an unknown writer of substantial learning, not necessarily connected with King Alfred or his court, but working some time in the period 890–930, probably in southern England," Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 146; the context for this judgment is provided in pp. 140–51. See also Malcolm Godden, "King Alfred and the *Boethius* Industry," in *Making Sense: Constructing Meaning in Early English,*" ed. Antonette dePaulo Healey and Kevin Kiernan, (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English) 7 (Toronto, 2007), pp. 116–38.

[15] Ibid., in summary, pp. 208–09.

[16] Nicole Guenther Discenza, *The King's English* (Albany, 2005).

[17] David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series) 67 (Cambridge, 2007).

[18] Ibid., p. 264. Pratt gives his reading of the *Boethius* in Chapter 13, "The Search for a Satisfactory *Consolation*," pp. 264–307. See now his "Problems of Authorship and Audience in the Writings of King Alfred the Great," in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World,* ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 162–91.

[19] Janet Bately, "Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited," *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009), 189–215, echoing Godden's title as in endnote 14. Michael Treschow and colleagues have offered two online studies: 1) Paramjit S. Gill, Tim B. Swartz, and Michael Treschow, "A Stylometric Analysis of King Alfred's Literary Works," *Journal of Applied Statistics* 34:10, 1251–58; and 2) Treschow, Gill, and Swartz, "King Alfred's Scholarly Writings and the Authorship of the First Fifty Prose Psalms," *The Heroic Age* 12 (2009).

authority, the translation is still remarkable as a vernacular document transmitting the *Consolatio*. True enough, if the translation had not survived and only Æthelweard and William of Malmesbury bore witness to it, skepticism regarding Alfred and the *Boethius* would be overpowering—but such are the requirements of historical methodology. Strictly speaking, the royal presence is not necessary to establish Boethian influence, for the text is palpably present, but it is pretty to think so. The *Boethius* without an author (translator) would require a necessary focus on the text, thus fulfilling one of Foucault's major objectives in his discussion of the author and author-function.[20]

The vernacular presence of Boethius will be the major theme of this contribution to the Boethius *Companion*. This theme requires one more preliminary consideration: the idea of translation. Whitney Bolton has aptly observed: "Alfred's Old English *Consolatio* will serve as no pony to its Latin source. It departs from Boethius in large ways and small."[21] Presumably the formula mentioned above, "sometimes word by word and sometimes sense from sense," should work in theory as a measure of translation or a criterion or an ideal, but in practice it is not clear what "word by word" means, if it exists at all, and "sense from sense" would seem to open up all sorts of possibilities, obviously relying on the interpretive skill or understanding of any translator. Old English translators did not, in practice, fetishize their originals. This observation will be manifest as the consideration of Boethian-inspired Old English unfolds below.

The Anglo-Saxon *Boethius*

The manuscript evidence for the vernacular *Boethius* is:

C London, British Library, Cotton Otho A.vi [Ker, 167; Gneuss, 347], fols 1–129v, origin and provenance unknown (southeast England?), X^{med};

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180 [Ker, 305; *Summary Catalogue* 2079], fols 1–94v, origin and provenance unknown, XII^{in};

[20] Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structural Criticism*, ed. and trans. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, NY, 1979), pp. 141–60. Repr. in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York, 1984), pp. 101–20.

[21] Whitney F. Bolton, "How Boethian is Alfred's *Boethius*?" in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1986), pp. 153–68 at p. 153. Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 55–100, gives an overview of "King Alfred and Early English Translation."

J Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 12 [*Summary Catalogue* 5124], transcript of C and B by Junius [d. 1678];

[N] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86 [Ker, 337; Gneuss, 643], an apparent endleaf seen by A.S. Napier but now lost, X[1].[22]

The earlier C, badly damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731, presents the text in *prosimetrum* form, alternating prose and verse as in the Latin. The later B, the source text for many a literary discussion because it is not damaged, is all prose only, including a prose version of the meters. The two major witnesses, nearly two centuries apart, imply a literary history that some library shelves somewhere must have contained other copies, especially to support the wide differences evident in the transmission history. The prose Proem relates that when Alfred translated the *Consolatio* into English, he "*geworhte hi eft to leoðe, swa swa nu gedon is*" [he worked it in turn into verse, as is now done]. B represents the prose draft that had led to the prosimetrical C. Of course, if one can doubt the prose Proem for saying that Alfred translated the Latin, one can surely doubt it for saying that Alfred was a versifier.

The *Metres* may provide the first major example of the relationships among the versions as transmitters of the *Consolatio*.[23] The Latin contains 39 *Meters* as such, while the Old English numbers 31. The correct net number in the Old English should be 30 except that editors of the Old English count as the first *Meter* the 84 lines of preliminary information drawn from other sources, prominently the various lives of Boethius, as *Meter* 1.[24] The Latin *Meters* as a whole display a technical range and virtuosity as well as thematic texture and relevance. Gerard O'Daly's masterful study of the poetry highlights the Boethian achievements, while Virginia

[22] Shorthand references are:

- Ker = N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957 [1990]);
- Gneuss = Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, MRTS 241 (Tempe, 2001);
- *A Summary Catalogue* = R.W. Hunt, F.W. Madan, and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1895–1953).

The late date of Bodley 180 disqualifies it from Gneuss=s list. Godden-Irvine give detailed information about the manuscripts and their relations, vol. 1, pp. 9–49. For an introduction to the *Electronic Boethius*, see Kevin Kiernan, "Remodeling Alfred's *Boethius* with the *tol ond ndweorc* of Edition Production Technology," in *Making Sense* [...], pp. 72–115.

[23] In my treatment of the meters I am adopting my "Thirty-One Meters," in ... *un tuo serto di fiori in man recondo*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, FORUM 2008 (Udine, 2008), pp. 409–25. The two treatments are tangent at many places, but there are different emphases.

[24] Six Latin meters do not appear in the Old English prose or verse: 1m3, 1m4, 2m1, 5m1, 5m3, 5m4. Three Old English prose meters do not appear in verse: 1m6, 2m2, 4m7.

Brown has considered the metrical forms by way of Lupus of Ferrières and his description of them.[25] There is no way for the Old English versifier to render the Latin Meters "word for word," for there are some 60 occurrences of various meters, while Old English poetry has only one metrical form in its traditional alliterative line.[26] Even before beginning his translation, the Old English versifier is thus at a disadvantage in the face of the metrical complexity. Thus, the Old English poetic equivalent may convey Boethius's meaning, but never his forms.

Consolatio 4m7 evidently posed an insurmountable difficulty for the Old English versifier. The thematics of the poem develop from the discussion of 4p7, which makes *prosa* and *metrum* one of those linked pairs in the *Consolatio*, in which the poetry is a gloss or reflection on the prose. In the *prosa*, Philosophy and Boethius engage in a dialogue in which Philosophy pushes Boethius to accept the notion that all fortune is good. The key to the argument, of course, is a definition of *good* that allows a process of semantic deduction to arrive at the desired conclusion. As far as a wise man is concerned, all fortune is good, for even "bad" fortune trains or corrects. The best path is to choose the middle way ("*medium* [...] *occupate / þone midmæstan weg arædian*"), thus avoiding the extreme reactions of elation and sorrow. At this point, the *prosa* ends, and Philosophy offers a poem citing three classical heroes: Agamemnon, Ulysses, and Hercules. The poem begins with no particular linking statement from 4p7. The juxtaposition has its startling effect in that Agamemnon and Ulysses are problematic moral exemplars and even Hercules is a dubious choice.[27] The Old English writer, however, supplies the link, showing that he knows what the Latin wishes to say with this topic sentence:

> *Wella wisan men well, gað ealle on þone we ðe eow lærað þa foermæran bisna þara godan gumena 7 þæra weorðgeornena wera þe ær eow wæron.*
>
> [Oh wise men, go all of *you* on the road which *you* are shown by the famous examples of good men and those men who were eager for honour who were before *you*.][28]

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[25] O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius*, passim. Virginia Brown, "Lupus of Ferrières on the *Metres* of Boethius," in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900*, ed. John J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann (Leiden, 1976), pp. 63–79.

[26] The Latin count is Brown's, "Lupus of Ferrières on the *Metres* of Boethius," p. 71. Old English hypermetric verse, or "long lines," are considered extensions of the basic line, which breaks into two half-lines with a minimum of four syllables each and at least one alliterative element in the "a" line and one in the "b" line.

[27] See O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius*, pp. 230–34, for an analysis of the complexities of this section.

[28] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 372; trans. Godden-Irvine, vol. 2, p. 89.

Yet, the topic sentence does not introduce the wise and the worthy, but rather begins a quasi-homiletic and general exhortation against the lazy and the idle who do not follow the morally worthy. The rich mythological passage in the Latin has disappeared in favor of a rather bald harangue. Philosophy ends with a vision of the stars: "*Supera tellus / sidera donat*" [The earth, overcome, gives the stars (to those who follow the wise men of the past)],[29] as does the Old English writer: "*Forðæm hi wuniað nu ofer ðæm tunglum on ecre eadignesse for hiora godum weorcum*" [Therefore they live now above the stars in eternal bliss because of their good works].[30] The Old English writer brings his message back to the Boethian text but gives it an overtly Christian meaning. Did the Old English writer know his classical myths, or did he not; or did he prefer to go for the message directly and not through an allusive means to get to it? As we shall see below, myth and myth-making are defining issues for the Old English *Boethius* and its influence.

The remaining two meters, extant only in Old English prose and not in Old English verse, are 1m6 and 2m2. The first of these is a "nature poem," one of many in the *Consolatio*, which in this case is presumably meant to soothe Boethius's mental state by arguing for God's designs, or to imply that "to every thing there is a season." Phoebus, Ceres, and Bacchus (and their works) are the figures for comparison. When Phoebus is hot in August, it is not the time to plant seed; when north winds blow, do not pick violets; when it is spring, do not prune back the vines. The Old English writer abbreviates the poem, removing all references to the classical figures. He makes one minor, but telling change, when he reworks the Latin presentation of wine-growing to accord, it would appear, with local growing procedures. The Old English writer observes that one might not press wine in mid-winter, unless must or grape juice is wanted. This homely touch or spot of agricultural reality will occur again. As if it were needed to prove, the Old English writer is following the text with understanding and offers his own, presumably more cogent, observation. Here, the elimination of the three deities abbreviates the *metrum* greatly. In 2m2, in contrast, it does not seem to be the case that there are classical engines to be dismissed except for the Horatian allusion to Copia.[31] This *metrum* argues that those who receive good things never have enough.

[29] Ed. Bieler, p. 89; the literal translation is my own.

[30] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 372; trans. Godden-Irvine, vol. 2 p. 89.

[31] Ed. Bieler, p. 21, note to line 6, and citation of Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 59 and following.

The major imagery is a comparison, stating that if limitless sands and limitless stars were as wealth, they would not be enough for someone who fears he is poor. The Old English prose retains the comparison to the sands and the stars, but turns the rendition into a piece of Christian morality. It is God, not Copia, who confers the wealth, but the avaricious is not satisfied: "*Swa him mon mare selð, swa hine ma lyst*" [The more one gives him the more he desires].[32]

Arguably, the most significant *metrum* in the *Consolatio* is 3m9, whose 28 hexameter lines celebrate God as the cosmic helmsman who controls and binds the universe.[33] It is well known that this brilliant poem transmits ideas found in the first part of Plato's *Timaeus* and in Proclus's commentary on the *Timaeus*. There are echoes as well of Marius Victorinus, Vergil, Paulinus of Nola, and Augustine. Joachim Gruber offers Norden's outline on the structure of the poem:

I. *epiclesis*, lines 1–5: opening of praise
II. *aretalogy*, lines 6–21, regarding the work of the Creator
    1. the universe: lines 6–9
    2. the elements: lines 10–12
    3. the world soul: lines 13–17
    4. the kinds of souls: lines 18–21
III. *euksai*, lines 22–28: closing in praise[34]

Gruber furthermore points out that this *metrum* stands at the middle of the *Consolatio*, accordingly occupying a significant place in the overall poetic structure of the work.[35] Stephen Gersh shows how the ideas of 3m9 reflect characteristic Boethian thinking and the currents of later classical Platonic thinking.[36] For Seth Lerer, this *metrum* uses rhetoric and musical imagery to express philosophical content: form and content, poetry and meaning, join as one.[37] These select *encomia* may provide a background for the consideration of the Old English rendition.

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[32] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 255; ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 2, p. 12.

[33] See my "The *Timaeus* in Old English," in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester, (Costerus New Series) 133 (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 255–67. My treatment of 3m9 here is an abbreviation of this article.

[34] Joachim Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius De Consolatione Philiophiae*, (Texte und Kommentare) 9 (Berlin, 1978), pp. 277–90.

[35] Ibid., p. 277.

[36] Stephen Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, vol. 2 (Notre Dame, 1986), pp. 647–718, esp. pp. 671–75 and 711–14.

[37] Seth Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 138–45.

The Old English versifier, as mentioned above, faces a metrical gap where the traditional Old English alliterative line must translate many a type of Latin meter (here hexameters). F. Anne Payne takes the resultant differences in content and style as indicative of Alfred's wider aims and purposes, which show an active mind grappling with aspects of the human condition.[38] Bill Griffiths considers the *Boethius* as "something of a reworking of the original, in which Alfred's occasionally misinformed, often free, but always sensible use of his material is much apparent."[39] These views are noteworthy attempts to "retrieve value" and to judge the translation on its own terms rather than as a mere reflex of the Latin. The 28 lines of the Latin 3m9 become 281 lines in the Old English *Meter 20* (and, less significantly, 113 lines in the prose equivalent). The rhetorical elaboration and amplification are more than a matter of arithmetic, as the opening lines of the poetic texts demonstrate. Thus, the *Consolatio*:

> *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,*
> *Terrarum caelique sator* [. . .]
>
> [O Thou who controls the world with thy perpetual reason, (Who art)
> Sower of the earth and of heaven (. . .).]

becomes

> [E]ala min drihten, þæt þu eart ælmihtig,
> mic*el, modilic, mærþum gefræge*
>
> *and wundorlic witena gehwylcum.*
> Hwæt, ðu, *ece God, ealra gesceafta*
>
> 5 *wun*dorlice *wel gesceope*
> *gesewenlicra, softe wealdest*
>
> *scirra gesceafta mid gesceadwisum*
> *mægne and cræfte.*
>
> [Oh my Lord, you are almighty, great, high-minded, renowned in glory, and wonderful to all wise men. Oh eternal God of all creatures, you created invisible things wonderfully well and also likewise easily control visible bright creatures with discriminating strength and skill.][40]

[38] Payne, *Chaucer and Menippean Satire*, esp. on freedom, pp. 39–77.
[39] Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, p. 9.
[40] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 477; trans., Godden-Irvine vol. 2, p. 149.

In rough and general terms, the first eight and a half lines of the Old English render the first line and a half of the Latin.[41] The Old English retains the direct address of the Latin with the voice and tone of prayer, while amplifying the idea of God beyond the Boethian ideas of *gubernator* and *sator*. The Old English translator has, in a sense, exceeded the Boethian measure with a double direct address, for the first three lines have no warrant at all, but they are in accord with Old English hymns of praise in the use of *eala* and in the heavy alliteration (on *m*) in the first two lines. Line 4 moves closer to the Latin by recapitulating the interjection, here *hwæt*, and then considering the eternal God as Creator. The formulation, "creator of the visible and the invisible," cannot be the rendering of *terrarum caelique sator*, with its echo of Vergil and its senses of "sower" and "begetter," but rather it is a direct substitution of the Nicene Creed's "Creator of all things visible and invisible."[42] This substitution is very similar to that sort of "interference" Jaroslav Pelikan describes whereby Christian interpreters read the *Timaeus* in the light of *Genesis*—perhaps one of the earliest and most significant forms of intertextual analysis in the West, however mistaken in its assumption that classical and biblical truth(s) can be one![43] Lines 7b–9a function as the translation of line 1 in the Latin. The simplex *mundum* becomes *scirra gesceafta* [*wealdan* + gen. pl.], where again the characterization of creation or created things as "*scir*" or "clear, bright, brilliant" is a kind of aesthetic judgment on creation, which is primarily and significantly a feature of the *Genesis* account. The phrase "*perpetua* [...] *ratione*" appears as "*mid gesceadwisum / mægne 7 cræfte*." Forms of *the gesceadwis / -gesceadwisness* complex are common enough for forms of *rationalis / ratio*, and in this overall context one can also be suspicious of a possible allusion to *Gesceadwisness*, or *Ratio* or *Philosophia*, the interlocutor in the Old English. The doublet *mægne 7 cræfte* for the substantive *ratione* (*perpetua* is then displaced by *gesceadwisum*) poses an interpretive problem. Peter Clemoes has analyzed these two lexical items with special

[41] Allan A. Metcalf, *Poetic Diction of the Old English Meters of Boethius* (The Hague, 1973), offers "a study of the words an Old English poet added as he changed prose into verse—words that were not to be found in the prose text before him. His additions were not few" (p. v). See also John W. Conlee, "A Note on Verse Composition in the *Meters of Boethius*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 71 (1970), 576–85.

[42] Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, p. 101, notes the odd grammar where *gesewenlicra* seems to be construed as the genitive object of *wealdest* (which takes the genitive), whereas one can construe it more properly in the accusative with *gesceope*.

[43] Jaroslav Pelikan, *What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem?* (Ann Arbor, 1997). Pelikan examines the counterpoint between the *Timaeus* and Genesis in three case studies.

reference to poetic and Alfredian usage, generally seeing the two words, however, as opposed as dialect choices and concluding that, for Alfred, *cræft* was a master-word, taken from poetry, and employed to mean an "innate talent" and "man's intellectual bond with divine wisdom."[44] How Clemoes would see these two words operating here, where some equivalent for *ratio* seems required by the exemplar, and both words would have to be viewed as reinforcing each other, is difficult to see. Nicole Guenther Discenza, however, argues that *cræft* signifies a master conception adapted to Alfredian purposes "by using the common senses of power, physical or mental skill, and God's skill in creation, and adding to these meanings a rarer usage, spiritual merit, and his own usage, virtue."[45] One must note here in an aside that the doublet does not occur in the Old English prose accompanying this meter.

At times, Meter 20 operates in an altogether different register. There is, for example, the remarkable apparent reference to British weather or climate:

> *Forðæm leaf and gærs*
> *bræd geond Bretene bloweð and groweð*
> *eldum to are. Eorðe sio cealde*
> *brengð wæstma fela wundorlicra,*
> *forðæm hio mid wætere weorðað geþawenede.*
>
> [Therefore, leaf and grass broad over Britain bloom and grow as a favor to mankind. The cold earth brings many miraculous fruits for it is moistened with water.][46]

This extract is part of a lengthy discussion of the elements, which therefore takes on an immediacy reflecting a teaching situation and the pedagogical necessity to establish a link to the audience or, as it were, a common text with it. So too is the comparison of the world to an egg:

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[44] Peter Clemoes, "King Alfred's Debt to Vernacular Poetry: The Evidence of *ellen* and *cræft*," in *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts*, ed. Michael Korhammer with the assistance of Karl Reichl and Hans Sauer (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 213–38, at 238.

[45] Nicole Guenther Discenza, "Power, Skill and Virtue in the Old English *Boethius*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997), 81–108, at 107.

[46] Sedgefield, Krapp, Griffiths, and Bosworth-Toller (*sub* "brædan") agree against Godden-Irvine that the form *bretene* refers to Britain, thus capitalizing the form. Godden-Irvine make no comment, but gloss *bretene* as a substantive meaning "broad, spacious (places)." See Sedgefield, trans., p. 211, Krapp, p. 180, and Griffiths, p. 106. The *Dictionary of Old English*, following the Sedgefield edition, retains *Bretene* as a proper noun, thus omitting it from the *DOE*. My thanks to Antonette dePaulo Healey for her observations on the point.

Hwæt, hi þeah eorðlices auht ne haldeð,
is þeah efnede up and ofdune
To feallanne foldan ðisse,
þæm anlicost þe on æge bið
gioleca on middan, glideð hwæðre
æg ymbutan. Swa stent eall weoruld
stille on tille, streamas ymbutan,

laguflоda gelac, lyfte and tungla,
And sio scire scell scrideðed ymbutan
Dogora gehwilce, dyde lange swa.

[Indeed, though nothing earthly holds it, it is easy for the earth to fall up as down, very like what the yolk in the middle of an egg, and the egg however glides about. So the whole world, the sea round about, the commotion of the water, air, and stars stand still in its position, and the bright shell turns around each day, has done so for a long time.][47]

This comparison, which seems homely to modern readers, is also good early medieval physics. The Godden-Irvine locates three instances of a gloss in the commentaries, which is likely to have been in a commentary that the versifier consulted.[48] As Griffiths observes, the prose rendition fails to include this image, which would mean that "Alfred" probably did not know it when he did the prose, but came to it while changing the prose into verse.[49]

The foregoing emphasis on the Old English meters may stand as representative of the overall free-wheeling nature of the rendition in the particulars and in the details. Particularly since the all-prose version of the Old English *Boethius* has until very recently been the only easily accessible version, it does merit some general mention. The prose version departs from the five-book structure of the *Consolatio* to offer 42 chapters. The

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[47] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, pp. 467–58; trans. Godden-Irvine, vol. 2, p. 151.

[48] Godden-Irvine, vol. 2, p. 511: "*in modum oui*." The three manuscripts are Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek 179, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, M. II 103, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13953. For a recent discussion, see Daniel Anlezark, "Three Notes in the Old English *Meters of Boethius*," *Notes and Queries* ns 51 (2004), 10–15. Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, pp. 36–37, traces the image all the way back to Empedocles, while J.E. Cross, "*De Ordine Creaturarum Liber* in Old English Prose," *Anglia* 90, 12–40, found the image in that work. See also Peter Dronke, *Verse with Prose From Petronius to Dante* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), pp. 37–38; and his *Fabula*: *Explorations in the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden-Cologne, 1974), pp. 79–99, which sketches classical and medieval presentations of the image from the parody of Aristophanes through Hildegard of Bingen.

[49] Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, p. 37, one of the "alterations made during versification." The image occurs in the translation of the *Soliloquies*; see Thomas A. Carnicelli, ed., *King Alfred's Version of St Augustine's Soliloquies* (Cambridge, MA, 1969), p. 60, lines 16–18.

original Books 4 and 5 appear in Chapter 40, "*Her endað þio feorð boc Boeties and onginnð seo fifte*" [Here ends the fourth book of Boethius and begins the fifth], while the division between Books 1 and 2 gets a mention in what is really the equivalent of 2p6, and Book 5 gets an abbreviated treatment.[50] The Boethian structure disappears. Then too, it is worth mentioning that for vernacular literature the insertion of the famous smith Weland in an *ubi sunt* passage is a rare incorporation of Germanic myth, while the amplification of the Orpheus story shows skill, if not art, in presenting classical myth.[51]

Whether Alfred the Great actually wrote or translated anything, prose or poetry, or whether a courtier or a teacher served as Alfred's ghostwriter awaiting the king's authorization, or even if a rank forger sought to capitalize on Alfred's cultural capital, the text of an Old English translation of the *Consolatio* offers ocular and tangible witness not only to the text of the *Consolatio* but also to the intellectual daring of the "*onelie begetter*" of the vernacular. If Adrian Papahagi is right in suggesting that Fleury was where the *Consolatio* surfaced—perhaps around 790 or so in the lifetime of Theodulf—Alcuin might have seen it then, and Orléans Bibliothèque municipale 270, written in the 820s, is at the foundation of the tradition, then the *Consolatio* made it to England in perhaps less than a century, arriving just after the 9th century when it had become something of an intellectual hit on the continent.[52] The *Consolatio* did not come alone, for the vernacular bears witness to the commentary tradition—which is a subject considered by Rosalind C. Love in her chapter in this *Companion*, on the Latin Commentaries on the *Consolatio*—that accompanied it. It is also manifest that the *Consolatio* was not fetishized, as the vernacular took its own directions, reflecting, as Janet Bately puts it, one mind.

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[50] See Bolton, "How Boethian is Alfred's Boethius?" pp. 153–68, esp. pp. 153–55, for a quick summary of other changes. See also Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, with a survey of the Anglo-Latin background by Michael Lapidge, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), pp. 46–51, for a "standard" overview of the Alfredian treatment.

[51] Weland appears in the B-text, ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 293, and trans. vol. 2, p. 30, and in *Meter 10*, vol. 1, p. 427, and trans. vol. 2, p. 125, and trans. p. 125. For detailed discussion of the Orpheus myth, see Joseph S. Wittig, "King Alfred's *Boethius* and its Latin source: A Reconsideration," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), 157–98.

[52] Adrian Papahagi, "The Transmission of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Carolingian Age," *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009), 1–15, esp. the concluding page.

Alfred and Ælfric[53]

The elite circle of Æþelweard and his son Æthelmær [the Fat] were patrons of Ælfric of Eynsham, the three forming their own literary circle with perhaps other unnamed members. The *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database singles out two texts from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. LS 1, the *Nativity of Christ*, and LS 17 *De auguriis*, which show the presence of the Old English *Boethius*.[54] LS 1 presents a few minor, if not sticky problems, as prologue to any discussion. The first difficulty proceeds in part from false expectations derived from the scholar's title "Lives of Saints." LS 1 is not a saint's life but rather a homily, or perhaps better a "*sermo*" that opens, as currently constructed, a predominantly Ælfrician collection of saints' lives. Without going too deeply into the codicology of the manuscript, suffice it to say that London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.vii is not Ælfric's authorized copy in the same sense that London, British Library, Royal 7 C.xii is for *Catholic Homilies* I. If one can speak of an authorial intention, it is likely that Ælfric had no control or influence over how the Julius manuscript came to be. The further problem is the nature of this homily. The homily begins with an uncharacteristic opening, "*Men ða leofestan*" [= "*fratres carissimi*" or "*dilectissimi*"], a salutation associated more with the anonymous tradition than with Ælfric. The prose style shows no tendency to the alliterative or rhythmical prose characteristic of the best saints' lives in the Julius manuscript and of Ælfric's later style elsewhere. LS 1 could be one of Ælfric's earlier works, perhaps one rejected from an earlier collection, which was pressed into service in Julius E.vii. An even more challenging speculation is that LS 1 is a rewrite of an anonymous composition, which in turn asks us to imagine another writer who perhaps knew and used the Old English *Boethius*. These observations require separate proofs, if they are provable, and another paper altogether that would also have to treat the Ælfrician texts in the Latin manuscript Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bib-

[53] This section on Alfred and Ælfric is a version of a paper I gave at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association, 28 December 2009. Malcolm Godden offers his reading in "Ælfric and the Alfredian Precedents," in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden and Boston, 2009), pp. 139–63. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, pp. 207–14, sketch three later uses of the *Boethius*: Ælfric, the Old English *Distichs of Cato*, and Nicholas Trevet. The *Distichs* and Trevet are beyond the scope of this article. Godden-Irvine provide "Ælfric Passages" in vol. 1, pp. 545–47. The manuscript concerned is, *recte*, Cotton Julius E.vii.

[54] Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, pp. 207–09.

liothèque municipale 63.[55] LS 1 is not an exposition of a biblical text but, rather, a general address or exposition on the nature of the Trinity and the nature of the soul. As an exposition on the Trinity, LS 1 has a connection to Christmas, for one of the major points is that Jesus Christ is the Second Person of the Trinity. In this discussion, the nature of God and the dismissal of heretics are also themes. Given that the soul has a "likeness" to the Trinity as Ælfric says, the rest of LS 1 moves to a discussion of the human soul, which takes up the greater part of the homily.

It was W.F. Bolton who first discovered the verbal correspondences between LS 1 and the Old English *Boethius*, offering a terse comparison of four passages common to the two texts.[56] However it came to be, the editors allowed Bolton barely three columns in the two-column *Notes and Queries* format for his discovery in which he could present juxtapositions. Two important footnotes and a concluding paragraph where Bolton suggests that the passages "bear witness to the circulation of the Alfredian Boethius in the decade following 992." The passages may now receive a closer look here in a kind of three-layered literary optics with history in reverse: Ælfric looks back to Alfred who looks back to Boethius.

In the opening of the Trinity section of LS 1, Ælfric moves quickly into the argument. He alludes to "times before" when he tells of the birth of Christ, and now he wishes to "inspire with spiritual teaching." The point, easy to be missed, is that there would appear to be a context of Christmastide homilies and that here Ælfric wishes to move his exposition to a higher level of discussion. The first points of discussion form an argument *via negativa* [by the negative] as Ælfric shows what cannot be believed. He cites heretics, deceived by the devil, who believed that Christ was not co-equal with the Father. The counter to this theological position comes from Christ's own words when, in the Bible, he responded to the questioning Jews, "*Ego sum principium* [...]" The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are all the beginning. There are heretics who wish to hold that there was something before the beginning. Their problem is the problem of infinite regression, which Ælfric does not quite engage in those terms, as he labels them heretical and frenzied persons. Instead, Ælfric offers an image tending towards the homely: those believing in infinite regression are like a man climbing a ladder who runs out of rungs with the result that he falls

[55] Enid M. Raynes, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric," *Medium Aevum* 26 (1957), 65–73.

[56] W.F. Bolton, "The Alfredian Boethius in Ælfric's 'Lives of Saints I,'" *Notes & Queries* 19 (1972), 406–07.

all the harder for the distance that he falls. The comparison, which has its slapstick possibilities, continues the theme of "foolish heretics" in a striking way, all the more effective for being considerably less abstract than the exposition that has preceded it and the one that will come. The image has a deep resonance with the story of the Tower of Babel, when mankind sought to attain the divinity by rising to the heights.

At this point, Ælfric turns to the first passage taken from the Old English *Boethius*. The continuing theme is "three-ness," which is found in the Old English *Boethius* in Section 42 and in the *Consolatio* in 5p6, both of which conclude their respective works. Ælfric offers a straightforward description of the three kinds of things in the world. There is a bit of a muddle in the exposition, for Ælfric allows an ambiguity. One thing is transitory (both a beginning and an end), but there are two kinds of eternity: the second thing (a beginning but no end), and the third thing (neither a beginning nor an end). Angels and men comprise the second thing; God is the third. The affirmation of eternity in two things could be made more precise by using two different words to account for the great distances between men and angels, on the one hand, and God, on the other. This ambiguity comes from the Alfredian text where Philosophy admits that the distances between the three things, if contemplated, would mean that the book would end late or never. Ælfric cannot appropriately follow this Alfredian admission, and indeed he strips away the Alfredian dialogue between Philosophy and the Boethius-figure that sets up the discussion of the "three things," which is an Alfredian contribution to the Old English translation.

Ælfric continues his Trinitarian discussion by stressing that the three persons are a Unity and a Trinity, as both the Old Law and the New Law bear witness. The next major passage derives from the Alfredian translation with omissions, as Bolton makes clear. In the Alfredian equivalent, Alfred rises to a kind of rhythmical prose with two major sentence patterns. To cite one example from some five: "*Ne ofman he næfre nane wuht, forðæm he næfre nauht ne forgeat*" [He never remembers anything because he never forgot anything].[57] The pattern is, basically, *Ne* + verb inversion in the main clause and "*forðæm*" introducing the subordinate clause. An example of the second pattern is: "*Simle he bið gifende, 7 ne wanað his næfre nauht*" [He is always giving and his possessions never wane].[58] The

[57] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 381; trans. vol. 2, p. 95.
[58] Ibid.

pattern is *simle* + main clause, followed by another clause that complements or contrasts the main clause. The repetition of *simle* creates a kind of incantatory prayer. Ælfric does not follow Alfred in all his predications on the divinity. Perhaps he abbreviated the treatment because, for him, Alfred may have gone a bit over the top in the self-conscious rhetoric of the patterning, or he simply felt that a brief sample of the rhetoric was sufficient. Ælfric, the ladder image excepted, is writing a rather abstract, theological piece, where clarity, rather than emotive piety, is the goal.

These two passages follow each other closely in both Alfred and Ælfric, separated respectively by fewer than ten lines. The Alfredian "translation" (Section 42) is a remarkable, abbreviated rendering of *Consolatio* 5p6, the last section of the *Consolatio*, where Boethius considers what eternity is. In the process, Boethius summarizes the views of Aristotle and Plato, discusses God's "foreknowledge," and ends with a call to avoid vices and cherish virtues. Alfred too ends with a similar call: "*Hatiað yfel 7 flioð swa ge swiðost magon. Lufiað cræftas7 folgiað þam*" [Hate evil and flee it as much as you can],[59] but he gets there from a discussion of God to a call for moral action by just about the shortest route. Boethius to Alfred to Æfric have, like the discussion of the three things, great differences or degrees of separation between them. The descent of textual forms shows here two distinct degrees of separation: between Boethius and Alfred, and then between Alfred and Ælfric. Or, to put it another way, Ælfric is one remove from Boethius.

The third passage from Alfred comes about as close to a footnote reference or acknowledgment of Boethian influence as one could expect. Ælfric cites the "*Uðwitan*" who discuss the three-fold nature of the soul. Janet Bately has described the Alfredian preference for this word to the Latin loan word *filosof*.[60] Perhaps there is a quiet nod to Alfred and his preference when Ælfric takes over the passage. In Alfred, it is Dame Philosophy who speaks here, for the passage is part of 3m9 (discussed above). Ælfric would have to provide too much context for any mention of Dame Philosophy, and perhaps that may be the same reason for omitting a specific reference to Alfred. One might further ask whether the citation of a secular authority, who was never to be sainted, would be appropriate in a sermon. Ælfric's distancing from his sources also could be a reflex of one

[59] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 382; trans. vol. 2, p. 96.

[60] Janet Bately, "Uþwita/Philosophus Revisited: A Reflection on Old English Usage," in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (London, 2000), pp. 15–36.

of the main problems of 3m9, viz. the idea of the "world soul" animating the cosmos, which only can be a vexation to Christian commentators on the *Consolatio*. The incorporation of the three-fold soul in any treatment helps sidestep any need to consider cosmology rooted in classical philosophy. Ælfric follows Alfred's wording more or less closely, varying forms of *gescead-* that seem not to have any particular force. He may have done the king one better by filling out the "three" of the passage. Alfred gives "*Ac se mon ana hæfð geceadwisnesse, nalles nan oðru gesceaft*" [But man alone has reason, not at all other creatures], while Ælfric keeps the theme of "three" with: "*Se man ana hæfð gescead and ræd and andgit*" [Man alone has reason, intelligence, and understanding]. One may note here that there is one other passage in the Alfredian rendering of *Boethius* where the three-fold soul is a theme, but the wording is different. The soul has *andgit, gemynd*, and *se gesceadwislica willa* in *Boethius* XIV.2, which is an Alfredian substitution for a part of *Consolatio* 2p5.

Bolton's fourth passage is a version of the four cardinal virtues. In the Alfredian *Boethius* 27.2, there is a brief addition of the four virtues, as a subset of the highest virtue, wisdom. The Latin offers a general discussion of power and virtue (*Consolatio* 3p4). Bolton is uneasy with this passage, evidently not considering the Ælfric close enough to Alfred and implicitly leaving open the possibility of another source for this commonplace. The lines of comparison run along two axes: the translation of the four key Latin terms, and the order of the four virtues. *Prudentia* is *wærscipe* in Alfred, *snoternysse* in Ælfric; *fortitudo* is *ellen* in Alfred, *strengð* or *anrednyss* in Ælfric; the string in Alfred is prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice; in Ælfric, prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. Ælfric gives a sentence definition or description of each virtue, which are not found in Alfred; Ælfric uses *mægen* rather than Alfredian *cræft*, a semantic rivalry discussed severally by Nicole Guenther Discenza and Peter Clemoes. There is another major presentation of the four cardinal virtues in Vercelli Homily XX, where the Old English renders the treatment by Alcuin, as found in the *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, cap. 36.[61]

The *Fontes* database cites another passage from *LS*, which Malcolm Godden himself excavated with an assist from Aaron Kleist. In *De Auguriis*, Ælfric inveighs in his cool way against witchcraft, superstitions, and pagan

[61] Alcuin, *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 101 (Paris, 1851), cols 613–38 [hereafter PL]. See my "Alfred's Boethius and the Four Cardinal Virtues," in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. Jane Roberts, Janet L. Nelson, and Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 223–35.

practices enough to satisfy any prurient interest in those matters. Along the way, he cites or invokes Augustine (where he probably should mean Caesarius of Arles), Martin of Braga, and the apostle Paul. Idolatry and the malign influence of the devil are also important themes. The *sermo* changes gears in moving toward a discussion of predestination, moral choice, and responsibility. The devil as the operational force for evil has no particular role here, though he was prominent earlier in the *sermo*. The turning point in the main argument comes when Ælfric argues that no one can please both Christ and the devil, and thus, by implication, there has to be a choice, and with that concept of choice the door to a Boethian argument comes open. Ælfric gives a passage of some length, roughly the last quarter of the *sermo*, the majority of which comes from the *Boethius*, Sections 40 and 42 [= *Consolatio* 5p2–4, 6], to the topic. Ælfric's treatment is a rather free interpretation of Boethian themes with an order of argument that suggests Ælfric has moved passages about to suit his own application of Boethian ideas. The topic sentence, so to speak, is the determinist position:

> *Nu secgað sume menn þæt him sceole gelimpan*
> *swa swa him gesceapen wæs . and gesæt æt fruman .*
> *and ne magon forbugan þæt hi misfaran ne sceolan.*
>
> [Now some men say that it must happen to them
> even as it was determined for them and ordained from the beginning,
> and that they cannot avoid acting amiss.][62]

The presumptive source for this passage, according to the *Fontes* database, does not share the close verbal correspondences that, as we have seen, others do:

> *We geherað hwilum secgan þæt hit scyle eall swa geweorðan swa swa God æt fruman getiohhad hæfde, þæt hit ne mæge nan mon onwendan.*
>
> [For we hear it said sometimes that things must happen as God had determined at the beginning, so that no-one could change it.][63]

Ælfric changes the subject of the main clause from first person plural—the passage is spoken by the Boethius-figure—to a more generalized observation, and he quietly removes God as the agent, relying on passive constructions. This opening statement in Ælfric, which in the order of the passages found in Alfred is more than halfway into the passages

[62] Ed. and trans. Skeat, *LS* 17, lines 222–24, p. 379–80 (trans. *en face*).
[63] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 375; trans. vol. 2, p. 91.

chosen, suggests that Ælfric is his own man. The next passage continues this unique appropriation of the Alfredian source:

> Ælfric:
> *Nu secge we to soðan . gif hit swa beon sceall*
> [*þæt hit is unnyt bebod*] *ðe God bebead þurh David . "Declina a malo et fac bonum"*
> *"Buh fram yfele . and do god." . And eft se apostol cwæð.*
> *"Swa man swyðor swincð for gode . Swa he selran mede hæfð."*
>
> [Now say we of a truth, if it is to be so,
> (That it is a useless command) which God commanded through David,
> "*Declina a malo et fac bonum*":
> "Turn from evil and do good:" and again the Apostol saith,
> "How much the more a man laboureth for God, so much better reward shall he have"][64]
>
> "Alfred":
> *Ac ic þe secge, gif þæt soð is ðæt ge secgað, þæt hit wæs unnet bebod on godcundum bocum þæt God bebead þæt mon sceolde forlætan yfel 7 don god;" 7 eft se cwide þe he cwæð: Aswa mon ma swincð, swa mon maran mede onfehð*"
>
> [But I tell you that if what *you* men say is true it was a useless command in the divine books that God commanded that one should forsake evil and do good, and again the saying that he spoke: 'the more one labours, the greater reward that one receives.'][65]

Ælfric in effect interprets the *Boethian* passage by citing David, Psalms 37:22, and Paul, 1 Corinthians 3:8, texts that are embedded in the "Alfredian" translation without mention.[66] The argument that man has freedom because the God of the Bible would not issue an empty command would never win over Bertrand Russell. At best, Ælfric is showing his own "faith seeking understanding" in an argument that has the appearance of begging the question, i.e., assuming to be true (God in the world) what needs to be proven. Ælfric shows his Christianity by opposing the determinist position with practical revelation.

There is one more passage in Ælfric that deserves at least a passing mention. It is the "pig passage" ending *Catholic Homilies* II.23 (hereafter CH), the Third Sunday after Pentecost, mainly an exposition of Luke 14:16–24 [The Parable of the Great Supper] but accompanied by an "*alia narratio*"

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[64] Ed. and trans. Skeat, LS 17, lines 225–28, p. 380 (trans. *en face*).

[65] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 376, trans. vol. 2, p. 92.

[66] Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text*, EETS SS 5 (London, 1979), p. 219.

of the man possessed, whom Christ exorcises.[67] The devils expelled, they possess nearby swine. Ælfric allegorizes the swine to signify repeat sinners in their foul habits and notably their dark color. The passage is close to Alfred's translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoralis*, but it also appears in the Old English *Boethius* 37. Ælfric would appear to have known both passages. By way of a footnote, one might further observe how CH II.23 as a whole shows Ælfric as absorbing and reconceiving his sources in such a way as to make them his own. He is not "cutting and pasting" his sources in a mechanical way.

In its primary focus on Ælfric's two LS works, this section leads to two important conclusions for literary history beyond Ælfric's specific use of Boethian sources. Ælfric seems to know the Alfredian *Boethius* only in the Old English prose version, which is witnessed in Bodley 180, a manuscript dated to the beginning of the 12th century. As mentioned above, this version offers a rendition of the prosimetrical Latin, prose and verse, into Old English prose only. The reigning theory is that Bodley 180 served as the prose draft that was turned into verse, *probably* by someone other than Alfred. Does Ælfric's use of the Old English prose version mean that he simply did not know this prosimetrical text or that he saw the Old English *Meters* as non-Alfredian and without authority (or, as many have alleged) as a rejectible, shoddy piece of work, not up to Ælfric's literary taste? Significantly, Ælfric has no difficulty in citing and following a vernacular literary source in his two religious texts. The expectation is that Ælfric would follow the fathers, notably Bede, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Augustine, etc., as he notes in his preface to CH I, and not Boethius through Alfred. It has to be said that Boethius has more than his fair share of theological, indeed patristic, moments in the *Consolatio*. Did this aura nevertheless come through Alfred's prose to authorize Ælfric's indirect use? The root question is how authoritative was Boethius in the early Middle Ages and specifically Anglo-Saxon England? Did Ælfric and his circle latch on to a rising star?

Beowulf and Boethius

Beowulf and the *Consolatio* share one remarkable feature: neither text mentions Christ.[68] The absence of Christ in the latter seems to require

[67] Godden-Irvine, commentary, vol. 2, p. 441–42, discuss possible textual connections.

[68] Nor, indeed, such features of Christian belief as the cult of the saints, etc. See W.F. Bolton, "Boethius and a Topos in *Beowulf*," in *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes: Studies in Medieval*

an explanation, given the overall tenor of the *Consolatio* and because, of course, later in the Middle Ages, Boethius was considered in some quarters to be a saint. The absence of Christ in the former does not at first glance require an explanation except that scholarship for the last two generations and more has sought to work out an intellectual position describing a Christian poet composing a narrative about a pagan past. The sweep of *Beowulf* and its unique survival ask for connections with the early medieval Christian framework. In short, the question here is, did the poet know his "Boethius," be it the Latin or the Old English?[69] Working with Ælfric's prose offers easier prospects for analysis than research into Old English poetry. The prose passages reviewed above have a measure of methodological ease, for they have verbal resemblances to the Old English source. At least they help establish cultural probability, given that elite Anglo-Saxon circles were bi-lingual after their fashion. Although the way forward from here is to seek those resemblances in the Old English poetry, that path is not easy. Direct echoes of the Latin would seem impossible in the poetic Old English ("echoes" imply common metrical necessity or correspondence). What remains are general resemblances of situations, which can dissolve into impressionism at best, fueled by a kind of enthusiasm. In this interpretive situation, the reader could easily bring more of his own context to bear than are inherent in the text. Philology, i.e., word study, can offer a method, but not without its own possible pitfalls. With all these caveats in place, *Beowulf* and the *Consolatio*, in Old English and in Latin, may nevertheless offer some possibilities for comparison.

When Beowulf enters Hrothgar's hall and gives a speech about his intentions to cleanse the ravaged hall of its monstrous visitor, he balances his asserted resolve with the mention of his own possible death in the attempt and the resultant need to dispose of his body-armor. He ends his speech with one of the great half-lines in *Beowulf*:

> "*Gæð a wyrd swa hio scel!*" [455b][70]
>
> [Fate goes on ever as it must!]

Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones, ed. Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stephens, vol. 1 (Collegeville, MN, 1979), pp. 15–43, at pp. 35–39, compares general features of the *Consolatio* and *Beowulf*.

[69] The dates of the Old English *Boethius* may be contested, but there is even more contention over the date of the composition of *Beowulf*, for which scholarship seems to admit a range of possibilities over some two and a half centuries.

[70] All references to the text of *Beowulf* are to Fr. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950).

This half-line is an exclamation point to the 48 lines of the speech, and beyond that it has the sharp ring of a maxim giving a universal truth beyond the poem. Early in the scholarly interpretation of the poem the pronoun referent *hio* (feminine, nominative, singular), which clearly refers to *wyrd*, suggested to some interpreters that Beowulf was referring to a person or personage of Germanic mythology who was a cosmic force present in the poem. This particular interpretation faded from view before too long, but the wider contextual interpretation, which argued more generally for a Germanic poem, continued with force into the early 20th century. It was this search for paganism that had to be unlearned.[71] One explanation for the carry-over of "pagan" words was that the words had lost their original meaning and became "abstract" or, in more recent terminology, lost their original content.[72] There was as well a broad generalization of "Germanic fatalism" that clearly trailed Romantic roots. Even the irascible Henry Sweet (considered by some to be the model for Henry Higgins) could observe: "[A] marked feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry is a tendency to melancholy and pathos [...]; joined to the heathen fatalism of the oldest poems, it produces a deep gloom."[73] E. Dale could write:

> To find a key to the problem of life was altogether beyond [an Englishman's] power; and he turned for a solution of its mystery to the dark goddess Wyrd or Fate, in whose hands both gods and men were powerless, and by whose arbitrary decisions the fortunes of men were determined.[74]

This pointed selection from much early scholarship means to suggest that the Latin *Consolatio* and, in Anglo-Saxon studies, the Old English *Boethius* were not the source-texts that scholars reached for in order to substantiate their neo-pagan views of *wyrd*. Dame Bertha Phillpotts is something of an exception. Though she describes a cultural situation in which there is pagan influence, she follows W.P. Ker in considering the *Consolatio* to be the site where converted barbarians might be able to ponder questions

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[71] The classic study is E.G. Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (Cambridge/Totowa, 1975) with its survey of decades of scholarship. See also Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., "Fatalism and the Millennium," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature,* ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 160–71, esp. pp. 160–65.

[72] Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, citing A. Köhler, p. 97.

[73] Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, p. 104, citing Henry Sweet, "Sketch of the History of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," in W. Crew Hazlitt's edition of Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. 2, p. 6.

[74] Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, p. 104, citing Edmund. Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 51.

of Providence, Fate, chance, divine intelligence, and free will.[75] As E.G. Stanley has put it so well:

> In that period [= the last 150 years] the unknown (as I think the unknowable unknown) was so firmly used to explain that known that scholars felt no doubt in their methods or results.[76]

The enthusiasm for the Germanic past or the *furor Teutonicus* had dominated that day and time.

Wyrd occurs eleven times in *Beowulf*: 455, 477, 572, 734, 1056, 1205, 1233, 2420, 2526, 2574, and 2814, and once in the plural, *wyrda* 3030. B.J. Timmer, working critically off earlier scholarship, catalogues *wyrd* in its various appearances in Old English prose and poetry.[77] Though clearly looking over his shoulder at the pagan *versus* Christian issue and assuming an early date for the composition *of Beowulf*—a dating that many now would deny, Timmer nevertheless advances semantic understanding of *wyrd* by showing the variant meanings of the word within its several contexts. The meanings, as summarized by T.P. Dunning and A.J. Bliss, are: "man's lot [i.e., "What comes to pass"], events which occur by chance, a miraculous event; a miraculous deed."[78] The last two meanings show how the word crosses the pagan-Christian line in religious texts and what it can signify there. Timmer will translate line 455 thus: "the events of our lot go as they must go (as ordained by God's Providence)."[79] "*Wyrd*" is no longer a heathen conception: "What comes out in *Beowulf* is not the old-Germanic belief in Fate, but a Christian resignation to the inevitability of the course of events as they are ordained by God's Providence."[80] More recently, Godden-Irvine examine *fate, fortune, wyrd*, and related terms, concluding that in the *Boethius* the term *wyrd* is "under control of a benign

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[75] Dame Bertha S. Phillpotts, "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 13 (1928 for 1927), 7–27, repr. in *The Interpretations of Beowulf*, ed. R.D. Fulk (Bloomington, 1991), at pp. 10–13. R.J. Menner discusses *wyrd* and Providence and their "almost Boethian" (p. 62) relation in the introduction to his edition, *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (New York, 1941), pp. 54–55, note to lines 411ff. and *Metre* 20, lines 125–29, p. 38.

[76] Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, p. 122.

[77] B.J. Timmer, "*Wyrd* in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry," *Neophilologus* 26 (1941), 24–33, 213–28 [in four parts].

[78] T.P. Dunning and A.J. Bliss, eds., *The Wanderer* (London, 1969), pp. 71–74. Compare Klaeber's glossary where "fate, destiny" and "destined" appear eleven times and "event, fact" once: Fr. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950), s.v. "Wyrd.

[79] Timmer, "*Wyrd* in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry," p. 224.

[80] Ibid.

and just providence."[81] To connect *wyrd* with divine Providence challenges much past scholarship on the poem and even some in the current critical climate.

F. Anne Payne seeks to make a stronger connection between the Old English *Boethius* and *Beowulf* by exploring "basic similarities" that are a function of her overall take on the Old English Boethius.[82] Hers is a broad literary analysis of the two texts as opposed to a defined semantic analysis. Essentially, she uses the Old English *Boethius* as a gloss on *Beowulf* without asserting any direct verbal echoes. In her interpretation, Alfred actively and creatively engages the Boethian text, changing the *Consolatio* world into a moral realm where human freedom is the significant factor in human choice. This "existential" reading of the *Boethius*, strongly criticized early on, did not make a groundbreaking impact, i.e., it did not found a school of interpretation.[83] Yet, one has to recognize Payne's clear, and perhaps final (at least for her), break with the tradition of Romanticized readings of *wyrd* in the context of Germanic myth (a break which may be at the root of Boethian issues in *Beowulf*). Central to Payne's overall argument is the Alfredian image of the wheel, which explains the relationship of man, *wyrd*, and God: *Wyrd* is the great wheel on which men are caught: God is the axle, and the best individuals are near the axle, while the worst toward the outer rim, where they are more likely to fall off.[84]

> Wyrd is the balance that keeps the free choices of men from sending the universe astray. The universe must operate in terms of an order of its own and if men's choices threaten it, deliberately evil or merely humanly inadequate, Wyrd comes against them.[85]

When the dragon appears with fiery destruction, Beowulf's "dark thoughts"—his concern that he had angered the Lord—become no simple moral matter of fault and retribution or sin and punishment. Payne

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[81] Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, pp. 77–79, at p. 79.

[82] F. Anne Payne, "Three Aspects of Wyrd in *Beowulf*," in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto, 1974), pp. 15–35.

[83] W.F. Bolton, "How Boethian is Alfred's Boethius?" esp. pp. 155–58, and his review in *Modern Language Review* 65 (1970), 364–65; see also Katherine Proppe, "King Alfred's *Consolation of Philosophy*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74 (1973), 635–48; and Olga Fischer, "A Comparative Study of Philosophical Terms in the Alfredian and Chaucerian Boethius," *Neophilologus* 63 (1979), 622–39.

[84] Payne, "Three Aspects of Wyrd in *Beowulf*," p. 16 (summarizing).

[85] Ibid., p. 18. And further, "Wyrd is not a pagan opponent of the Christian God, except from that narrow conception of Christianity which imagines God as sitting in total oblivion to his responsibilities for the terrible, ambiguous consequences of being human; Wyrd is merely God's other face."

actually provides a tragic reading in that Beowulf acts as he humanly must to protect his people, whatever their weaknesses. Beowulf loses to *wyrd* as any overreacher in an Elizabethan tragedy might lose. Some might see deep in the surface structure a latent theory of the absurd.

Alan H. Roper's earlier study demonstrates its own subtlety in comparing *Boethius* and the *Consolatio* without pleading for a special theory as such.[86] In his opening review of criticism and scholarship, Roper grants as a given that *wyrd* is identified with *fortuna* or *fatum* (4p6) and that *wyrd* is an agent of God. Roper, however, does maintain links to some views reminiscent of the older scholarship. Thus, Roper sees a pagan *versus* Christian thematic, perhaps unconsciously set up by the poet, where earthly praise opposes the judgment of the righteous. Beowulf enjoys the five gifts of Fortune (*opes, honores, potentia, gloria*, and *uoluptates*—as in 3p2), but Beowulf is not corrupted by them. It is furthermore probably only Hrothgar's famous sermon that strikes the note of *contemptus mundi* in the poem, warning against pride. Roper takes a kind of common sense approach when he observes that there is no reason for the *Beowulf*-poet to import the whole Boethian philosophy.[87] In *Beowulf,* as he says, "The pagan figure retains much of its strength."[88] Roper makes the important distinction that

> the word used throughout the crucial sixth prose of the fourth book is *Fatum*, not *Fortuna* [...] *Fatum* is the impersonal force which translates the infinite will of a providential God into the finite world of man whereas *Fortune* is the lot of individuals.[89]

The foregoing selective summary of Roper's position comes forward with not a little difficulty. It would seem on balance that Roper is trying to sustain a Boethian view that is close to the appearances of the *Beowulfian* text. In his reading, the monster Grendel becomes the agent of *wyrd* and Beowulf the agent of God: "nothing more un-Boethian than this conception of fate can be imagined."[90] Roper does not offer direct textual evidence, of course.[91]

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[86] Alan H. Roper, "Boethius and the Three Fates of *Beowulf*," *Philological Quarterly* 41 (1962), 386–400.
[87] Ibid., p. 391.
[88] Ibid., p. 396.
[89] Ibid., p. 392.
[90] Ibid., p. 394.
[91] I have not sought to incorporate Roper's discussion of the three fates of men.

In retrospect, there would appear to be no interpreter who would prefer to render *wyrd* directly by *providence* and pay the intellectual consequences for the ensuing controversy.

Two Other Poems

Two "minor poems" from the great Old English miscellany known as the *Exeter Book* give possibly further evidence for the absorption of Boethian thinking and doctrine.[92] Scholars have given them the titles *Deor* and *The Wanderer*.[93]

Deor's 42 lines are remarkable for their citation of Germanic myth and a refrain, the latter even more rare in Old English poetry than the former. The refrain marks the six stanzas of the poem, giving each the finality of an *exemplum*:

> *Þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg*[.]
>
> [see text below for translation possibilities]

As might be expected, specific translations of this line vary as a function of its role in any larger interpretation of the whole. Each of the first five stanzas presents a character who suffered much or simply endured a sorrowful situation: the smith Weland, the ravished Beadohild, the cryptic Mæðhild, the ruler Theodoric, and the savage king Ermanaric. The sixth stanza describes the situation of the *persona*, who gives his name as Deor, and relates how he lost his position as *scop* [= *poet*] of the Heodenings to Heorrenda. In describing his situation, the *persona* notes that "*witig dryhten*" [wise Lord] shows to many a man "*wislicne blæd, sumum weana dæl*" [prudent success, to some a portion of woes]. The refrain can mean "that passed away, so can this."[94] Ðæs would appear to refer (genitive of

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[92] The entire codex is edited by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records) 3 (New York, 1936). There is a facsimile edition, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, with chapters by R.W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower (Bradford, 1933). And now there is an electronic edition: *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, ed. Bernard J. Muir (Exeter, 2006).

[93] Kemp Malone edits *Deor* (London, 1933; rev. ed. Exeter 1977). Dunning and Bliss, edit *The Wanderer*, as noted above n. 80, as does Roy F. Leslie (Manchester, 1966; rev. ed. Exeter, 1985). Both poems populate school texts, one of the most recent being R.D. Fulk's *Eight Old English Poems* (which is a revision of John Collins Pope's *Seven Old English Poems*).

[94] For a brief discussion of the refrain, see Morton W. Bloomfield, "The Form of *Deor*," *PMLA* 79 (1964), 534–41, at p. 536. On p. 535, Bloomfield estimates that there have been "possibly over a hundred different translations."

respect) to the plight of the Germanic characters. Þisses would appear to refer (genitive of respect) to the current situation of the speaker. The structural dynamic of the poem is a contrast between "others" and the speaker. The refrain can be seen as an optimistic or pessimistic statement, depending in part on how *mæg* is construed. If it means "can," the presumption is that nothing has changed—and may not; if it means "will," the future would seem to hold hope for *Deor*.

W.W. Lawrence was the first to consider *Deor* a "veritable *Consolationis Philosophiae* of minstrelsy."[95] As Kevin S. Kiernan has put it, "it wasn't until 1968 that anyone tried to certify the analogy," which is a pattern of disregard oddly characteristic of the study of the *Consolatio* and the vernacular.[96] It was Murray F. Markland who began the modern study of *Deor* as a Boethian poem by drawing parallels affecting Boethius, Alfred, and *Deor*.[97] W.F. Bolton sought to correct Markland by pointing out deficiencies of Markland's analysis of the Boethian source.[98] Bolton concludes by regarding *Deor* as "a poem wholly and orthodoxly Boethian," enumerating the following as chief constituents of *Deor* traceable to Boethius's work: "the overall fiction of the unfortunate poet, the fivefold view of human ambition, the viewpoint and language of the refrain, the implementation of literary tradition for exemplary ends, perhaps even the symbolic name of the narrator's *persona* ['Deor' = 'animal']."[99] Interestingly, Bolton does not think that a study of the Alfredian *Boethius* is necessary to account for the poem's features.[100] Kiernan followed up with his corrections of Murray Markland. For Kiernan, the last iteration of the refrain could be paraphrased as "I lost my position as *Heodeninga scop*. That sorrow passed, but my present good fortune can, too," which is a recognition that is eminently Boethian.[101] Granting that there is a close connection between *Boethius* and *Deor*, Kiernan suggests even more by arguing for a connection between *Deor* and the Alfredian translation. He sees that the references to Theodoric and Ermanaric establish parallels with the

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[95] W.W. Lawrence, "The Song of Deor," *Modern Philology* 9 (1911), 23–45 at p. 23.

[96] Kevin S. Kiernan, "The Consolations of an Anglo-Saxon Boethius," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79 (1978), 333–40.

[97] Murray F. Markland, "Boethius, Alfred, and *Deor*," *Modern Philology* 66 (1968), 1–4, observing of Lawrence's description: "It is so nearly an accurate description of the poem that I am puzzled that neither he nor anyone else has followed up his intuition" (p. 1).

[98] W. F. Bolton, "Boethius, Alfred, and *Deor* Again," *Modern Philology* 69 (1972), 222–27.

[99] Ibid., p. 227. The fivefold view of human ambition comprises wealth, power, honor, fame, and pleasure.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Kiernan, "The Consolations of an Anglo-Saxon Boethius," p. 335.

Boethius, where Theodoric and Nero are cast in similar terms to the pair in *Deor*. It is, of course, Theodoric the Ostrogoth who was the persecutor of Boethius.[102] The mix of Germanic myth and Boethian thinking has its analogue in the Old English *Boethius* when the figure Wisdom sings of fame and glory, citing the smith Weland and figures of Roman history and asking where are Weland's bones.[103] The vernacular seems at ease in occupying the same cultural space with the Latin tradition.

The Wanderer, lacking overt reference to Germanic figures, offers complexities of a different order altogether, and in so doing represents a more subtle model for Boethian influence such as still might lie elsewhere in other works not so closely studied as this one.[104] For quite some time, scholars and critics have sought to establish some basic features of *The Wanderer*: its structure, its textual integrity, its *dramatis personae*, its theme, and its embedded narrative, among other major matters. Unlike *The Seafarer*, its presumptive companion piece,[105] *The Wanderer* does not contain blatant textual *lacunae*, though there are questions.[106] The variability of interpretation means that there can be some uncertainty in building a case for Boethian possibilities. Are there three speakers—a poet, a wanderer, and a wise man—with the latter two in counterpoint, or maybe there are only a poet, whose words intervene in the Wanderer's reflections, and the solitary. Which interpretation should become the foundation of a Boethian edifice? Dunning and Bliss, to take their views as major, near-canonical, consider the poem to reflect the thoughts of a solitary man who comes to know true consolation in the Father in heaven. They see two movements, line 6–57 and 58–110.[107] The first introduces the figure of "*eardstapa*" [= "wanderer," more literally "earthstepper"] who mentions the death of kinsmen and lord and the resultant sufferings. The Wanderer has sorrow as a companion (line 30) and experiences a kind of vision or dream in which his hall companions swim away from him. Dunning and Bliss suggest that there might be echoes of *Consolatio* 4p7 and possibly even the Old English *Boethius* in this first movement, but

[102] Ibid., pp. 337–39. Kiernan also seeks to solve textual cruces in *Deor* with readings gleaned from *Boethius*.

[103] Ed. Godden-Irvine, vol. 1, p. 283; trans., vol. 2, p. 30.

[104] The *OEN Bibliography Database*, e.g., lists some 100 works written in the span.

[105] I.L. Gordon, ed., *The Seafarer* (London, 1960); Mrs. Gordon faces textual difficulties at seemingly every turn.

[106] I have drastically compressed the detailed analysis of Dunning and Bliss, *The Wanderer*, pp. 82–93.

[107] Dunning and Bliss, *The Wanderer*, p. 92.

the evidence seems slender. The Wanderer attains wisdom in the second movement, i.e., an understanding of "the ways of Providence in regard to the whole created world."[108] In this part, there are images of emptiness and destruction leading to the *ubi sunt* theme and the flat-footed: "*Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rice*" [Everything is difficult in the kingdom of the earth] (line 106). In meditating on the transitory nature of the world, the Wanderer becomes "*snottor in mode*" [wise in mind] (line 111).[109]

In a brief but lucid reading, R.M. Lumiansky argues for a dramatic monologue wherein the *eardstapa* "considers the transitory nature of earthly things and tells how he achieved peace of mind despite the troubles he has experienced."[110] The poem is about the contrast between true felicity and false felicity, a major Boethian theme. Worldly things offer false felicity; true felicity resides in God. Having established his literary interpretation, Lumiansky then moves to make the Boethian connection. His attempt to ground the poem in the *Consolatio* struggles because of the lack of good information about the circulation of the *Consolatio* at the time of his writing. Lumiansky has to rely on the early version of J.D.A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin* (*670–804*), for example, and to present "some fairly obvious general similarities."[111] He must argue for the poet's familiarity with an early copy of the *Consolatio* and for the poet's necessary understanding that the *Consolatio* concerned itself with an explanation of true happiness. Literary interpretation replaces documentary evidence, as one finds it in the Alfred-Ælfric relationship, in order to establish probable connections.

Richard North develops an interpretation of *The Wanderer* that takes the poem in a different direction.[112] Granting that there are thematic paral-

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[108] Ibid.

[109] *Wyrd* and its forms occur four times in *The Wanderer*; lines and meanings glossed by Dunning and Bliss are: line 5, "man's lot"; line 100, "destiny"; line 15, "course of events"; line 107, "ordered course of events."

[110] R.M. Lumiansky, "The Dramatic Structure of the Old English *Wanderer*," *Neophilologus* 34 (1950), 104–12. Dunning and Bliss, *The Wanderer*, p. 80, n. 1, indicate that their interpretation follows in general Lumiansky's (with others). A.D. Horgan offers "The Wanderer: A Boethian Poem?" in *Review of English Studies* 38 (1987), 40–46, at p. 40, in which she argues that the "shared experience which unites the *Wanderer* poet and his potential audience is a reading of *Consolatio* 5p6. Horgan does not cite Lumiansky.

[111] For a recent listing of *Consolatio* manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100, see now Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, MRTS 241 (Tempe, 2001).

[112] Richard North, "Boethius and the Mercenary in *The Wanderer*," in *Pagans and Christians*, ed. T. Hofstra, L.A.J.R. Houwen, and A.A. MacDonald, (Germania Latina) 2 (Groningen, 1995), pp. 71–98. The first several notes, which support the review of criticism, constitute a useful bibliography.

lels between the *Consolatio* and the poem, North nevertheless argues that what makes the poem interesting is that the poet did not choose Latin for his points of doctrine but rather transposed his teaching to the Germanic context of his native diction. He sees pertinent analogues for the first part of *The Wanderer* in the story of Starkaðar and Vikarr in the 13th-century *Gautrekssaga*, and in Saxo Grammaticus's version of Starcatherus's life in *Gesta Danorum*.[113] It is possible that the mercenary Starkaðr and his story of exile and killing form a major part of the narrative behind the poem. North produces many parallels between Starkaðr and the Wanderer in making his case. Ultimately, the Wanderer is to the Wiseman (who has found God) as the mercenary is to Boethius.[114] The problem of interpretation remains the same. The parallel with the Old Norse tradition is there if a reader wants it. It is not clear that the narrative relationship is forced by the overall argument. Yet, North has effected the necessary thing: i.e., he moves with relative ease among Christian, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse narratives, or myths in the larger sense, not letting mere language to stand as a barrier to interpretation and understanding. The bi-lingualism (or tri-lingualism) of Anglo-Saxon England forms the pre-condition for any attempt to understand the presence of the *Consolatio*.

Conclusion

Whether, finally, Alfred translated the *Consolatio* or not, or whether Ælfric knew where his Boethian passages originated, the fact remains that the *Consolatio* was a text that had an existence in the vernacular. Whatever the date of the Old English *Boethius*, the Cotton manuscript date of the mid-10th century places the translation comparatively early in the transmission history of the *Consolatio*.

As popular as the *Consolatio* was and with a commentary tradition that was well-developed, it was still the case that the text was not treated as a holy or untouchable thing. One could call the Old English *Boethius* one of the first ever "interactive" texts, given the liberties taken in the rendition, presumably mainly in the shadow of the commentaries. Certainly more elusive than the documentary proof from the translated presence of the *Consolatio* are the various literary interpretations that accompany vernacular texts. Early on, many Anglo-Saxonists were able to accept

[113] Ibid., pp. 79–84.
[114] Ibid., p. 87.

the relationship between fate and Providence, but not all. The recourse to "general similarities" of situation is always shaky. The Boethian connection has tended to form a source connection, not a broader or wider cultural connection. As a result, there is no specifically Boethian interpretation of vernacular literature, though there have been Christian or exegetical "schools." A poem such as *Beowulf* would seem to be ready for such a Boethian interpretation. To be sure, Latinists will not move into Old English, nor will vernacular experts delve into the Latin tradition and its remarkable complications. Sedgefield is something of a hero for doing so much in so little time, for the Alfredian millennium was upon him, but his edition needed a second, revised edition to serve scholarship more effectively. The hope is that the Godden-Irvine edition, controversial as it might be in some ways, will provide the foundation for a renewed interest in a Boethian world-view. The complementary project on the commentary tradition will be a most valuable advance. There will be more to learn.

Postscript:

The Old English *Boethius* and the Old English *Soliloquies* share verbal similarities and echoes to the degree that the editors of the *Boethius* write (I, p. 136): "It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the two works are by the same author, as indeed most scholars have long believed." I discuss the connections between the two works in the projected Brill Companion to Alfred the Great, ed. with Nicole Guenther Discenza, in my article: "Augustine's *Soliloquia* in Old English."

BOETHIUS'S INFLUENCE ON GERMAN LITERATURE TO *C.*1500

Christine Hehle

The German-language reception of Boethius does not form a coherent tradition but is characterized by individual periods of interest in his person and work.[1] The focus of this reception lies, throughout all periods, on the *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*].[2] There are two principal lines of influence: first, the scholarly reception of Boethian works in translations and commentaries and quotation of Boethius as an authority in didactic texts; second, the intertextual impact of particular themes and motifs of the *Consolatio*. This chapter will survey the various forms of German-language reception, illustrated by analyses of selected passages.

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[1] For a survey of German Boethius reception, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. Deutsche Rezeption," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., ed. Kurt Ruh et al., 14 vols (Berlin, 1978–2008), 1:919–27. Cited hereafter as ²VL.

[2] The *De consolatione philosophiae* is quoted from the Teubner edition: Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae. Opuscula theologica*, 2nd ed., ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2005) by book, meter, and verse (e.g., 1m1.1–2) or book, prose, and line (e.g., 1p1.1–2), hereafter *Consolatio*. The English translations are from Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Victor Watts, rev. ed. (London, 1999). A research project on the Latin and vernacular reception of the *Consolatio* in the Middle Ages and the 14th to 17th centuries is currently being pursued at the University of Bochum; it focuses on the various modes of *interpretatio Christiana*. See Reinhold F. Glei, Nicola Kaminski, Franz Lebsanft, eds., *Boethius Christianus? Transformationen der "Consolatio Philosophiae" in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2010). On medieval reception of Boethius in general, see also chapters 7, 11, and 12 of John Marenbon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (Cambridge, 2009). Because of parallel publication dates, it was not possible to include the results of this volume into the present chapter. A second current research project located at the University of Oxford focuses on early medieval reception: "Boethius in Early Medieval Europe: Commentary on 'The Consolation of Philosophy' from the 9th to the 11th centuries" (www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius).

Part I
Translation and Elucidation: Scholarly Reception in the Early Middle Ages

Old High German Glosses

The beginnings of the German-language reception of Boethius in the Old High German period are characteristic of one fundamental epistemological method of the Middle Ages: glossation. Glosses in German that accompany a more comprehensive Latin glossation in Boethian manuscripts have a twofold purpose: they serve, on the one hand, to clarify Latin expressions for non-Latin native speakers and ensure a proper understanding of the text and, on the other hand, to impart grammatical, syntactical and lexical knowledge of Latin in general. The German Boethius glosses, even where their density allows us to speak not of single glosses but of an interlinear version, never form a consistent vernacular commentary.

The *Consolatio*, the Boethian text that was by far most frequently read and commented upon throughout the Middle Ages, is represented by the highest quantity of manuscripts glossed in German. Twenty-six manuscripts from the 9th to 13th centuries are known that contain German glosses, and most of them are from the 10th and 11th centuries. Geographically, Southern Germany prevails: eight manuscripts are from the Alemannic region (St Gall and Einsiedeln), seven from the Bavarian language area (Regensburg, Tegernsee, Salzburg, St Florian, Heiligenkreuz), and six from the Main-Frankish region (Cologne and Echternach).[3] One *Consolatio* manuscript containing Old High German glosses is signed by its author, the Benedictine monk Froumund von Tegernsee, who wrote and glossed it in the monastery of St Pantaleon in Cologne *c*.991–92. Froumund is otherwise known for his epistolary and poetical work.[4] The manuscript is from Maihingen, and it now is in Cracow, in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, under the shelfmark of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek to which it belonged until 1945: MS lat. 4° 939.[5]

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[3] See Rolf Bergmann and Stefanie Stricker, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, 6 vols (Berlin, 2005). The manuscripts containing German *Consolatio* glosses are listed in the index (5:2255). For additions to this catalogue, see Petrus W. Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* 3 vols (Tübingen, 2008–09), 1:xxxi–xxxviii. See also Rolf Bergmann and Stefanie Stricker, "Die althochdeutschen Boethiusglossen. Ansätze zu einer Überlieferungstypologie," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 43–44 (1995), 13–47.

[4] See Christine E. Ineichen-Eder, "Froumund von Tegernsee," ²VL, 2:978–82.

[5] See Bergmann/Stricker, *Katalog*, n. 45 (1:224–26).

A total of 1,560 Old High German *Consolatio* glosses is known; the number of glosses contained in one single manuscript ranges from 1–370.[6] The German glosses do not always refer to the Boethian text proper: in some cases they explain a Latin *Consolatio* commentary. Most manuscripts show a decreasing frequency of German glosses in the course of the text: Books 1 to 3 are glossed more intensely than Books 4–5, which may be because of a gradually weakening zeal of the glossators but more probably because the first three books were read more often in the schools. A conspicuous feature of the German *Consolatio* glosses is their frequent cryptographic notation.[7] Six manuscripts of other Boethian works are known that contain Old High German glosses on either the text itself or a commentary on it.[8]

Notker III von St Gallen

The teaching of Latin and of the Liberal Arts is also the context and purpose of the bilingual adaptations of Boethian texts composed by Notker III (*Labeo*) von St Gallen (*c.*950–1022).[9] A monk of the famous monastery and director of its school, he was, according to the testimony of his pupils, not only a distinguished scholar but also a devoted teacher, who, *propter caritatem discipulorum* [out of love for his pupils], wrote commentaries in German to important school texts.[10] Hence his second nickname, *Teutonicus* (the German).

Around 1000, Notker translated and commented on the *Consolatio*,[11] (parts of) the *Opuscula sacra* (now lost), as well as the Boethian translations of

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[6] Most of the glosses are edited in Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, eds., *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 6 vols (Berlin, 1879–1922), 2:54–81, 4:315–18, 5:24. For editions and descriptions of the remaining glosses, see the references in Bergmann/Stricker, *Katalog*, and in Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*.

[7] See Bergmann/Stricker, "Die althochdeutschen Boethiusglossen," p. 45 and 42.

[8] See Bergmann/Stricker, *Katalog*, 5:2255–56; and Bergmann/Stricker, "Die althochdeutschen Boethiusglossen," p. 21, nn. 29–30. These glosses have not yet been systematically analyzed.

[9] On Notker's life and works, see Stefan Sonderegger, "Notker III. von St Gallen," ²VL, 6:1212–36; Ernst Hellgardt, "Notker Labeo," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 24 (Berlin, 1994), pp. 665–68; and Jonathan West, "Late Old High German Prose," in *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Murdoch, (The Camden House History of German Literature) 2 (Columbia, SC, 2004), pp. 227–45, esp. 228–33.

[10] Quotation from a verse of Notker's pupil Ekkehard IV von St Gallen. *Der Liber benedictionum Ekkeharts IV.*, ed Johannes Egli (St Gall, 1909), p. 230.

[11] Notker der Deutsche, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Petrus W. Tax, 3 vols (Tübingen, 1986–90), cited hereafter by page and line. For a strictly diplomatic edition, see Notker der Deutsche von St Gallen, *Lateinischer Text und althochdeutsche Übersetzung der Tröstung der Philosophie* (*De consolatione Philosophiae*) *von Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius*, ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow et al., 3 vols (Hildesheim, 2003). See

Aristotle's *Categoriae*[12] and *De interpretatione* (*Peri Hermeneias*)[13] and, possibly, Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica*, in addition to the first two books of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*,[14] the Psalms,[15] and the Book of Job, based on Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* (probably unfinished; lost). In addition to these translation-commentaries, he wrote Latin and German textbooks of his own on matters of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.

In a letter to bishop Hugo of Sitten from *c.*1020 (thus near the end of his life) he states that in his view—quite in accordance with the Augustinian tradition continued by the Carolingians—the Liberal Arts have always had a mere instrumental function, being propædeutic to the understanding of ecclesiastical books. He then describes his method in making accessible to his pupils the—often difficult—texts:

> [...] *ausus svm facere rem pene inusitatam . ut latine scripta in nostram conatus sim uertere et syllogystice aut figurate aut suasorie dicta per aristotelem uel ciceronem uel alium artigraphum elucidare.*

Ingeborg Schröbler, *Notker III von St Gallen als Übersetzer und Kommentator von Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Tübingen, 1953); Christine Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen. Die Bearbeitung der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' durch Notker Teutonicus zwischen Tradition und Innovation* (Tübingen, 2002), with further references; and Stephan Müller, "Boethius im Klassenzimmer. Die Bearbeitung der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' durch Notker den Deutschen," *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 333–54.

[12] Notker der Deutsche, *Boethius' Bearbeitung der "Categoriae" des Aristoteles*, ed. James J. King (Tübingen, 1972). See also Notker der Deutsche von St Gallen, *Categoriae. Boethius' Bearbeitung von Aristoteles' Schrift kategoriai*, ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow, 2 vols (Berlin, 1996). See Jürgen Jaehrling, *Die philosophische Terminologie Notkers des Deutschen in seiner Übersetzung der Aristotelischen "Kategorien"* (Berlin, 1979); and Alexandra Rink, *Aristoteles in Sankt Gallen. Notkers des Deutschen Kategorien-Bearbeitung* (*Kapitel 1–17*) *auf Grundlage der Übersetzung und des Kommentars des Boethius* (Frankfurt, 2006).

[13] Notker der Deutsche, *Boethius' Bearbeitung von Aristoteles' Schrift "De Interpretatione,"* ed. James J. King (Tübingen, 1975). See also Notker der Deutsche von St Gallen, *De interpretatione. Boethius' Bearbeitung von Aristoteles' Schrift "peri hermeneias,"* ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow (Berlin, 1995). See Cornelia Staeves, *Notkers Hermeneutik-Übersetzung. Möglichkeiten der zweisprachigen Textbearbeitung* (Frankfurt, 1996); and Harald Saller, *Ein neues Editionskonzept für die Schriften Notkers des Deutschen anhand von De interpretatione* (Frankfurt, 2003).

[14] Notker der Deutsche, Martianus Capella, "De nuptiis Philologiae and Mercurii," ed. James C. King (Tübingen, 1972). See also Notker der Deutsche von St Gallen, *Die Hochzeit der Philologia und des Merkur. De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii von Martianus Capella*, ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow et al., 2 vols (Hildesheim, 1999). See Sonja Glauch, *Die Martianus-Capella-Bearbeitung Notkers des Deutschen*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 2000), with further references.

[15] Notker der Deutsche, *Der Psalter*, ed. Petrus W. Tax, 3 vols (Tübingen, 1979–83).

> [I dared to do something quite unusual: I tried to translate Latin texts into our language and to elucidate the syllogistical, figurative or rhetoric expressions of Aristotle, Cicero or another author of the Liberal Arts.][16]

This means that his adaptations of texts combine translation and commentary in an innovative way that arises out of the practice of teaching and reading Latin texts at school and is designed to fit the needs of pupils who, being German native speakers, already have reached an advanced level of study.[17] Notker's interpretation of the texts draws upon the Latin commentary tradition of which he had a thorough command and proves at the same time to be well in line with the scholarly developments of his time.[18]

To illustrate Notker's method, I will analyse the beginning of *Consolatio* 1m4 in his adaptation:

> *Quisquis composito serenus aevo / fatum sub pedibus egit superbum / fortunamque tuens utramque rectus / invictum potuit tenere vultum, / non illum rabies minaeque ponti / versum funditus exagitantis aestum / nec ruptis quotiens vagus caminis / torquet fumificos Vesaevus ignes / aut celsas soliti ferire turres / ardentis via fulminis movebit.*
>
> [Let men compose themselves and live at peace, / Set haughty fate beneath their feet, / And look unmoved on fortune good and bad, / And keep unchanging countenance; / Unmoved they'll stand before the ocean's rage / Which churns up waves from deep below, / Unmoved by restless Mount Vesuvius, / Her furnace burst and hurling flames, / Unmoved by fiery thunderbolts in flight / Which sweep in ruin towers on high.][19]

Notker divides the text into small segments, arranges the words according to the *ordo naturalis*, an order designed to facilitate understanding,[20] and he translates the text into Old High German. Into his rendering of the

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[16] Notker der Deutsche, *Die kleineren Schriften*, ed. James C. King and Petrus W. Tax (Tübingen, 1996), p. 348, my translation.

[17] See Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall* (Cambridge, 2006).

[18] For Notker's direct sources, see the *Notker latinus* volumes accompanying the text volumes of the edition by King and Tax (8 vols, Tübingen, 1972–2009). See also Schröbler, *Notker III. von St Gallen*; Glauch, *Die Martianus-Capella-Bearbeitung*; and Stefan Sonderegger, "Notker der Deutsche und Cicero. Aspekte einer mittelalterlichen Rezeption," *Florilegium Sangallense. Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 243–66, repr. Stefan Sonderegger, *Germanica selecta*, ed. Harald Burger and Elvira Glaser (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 365–87.

[19] *Consolatio* 1m4.1–10, trans. Watts, p. 8–9.

[20] His arrangement of the words within a segment follows the rules of the so-called St Gall Tractate that may have been written by Notker himself. See Anna A. Grotans and David W. Porter, eds., *The St Gall Tractate: A Medieval Guide to Rhetorical Syntax* (Columbia, SC, 1992). The text is also edited in Notker der Deutsche, *Die kleineren Schriften*, p. 46–104.

Latin text as well as into his German translation, he inserts explanations, interpretative additions, and commentaries.

1st segment:

Quisquis serenus composito ęuo subegit pedibus fatum superbum
[Whoever composed, living at peace, set haughty fate beneath his feet]
i.[*e.*] *prosperam fortunam*
[that means good fortune]
et rectus tuens
[looking unmoved and upright]
i.[*e.*] *recte intuitus est*
[that means who looked rightly]
utramque fortunam
[on both fortunes]
So uuéler in sînemo áltere stíllêr . únde gezógenêr . sâlda inuersíhte hábeta . únde er áfter réhte béidiu uersáh . ih méino sâlda . ióh únsâlda.
[Whoever in his time calmly and composedly, despised fortune, and rightly despised both, I mean good luck and bad luck.][21]

2nd segment:

Potuit tenere inuictum uultum.
[He could keep an undefeated countenance]
Tér máhta háben uéste gehába.
[He could keep a firm countenance]
Álsô socrates nehéinêst sîn ánalútte neuuéhselôta . uuánda er îo inéinemo uuás ! ane láhter . únde âne trûregi.
[Like Socrates who never changed his face because he was without laughing and without mourning.][22]

3rd segment:

Illum non mouebit rabies ponti et minę . exagitantis funditus uersum estum.
[He will not be moved by the rage and threat of the sea that churns up waves from the bottom.]
Tén sólên nebrútet nîeht tíu úngebârda . únde dîe tróuuûn des méres . uuûollentes . únde fóne bódeme ûf chérentes sîna zéssa.
[Such a man is not frightened by the rage and the threat of the sea that stirs and churns up from the bottom its waves.]
Táz sint tumultus secularium.
[This means the storms of the world.][23]

[21] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 17:27–18.1, my translation.
[22] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 18:1–3, my translation.
[23] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 18:4–7, my translation.

4th segment:

Nec mouebit eum ueseuus . quotiens ruptis caminis uagus torquet fumificos ignes.
[And he will not be moved by Mount Vesuvius, however often she hurls far about smoky flames out of burst furnaces]
Nóh ín nebrútet
[Nor frightens him]
ter brénnento bérg
[the burning mountain]
ueseuus.
[Vesuvius]
tér in campania íst.
[that is located in Campania]
sô er uerbróchenên múntlóchen uuîto zeuuírfet sîníu ríuchenten fíur.
[when she far about throws her smoky flames out of burst furnaces]
Táz sínt furores principum.
[This means the rages of princes.][24]

5th segment:

Aut uia ardentis fulminis . soliti ferire celsas turres.
[Or the flight of the fiery thunderbolt that often smashes high towers.]
Nóh ín nebrútet tér scúz tero fíurentûn dóner strâlo . tíu hóhíu túrre díccho níder slât.
[Nor frightens him the flight of the fiery thunderbolts that often smashes high towers]
Táz íst tero chúningo geuuált . tér ófto die rîchen in[*t*] *sézzet.*
[That means the violence of kings that often overthrows the mighty ones.][25]

This example shows how Notker facilitates the understanding of the poem for his pupils on the level of grammar by gradually proceeding from segment to segment, by putting together noun and adjective, noun and participle, etc., and by repeating the verb in each subordinate clause. On the level of vocabulary, by furnishing lexical explanations for difficult words and figurative expressions, he helps them to enlarge their knowledge of Latin expressions. By translating the rearranged text into Old High German,[26] he ensures their comprehensive understanding of the segment. By adding encyclopædic explanations and interpretative comments,

[24] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 18:7–11, my translation.
[25] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 18:11–15, my translation.
[26] On Notker's Old High German syntax, see, most recently, Helge Eilers, *Die Syntax Notkers des Deutschen in seinen Übersetzungen* (Berlin, 2003). The analysis is based on Book 1 of the *Consolatio*, the translation of Martianus Capella, and selected psalms.

mostly in German, but intermingled with Latin *termini*, he helps pupils to acquire a deepened understanding of the various levels of the text and provides them with additional knowledge. The two languages, Latin and Old High German, and the various elements of the thus-constituted text, form an organic whole, working flexibly together and complementing one another.

Notker's factual explanations are indebted, but not limited to, the Latin gloss and commentary tradition of Boethius, and in the case of the *Consolatio*, principally to the Latin commentaries of Remigius of Auxerre and the so-called *Anonymus Sangallensis*. Apart from these specialized sources, he draws upon a wide range of ancient and medieval literature, as well as scholarly texts and compendia, works of hagiography and mythology,[27] but also upon his (and his pupils') own observations and experience, e.g., when he describes the phenomenon of Mars covered by the moon.[28] His interpretations show that he reads the *Consolatio*, in accordance with the general medieval view of Boethius, as a Christian text. Regarding the "suspicious" passages, especially the central poem 3m9 (*O qui perpetua*) with its Platonic cosmogony, unlike some Latin commentators, he does not feel constrained to make explicit statements, but is enabled by his method of combined translation and commentary to give a rendering of the meaning that elegantly circumnavigates theological cliffs.[29]

Beyond his step-by-step explanation, Notker's elucidation of *artes* texts encompasses the whole of the work by means of frequent cross-references and structural explanations. He restructures the texts with a new order of chapters that, in the case of the *Consolatio*, straddles the alternating of prose and verse. In addition, he inserts digressions into his texts that are independent of the original and serve to expound systematically fields of knowledge linked to the text. The *Consolatio* offers the opportunity for an in-depth teaching of rhetoric and dialectic, whereas, for example, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is the standard text of the *quadrivium*.[30] Therefore, Notker's adaptations, although designed

[27] See Tax, *Notker latinus zu Boethius*.

[28] See Ernst Hellgardt, "Geographie und Astronomie im Werk Notkers des Deutschen," in *Reisen und Welterfahrung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Dietrich Huschenbett and John Margetts (Würzburg, 1991), pp. 54–68.

[29] For a detailed analysis of Notker's rendering of *Consolatio* 3m9, see Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen*, pp. 228–82.

[30] See Glauch, *Die Martianus-Capella-Bearbeitung*.

primarily to ensure a thorough understanding of the original texts, may be read as independent works and creations of their time.

The adaptation of the *Consolatio* is preceded by two prologues, one in Latin, one in Old High German, which do not differ considerably in content. The German prologue is in all probability Notker's work, the Latin prologue probably not. No *accessus ad auctorem* or *vita Boethii* is given, as could be expected. Instead, the prologues contextualize the fate of Boethius with reference to the decline of the Roman Empire, which will be followed, according to the usual medieval interpretation of St Paul's second letter to the Thessalonicans, by the rise of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. The prologue reports Theodoric's defeat of Odovacar and his change during his reign:

> *Tô netéta er* [*thioterih*] *ze êrest nîeht úber dáz . sô demo chéisere lîeb uuás. Sô áber nâh ímo ándere chéisera uuúrten . tô begónda er tûon . ál dáz in lústa . únde dîen râten án den lîb . tîe ímo dés neuuâren geuólgig. Fóne díu slûog er boetium . únde sînen suêr symmachum . únde dáz óuh uuírsera uuás . iohannem den bâbes. Sâr des ánderen iâres . uuárt thioterih ferlóren . sîn néuo alderih zúhta daz rîche ze síh. Romanum imperium hábeta îo dánnan hína ferlóren sîna libertatem.*
>
> [First, he (Theodoric) did not do anything but what the emperor wished. But when he (Zeno) was followed by other emperors he started to do everything he liked and to seek the lives of those who would not follow him. For this reason, he killed Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus, and—even worse—John, the Pope. In the following year already, Theodoric died, and his grandson Athalarich seized the reign. From this time on, the Roman Empire had lost forever its freedom.][31]

In the prologue, the death of Boethius, a significant detail of the reign of Theodoric, is presented as an exemplary part of the decline of the Empire, which is seen, through the Paulinian introduction, in an eschatological context. The essential characteristic of the Roman Empire is its—political—freedom, a sort of key concept for Notker's explanations of Roman history throughout his *Consolatio*. The end of the Empire is considered as a *fait accompli*; the Carolingian and Ottonian Empire does not appear in the way of a *continuatio* but, rather ,as a fresh start in Christian terms that implies the complete dissolution of the ancient Empire.[32]

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[31] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 5:29–6.6, my translation.

[32] See Peter Ganz, "Geschichte bei Notker Labeo?" in *Geschichtsbewußtsein in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Christoph Gerhardt, Nigel F. Palmer, and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen, 1985), pp. 1–16. On the prologues, see also Kurt Ostberg, "The 'Prologi' of Notker's Boethius reconsidered," *German Life & Letters* 16 (1963), 256–65; Walter

Considering the both literary and didactic quality of Notker's adaptations, it is remarkable that he did not find successors and that his works did not enjoy any noteworthy reception. His *Consolatio* is transmitted in only one complete manuscript; parallel transmissions exist only for 3m9 and in the Latin prologue.[33]

Part II
Historiography: *Die Kaiserchronik*

After Notker's *Consolatio*, the first German text to show knowledge of the death of Boethius seems to be the *Kaiserchronik*. This voluminous work of an anonymous Regensburg cleric, written at the time of the Second Crusade and finished probably around 1160, reports the history of the Roman Empire, beginning with Julius Caesar and continuing up to Conrad III. Its structure is determined by the succession of emperors, though chronology is not always followed correctly and appears to be sometimes altered deliberately, peculiarly in order to "gloss over" the Byzantine Empire. In its digressions and anecdotes, it uses a great variety of sources, principally of a legendary and hagiographic nature, a large part of which now is lost.[34]

In the passage dealing with Theodoric (*Dietrîch*),[35] the author of the *Kaiserchronik* clearly ascribes the death of Boethius, Symmachus (wrongly called *Senecâ*), and Pope John I to their conspiracy with Constantinople against Theodoric, whom they think of as a usurper, and to the fury of the latter:

Haug and Konrad Benedikt Vollmann, eds., *Frühe deutsche Literatur und lateinische Literatur in Deutschland 800–1150* (Frankfurt, 1991), pp. 266–69, and 1227–31; and Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen* (n. 11), pp. 283–88.

[33] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 825: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 121. Prologue: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 844; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 242.

[34] *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, ed. Edward Schröder, Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter MGH], *Deutsche Chroniken*, 1:1 (Hanover, 1892; repr. Munich, 1984). On the *Kaiserchronik*, see Eberhard Nellmann, "Kaiserchronik," ²VL, 4:949–64; Eberhard Nellmann, "Kaiserchronik," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols (Munich, 1977–98; repr. Stuttgart, 1999), 5:856–57 [hereafter LM]. The articles on literary subjects are reprinted in *Lexikon Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2002).

[35] See for this passage, among others, Ernst Friedrich Ohly, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 218–24; Ernst Hellgardt, "Dietrich von Bern in der deutschen 'Kaiserchronik.' Zur Begegnung mündlicher und schriftlicher Traditionen," in *Deutsche Literatur und Sprache von 1050–1200. Festschrift für Ursula Hennig*, ed. Annegret Fiebig and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Berlin, 1995), pp. 93–110 (with discussion of earlier views); and Bianca Kristandl, *Theoderich der Große in der mittelalterlichen Historiographie. Die Dietrich-Vita der 'Kaiserchronik' und die 'Gesta Theoderici'* (Vienna, 2003, Dipl.-Arb.).

In den zîten was dâ / Boêtîus und Senecâ / unt ain hailiger bâbes, / gehaizen sancte Johannes. / die santen ze dem kaiser Zênen, / si sprâchen, iz engezæme niht sînen êren, / daz ain ungeborner man / Rômisk rîche solte bewarn. / die boten vie man under wegen: / dô muosen si ûf den bâbes jehen / unt ûf ander die hêrren / die an dem râte waren. / Dietrîch der ubel wuotgrimme / hiez im die hêrren gewinnen, / von sancte Pêters stuole / hiez er den bâbes vuoren, / pfaffen unde laien / hiez er vuoren ze Bavaie, / er hiez si in den karchære werfen—/ niemen getorst in helfen–, / unz alle die des hungeres ertwâlen / ûf die die boten jâhen.

[In those times lived Boethius and Seneca (i.e., Symmachus) and a saintly pope named St John. They sent a message to the emperor Zeno saying it did not befit his honor and position that an ignoble (i.e., illegitimately born) man should rule the Roman Empire. The messengers were intercepted on their way: they were forced to name the pope and the other senators who had been in this counsel. Theodoric, in terrible fury, ordered the senators to be arrested. From the See of St Peter he had the pope arrested. He ordered them, clergymen and laymen, to be brought to Pavia and thrown into prison—nobody dared to help them—until all persons the messengers had named were starved to death.][36]

The main issue of this report is Theodoric's conflict with the Roman Catholic Church and his aggression against the pope. In the ensuing drama, Boethius figures as a secondary character, so to speak, as he does in several Latin sources, if his name is not completely omitted.[37] Theodoric's own death—his descent to hell or purgatory via the volcano of Lipari or via Etna, according to legendary and historiographic tradition—is presented in the following passage as God's immediate vengeance for this offence against the Church. Theodoric's Arianism, the historical foundation of his negative image in the clerical tradition, is, however, not hinted at; his outbreak of fury is motivated, on the contrary, by the insinuation of his illegitimate birth.[38]

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[36] *Kaiserchronik*, lines 14142–63, MGH, *Deutsche Chroniken*, 1:1.337, my translation.

[37] On the historiographical sources, see Otto Gschwantler, "Zeugnisse zur Dietrichsage in der Historiographie von 1100 bis gegen 1350," in *Heldensage und Heldendichtung im Germanischen*, ed. Heinrich Beck, (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde) 2 (Berlin, 1988), pp. 35–80; and Ingeborg Vogel, *Gesta Theoderici. Eine frühe Quelle der Dietrichsage* (Ph.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1970).

[38] See Ohly, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik*, pp. 220–22; and Hellgardt, "Dietrich von Bern in der deutschen 'Kaiserchronik,'" pp. 108–09. The reproach of Theodoric's illegitimate birth (testified in Jordanes's *Getica*), a motif that occurs principally in the Dietrich epics, is crucial in his biography as presented in the *Kaiserchronik*. See Gschwantler, "Zeugnisse zur Dietrichsage," pp. 50–51; and Kristandl, *Theoderich der Große in der mittelalterlichen Historiographie*, pp. 48–51. The origin of the *Kaiserchronik*'s knowledge about the

Part III
Wisdom and Science: Boethius as an Authority

Throughout the Middle Ages, the name of Boethius is known as a model of *eruditio* and wisdom[39] in general, and more especially as an authority on the Liberal Arts, in particular the *quadrivium.* Evidence for this esteem of Boethius in German-speaking areas exists in various didactic writings and some school texts.[40] That his renown, however, was not always based upon thorough acquaintance with his works, is shown by the fact that the treatise *De disciplina scolarium*, a rather simple manual on teaching, discipline, and the organization of a school, written in Paris around 1230–40, was taken for a work by Boethius and frequently quoted as such (*Boethius minor*) until the period of Humanism.[41]

Wernher von Elmendorf

As an authority on moral questions, Boethius is quoted twice in the earliest German-language didactic poem, written around 1170 by Wernher von Elmendorf, a cleric in the service of Dietrich, propst of Heiligenstadt in Thuringia, and transmitted in fragmentary form.[42] In composing his text, which was supposed to teach correct and honorable behavior to the nobility, Wernher used the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, an anonymous 12th-century summary of ethics, written in France and very influential up to the 16th century.[43]

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fate of Boethius is not clear; none of the *Vitae* and *Accessus* known from the manuscript tradition of Boethius seems to be the source.

[39] On the notions of Middle High German *wîsheit*, see Hans Jürgen Scheuer, "*wîsheit*. Grabungen in einem Wortfeld zwischen Poesie und Wissen," in *Im Wortfeld des Textes. Worthistorische Beiträge zu den Bezeichnungen von Rede und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Dicke, Manfred Eikelmann, and Burkhard Hasebrink (Berlin, 2006), pp. 83–106.

[40] For instance, in the German translations of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata Aristotelis* and in the *Algorismus vulgaris*; see Worstbrock, "Boethius," pp. 920, 924.

[41] Pseudo-Boèce, *De disciplina scolarium*, ed. Olga Weijers (Leiden, 1976). See Nikolaus Henkel, *Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte. Ihre Verbreitung und Funktion im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1988), p. 224–25.

[42] *Wernher von Elmendorf*, ed. Joachim Bumke (Tübingen, 1974), cited hereafter by line. On Wernher von Elmendorf and the tradition of his text, see Bumke's introduction, pp. vii–xli, Joachim Bumke, "Wernher von Elmendorf," ²VL, 10:925–27; and Gisela Vollmann-Profe, "Wernhers 'Moralium dogma philosophorum,'" in *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. Joachim Heinzle, vol. 1.2 (Königstein, 1986), pp. 126–29.

[43] *Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, lateinisch, altfranzösisch und mittelniederfränkisch*, ed. John Holmberg (Uppsala, 1929), cited hereafter by page and line.

The first quotation is located in the context of a warning against false friends:

> *Dan abir sprichet alsus / der wise man Bohetius: / 'iz in kumit nicht zu der wisheite, / daz man sich donach breite, / daz nu geschaffin ist: / man sal daz ende prufen mit rechter list.'*
>
> [Regarding this matter, the wise man Boethius says: "It is not a sign of wisdom to act on the present circumstances; it is necessary to reflect properly on the outcome.][44]

The reference is to *Consolatio* 2p1.43–47:

> *Neque enim quod ante oculos situm est suffecerit intueri: rerum exitus prudentia metitur* [...]
>
> [It will never be sufficient just to notice what is under one's nose: prudence calculates what the outcome of things will be (...)][45]

Boethius's axiom is quoted word-for-word in the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, but without the name of Boethius, which Wernher von Elmendorf seems to have added from a gloss in his copy.[46]

The second quotation occurs in the passage dedicated to patience in misfortune:

> *Da abe hortich Bohetium alsus leren: / 'daz leit, daz tu nicht macht gerechen, / daz machtu mit vngedult swerer machen.'*
>
> [Regarding this matter, I heard Boethius say: "the misfortune that you cannot avenge, you can harden it by impatience.][47]

The corresponding passage in the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* reads:

> *Sicut econtra inpatientia sortem exacerbabis quam mutare non possis.*
>
> [And quite on the contrary, by impatience you will even make more bitter a sort that you cannot alter.][48]

The reference is to *Consolatio* 2p1.49–52:

> *Quodsi manendi abeundique scribere legem velis ei quam tu tibi dominam sponte legisti, nonne iniurius fueris et impatientia sortem exacerbes quam permutare non possis?*

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[44] *Wernher von Elmendorf* 103–08, my translation.
[45] *Consolatio* 2p1.43–45, trans. Watts, p. 23.
[46] *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 9:3–4.
[47] *Wernher von Elmendorf* 844–46, my translation.
[48] *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 41:4–6, my translation.

> [If after freely choosing her (i.e., Fortune) as the mistress to rule your life you want to draw up a law to control her coming and going, you will be acting without any justification and your very impatience will only worsen a lot which you cannot alter.][49]

Four additional quotations from the *Consolatio* contained in the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* do not appear in Wernher von Elmendorf's text.[50]

Thomasîn von Zerclære

The first extensive summary of moral philosophy in German is *Der wälsche Gast* (1215–16) of Thomasîn von Zerclære.[51] The author was a Romance (*Wälsch*) native speaker from Friuli, who is known to have been a cleric at the court of the patriarch of Aquileia. This position was held from 1204–18 by Wolfger von Erla, Walther von der Vogelweide's former mentor.[52] In his prologue, Thomasîn declares that he is writing in German, a foreign language to him, for the benefit of his intended readers, laymen and women belonging to the local nobility who do not understand Romance, and apologizes for any incorrect rhyme and clumsy expression found in his text.[53] His work, divided into a prologue and 10 books, is meant to be a didactic summary of the system of virtues and vices, aimed at influencing his readers' everyday life. His remarks on contemporary events, on recent works of courtly literature, his defense of Innocentius III against the criticism of his "colleague" Walther von der Vogelweide (11119–200),

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[49] *Consolatio* 2p1.49–52, trans. Watts, p. 23.

[50] *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 55:13–14 (cf. *Consolatio* 3p8.8–10), *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 65:25–66:2 (cf. *Consolatio* 3p5.9–11), *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 67:4–6 (cf. *Consolatio* 2m7.12–14), *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 67:11–13 (cf. *Consolatio* 3p6.1–4).

[51] *Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasîn von Zirclaria*, ed. Heinrich Rückert (Quedlinburg, 1852; repr. Berlin, 1965), lines 55–74, cited hereafter by line. See also Thomasîn von Zerclaere, *Der Welsche Gast*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm von Kries, 4 vols (Göppingen 1984–85).

[52] On Thomasîn von Zerclære and his work, see Christoph Cormeau, "Thomasîn von Zerklære," ²VL, 9:896–902; and Nigel Harris, "Didactic Poetry," in *German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Will Hasty, (The Camden House History of German Literature) 3 (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 123–40, 133–34. On the historical development of the genre in German language, see Christoph Huber, "*der werlde ring* und *was man tuon und lassen schol*. Gattungskontinuität und Innovation in moraldidaktischen Summen: Thomasîn von Zerklaere—Hugo von Trimberg—Heinrich Wittenwiler und andere," in *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*, ed. Walter Haug (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 187–212.

[53] *Der Wälsche Gast* 55–74. On Thomasîn's writing in a foreign language, see William F. Carroll, "*Der Welsche Gast* Thomasîns von Zerclaere und *Der Renner* Hugos von Trimberg. Perspektiven des Fremden in der didaktischen Literatur des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Fremdes wahrnehmen—fremdes Wahrnehmen*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, Stephen Jaeger, and Alexandra Stein (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 137–52, 137–45.

and his appeal to the German knights and Friedrich II to join the crusade (11347–830) show his interest both in the ecclesiastical politics and the literature of his time.

Much use of the *Consolatio*, particularly of the doctrine of the *bona*, is made by Thomasîn, for which I will give selected examples.

After dealing (in Book 1) with rules of courtly behavior and *stæte* [steadiness] as principal virtue (Book 2), Thomasîn exemplifies in Book 3 the contrary, *unstæte*, by demonstrating that everybody wants to leave his social position and be someone else (2633–76). His following discussion of the contrast between the rich and the poor is based, among other sources, on the *Consolatio*'s deconstruction of the value of wealth in Books 2 and 3. For instance:

> *Der arme man muoz haben guot, / so bedarf wol der rîche huot. /* [...] *Dem armen ist wê nâch dem guote, / so ist noch wirser ze muote / dem rîchen wier müg rîcher sîn. / rîchtuom macht niemen sorgen vrî. / swêr hât genuoc und mêre will, dem hilft sîn guot alsô vil / als der rouch hilft den ougen, / des mag er mir nimmer gelougen. / der ist vil arm mit grôzem guot, / swem mêre geret sîn muot.*
>
> [The poor man needs possessions, but the rich man needs caution. (...) The poor man longs for possession, but the rich man feels even worse in thinking about how he could be richer. By wealth, nobody is made free of sorrow. Whoever has enough and wants more, his wealth is not more of use to him than smoke is to the eyes, he cannot deny it to me. Whose mind desires more, he is poor while he has great wealth.][54]

The reference may be to *Consolatio* 2m2.9–20, as well as to *Consolatio* 3p3.40–42 and 50–54.[55]

Similarly, the value of rulership and power is questioned (3067–3454), in parallel to the arguments of *Consolatio* 2p6. As regards glory and nobility (3809–3926), Thomasîn emphasizes the importance of a nobility of merit and virtue which surpasses the value of nobility by birth:

> *niemen ist edel niwan der man / der sîn herze und sîn gemüete / hât gekêrt an rehte güete. / Ist ein man wol geborn / und hât sîns muotes adel verlorn, / ich kann iu sagen wol vürwâr, / in schendet sîn geburt gar: / wan swer wol geborn ist, / sîn geburt gert zaller vrist / daz er wol und rehte tuo. / ob er sich niht dwingt derzuo, / sô hât er danne lasters mêre: / sîn geburt minnert sîne êre.*

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[54] *Der Wälsche Gast* 2699–2714, my translation.

[55] Thomasîn orbits his subject in further variations, see *Der Wälsche Gast* 2911–18, cf. *Consolatio* 2p5.93–94 and 3p3.13–19. For further reference, see Ernst Johann Friedrich Ruff, *Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasîn von Zerklaere. Untersuchungen zu Gehalt und Bedeutung einer mittelhochdeutschen Morallehre* (Erlangen, 1982).

> [Nobody is noble apart from the man who has directed his heart and his mind upon right goodness. If a man noble-born and has lost his mind's nobility, I can tell you in fact, he is even depreciated by his birth: This is because the birth of a noble-born always endeavours that he may do well and right. If he cannot bring himself to it, he has even more shame and vice: his birth reduces his honor.][56]

The quoted passage is *Consolatio* 3p6.20–28:

> *Iam vero quam sit inane, quam futile nobilitatis nomen, quis non videat? quae si ad claritudinem refertur, aliena est; videtur namque esse nobilitas quaedam de meritis veniens laus parentum. Quodsi claritudinem praedicatio facit, illi sint clari necesse est qui praedicantur; quare plendidum te, si tuam non habes, aliena claritudo non efficit. Quodsi quid est in nobilitate bonum, id esse arbitror solum, ut imposita nobilibus necessitudo videatur ne a maiorum virtute degeneret.*
>
> [As for the claim to nobility, no one is blind to its vanity and worthlessness. If it derives from fame, it is borrowed nobility, for it is clearly a kind of praise derived from the deeds of one's parents. Fame is the product of praise, and it is logical that it is those who are praised that become famous. Therefore the praise of someone else cannot ennoble you unless you are famous in your own right. If there is anything good in nobility, I think it is only this: that there is a necessary condition imposed upon the noble not to fall short of the virtue of their ancestors.][57]

The following passage on the original equality of all human beings is a "Christianizing" echo of *Consolatio* 3m6.1–2 and 7–9:

> *Vaterhalbe ist ein ieglîch man / edel:* [...] */ die sint alle gotes kint, / die sîn gebot leistende sint. / swer niht enleistet sîn gebot, / der hât daz adel daz im got / gap von sînen schulden vlorn / und hât im dar zuo erkorn / einen vater der unedel ist / von sînem übel zaller vrist. /* [...] */ Got hât uns alle geschaft; / uns hât sînes willen kraft / ze der werlde brâht, daz ist wâr, / dâ von sint wir sîniu kint gar, / ân den derz verworht hât / mit sîner übelen getât.*
>
> [From Father's side, every man is noble. (...) Everybody who fulfills God's command is God's child. Whoever does not fulfill it has lost by his own fault the nobility God gave him, and has chosen an ignoble father from his vice. (...) God has created us all, His will's force has brought us upon earth, that is true, thus we are His children, except the one who has forfeited it by his wicked doing.][58]

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[56] *Der Wälsche Gast* 3860–72, my translation.
[57] *Consolatio* 3p6.20–28, trans. Watts, p. 59.
[58] *Der Wälsche Gast* 3881–3900, my translation.

In a similar way, the value of sexual lust is negated, partly echoing *Consolatio* 3p7 but enforcing and expanding Boethius's not particularly zealous argument (3927–48).

In Book 4, Thomasîn demonstrates step-by-step that worldly goods inevitably are accompanied by various defects and sins, as wealth by avarice, power by arrogance, etc., and their possession therefore leads to the loss of freedom, whereas *stæte* leads to the exercise of virtues and provides the desired *sufficientia*:

> *Waz ist stæte? aller guote / ervollunge an stætem muote*
>
> [What is steadiness? The sufficiency of all goods in a steady mind.][59]

Thomasîn's concept of *stæte*, as Huber points out, is a direct reflection of Alain de Lille's notion of *concordia* in his *Anticlaudianus* (1182–83) and indebted to the philosophical developments of the so-called "School of Chartres." Alain's *concordia*, as the fundamental principle of harmony and unity, in a cosmological as well as moral sense, corresponds to the Boethian notion of *amor* as expressed in *Consolatio* 2m8.[60] This and the quotations above demonstrate Thomasîn's rather creative mode of reception, paraphrasing, amplifying, combining, and compiling references from various interrelated sources.

Another palpable set of echoes from the *Consolatio* in Thomasîn's work is found in his discussion of theodicy:

> *Ob dem bœsen guot geschiht, / wizzt daz er hât sîn reht niht. / sît er niht sîn reht hat, wizzt daz sîn dinc unrehte stât. / wan swelch man übel ist, / geschiht im übel zaller vrist, / der ist niht unsœlic gar, / ich kanz iu sagen wol vürwâr. / ob aver im geschiht wol, / daz er harter vürhten sol, / wan der hât dehein reht niht, / dem guot in sînem übel geschiht. /* [...] *ez möht im halt wesen leit, / wesser daz im diu arbeit / anderswâ behalten ist / die er verdienet zaller vrist. / er hât zwô unsœlikeit: / diu eine daz er ist bereit / ze übel; diu ander ist / daz er sô sündet zaller vrist / daz in unser herre niht / zühtiget mit ungeschiht.*
>
> [If something good happens to the wicked man, you shall know that he is not in his right. And as he is not in his right, you shall know that his affairs are unjust. Because if a man is wicked and experiences misfortune, he is not unhappy indeed. But if he experiences good fortune, he shall be very much afraid because whoever experiences good fortune while being

[59] *Der Wälsche Gast* 4345–46, my translation.

[60] On Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, see below, Part IV, p. **000**. On Thomasîn's reception of Alain de Lille, see Christoph Huber, *Die Aufnahme und Verarbeitung des Alanus ab Insulis in mittelhochdeutschen Dichtungen* (Munich, 1988), pp. 23–78, on *stæte-concordia-amor* esp. 34–40.

> wicked, has no right. [...] He would be quite sorry if he knew that the suffering he deserves is kept waiting for him in another place. He has got two misfortunes: first, that he is willing to do evil, second that our Lord does not castigate him by misfortune while he is persistently sinning.][61]

The references are to *Consolatio* 4p4, 4p6.186–97 and 4p7. A comparison of the relevant passages shows, however, that Thomasîn's concept of justice and of the superiority of divine intelligence is much less sophisticated and, as it were, more down-to-earth than both the moral and the speculative discussions of the *Consolatio*.

Hugo von Trimberg

As an authority on the Liberal Arts, an innocent victim of envy and hatred, and a model of wisdom, Boethius is quoted several times in *Der Renner*, a voluminous and widely known didactic poem finished in 1300 by Hugo von Trimberg, director of the school of St Gangolf in Bamberg.[62] The structure of the poem, which testifies to the author's rather conservative views, roughly corresponds to the scheme of the seven cardinal sins and is framed by an allegorical setting. In the chapter *Von bœsen herren* [On bad rulers] in the first section, which deals with *hôchfart* [*superbia*, arrogance], Boethius figures in a catalogue of "noble Romans who were ambitious in practicing the Liberal Arts," in contrast to the noblemen of Hugo's own time:

> *Des nam sich tiefes tihtens an / Manic hôchgeborn rœmisch man / Und ander herren in andern landen, / Die tugent und êre an künsten erkanden: / Als her Nûma Pompilius, / Mecenas und Virgîlius, / Keiser Jûlius und Octaviân, / Scipio, Tullius und Lucân, / Her Juvenâl und her Perseus, / Macrôbius und Boecius, / Ovîdius und her Stâcius, / Salustius und Orâcius, / Terencius und her Senecâ, / Manic wîs man dâ und anderswâ, / Die zühthalp und ouch grôzer künste / Von rîcher und armer liute günste / Alle wol keiser wêrn gewesen, / Ob si sô lange wêrn genesen. / Ir namen hât kunst und zuht für brâht, / Daz ir ze guote wirt gedâht: / Sô maniger fürsten wirt vergezzen, / Der herze untugent hât besezzen.*

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[61] *Der Wälsche Gast* 4521–44, my translation. See also 4941–51.

[62] *Der Renner von Hugo von Trimberg*, ed. Gustav Ehrismann, 4 vols (Tübingen, 1908–09), repr. by Günter Schweikle, 4 vols (Berlin, 1970), cited hereafter by line. On Hugo von Trimberg's life and works, see Günter Schweikle, "Hugo von Trimberg," ²VL, 4:268–82; and Rudolf Kilian Weigand, *Der 'Renner' des Hugo von Trimberg. Überlieferung, Quellenabhängigkeit und Struktur einer spätmittelalterlichen Lehrdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 20–27.

> [Many noble Romans devoted themselves earnestly to writing,[63] and so did other noblemen in other countries who knew that by practicing the Liberal Arts virtue and honor are to be acquired. For example, Sir Numa Pompilius, Mecenas and Vergil, emperor Julius (Cesar) and Octavianus, Scipio, Cicero and Lucan, / Sir Juvenal and Sir Persius, Macrobius and Boethius, Ovid and Sir Statius, Sallustus and Horace, Terence and Sir Seneca, many wise men there and elsewhere who might well have been emperors, judged by their virtue and knowledge, popular among the rich and the poor, if they had lived long enough. Their name is famous by knowledge and virtue, they are well remembered. In contrast, many princes are forgotten whose heart is occupied by wickedness.][64]

In a second catalogue, part of the section *Von zorne und nîde* [*ira et invidia*, wrath and envy], Boethius is cited among Ovid, Socrates, Cicero, and other poets and philosophers who fell victim to the envy of their fellow-citizens, in spite of their own virtuous life (14673–90).

More information about Boethius is contained in Hugo's *Registrum multorum auctorum*, a versified introduction to school authors, based principally on Konrad von Hirsau's *Dialogus super auctores*:

> *Sequitur Boecius / De Consolatione / Dignus et laudabilis / in omni nacione, / Qui floruit temporibus / regis Theodrici, / Bonorum adversarii, legis inimici. / Quosdam de Greco transtulit / libros in Latinum / Imitatusque fuit / sanctum Augustinum / In libro, quem composuit / De Sancta Trinitate. / Scripsit quoque Topica / florente sub etate, / Quamplures Aristotilis / libros commentavit / Sicque sui nominis / famam dilatavit.*
>
> [The next one is Boethius, *De Consolatione*, dignified and honored throughout all nations, who lived and worked in the times of king Theodoric, the opponent of the good, the enemy of law. Boethius translated several books from Greek into Latin and followed Saint Augustine in composing a book on the holy Trinity. In his youth he also wrote a Topic and commented upon numerous books of Aristotle. And by doing so, he spread the glory of his name.][65]

After this, as for all authors listed in the catalogue, the first two lines from the *Consolatio* are quoted.[66]

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[63] On the Middle High German verb *tihten*, see Kurt Gärtner, "*tihten / dichten*. Zur Geschichte einer Wortfamilie im älteren Deutsch," in *Im Wortfeld des Textes*, ed. Dicke, Eikelmann, and Hasebrink, pp. 67–81.

[64] *Renner* 1260–80, my translation.

[65] *Das "Registrum Multorum Auctorum" des Hugo von Trimberg*, ed. Karl Langosch (Berlin, 1942), p. 170 (lines 250–59), my translation.

[66] On the links between the *Registrum* and *Der Renner*, see Weigand, *Der 'Renner' des Hugo von Trimberg*, pp. 243–48.

Three more references in *Der Renner*, explicit quotations (16689–94, 16827–36, 16837–59), in the chapter *Von lazheit* [*accedia*, idleness], are from the Pseudo-Boethian treatise *De disciplina scolarium*.[67] There is, however, in the chapter *Ein gelîchnisse* [a comparison], another echo of Boethius: a description of *gelücke* [luck] that makes use of the image of the *rota Fortunae* (17270–79). The image of a wheel rolling rapidly from one place to another is mixed with Fortuna's upright wheel that circulates, taking people up and down.[68]

Meister Eckhart

The large œuvre of the eminent mystic theologian Meister Eckhart (*c.*1260–1328)[69] that comprises Latin as well as German texts, shows a thorough acquaintance with Boethius's works, principally the *Consolatio* and the *Opuscula sacra*. In this chapter, I will confine myself to some examples from Eckhart's German-language works.[70]

In Sermon 21, on Eph. 4:6 (*Unus Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis*), Eckhart explains his concept of God's unity and simplicity:

> *In dem êrsten, daz Paulus sprichet: 'ein got und vater aller,' dâ geswîget er eines wörtelîns, daz treget in im ein anderunge. Dâ er sprichet, 'ein got,' dâ meinet er, got ist ein in im selben und gesundert von allem. Got gehœret nieman zuo; got ist ein. Boethius sprichet: got ist ein und enwandelt sich niht. Allez, daz got ie geschuof, daz schuof er in wandelunge. Alliu dinc, sô sie geschaffen werdent, sô tragent si ûf irm rücke, daz sie sich wandelnt.*
>
> *Daz meinet, daz wir ein suln sîn in uns selben und gesundert von allem, und stæte unbeweget suln wir mit gote ein sîn. Ûzer gote enist niht dan niht aleine. Dar umbe ist ez unmügelich, daz in got iht gevallen müge anderunge oder wandelunge. Swaz ûz im suochet ein ander stât, daz endert sich.*

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[67] See above, p. **000**. On Hugo's quotations from Pseudo-Boethius, see Lutz Rosenplenter, *Zitat und Autoritätenberufung im Renner Hugos von Trimberg* (Frankfurt, 1982), pp. 79–86, who treats them, however, as quotations from Boethius.

[68] For a fuller discussion of the Fortuna motif, see below, Part IV.

[69] On Eckhart's life, works and theology, and on the heresy trial against him, see Kurt Ruh, "Meister Eckhart," ²VL, 2:327–34; Maurice O'Connell Walshe, "Introduction," to Meister Eckhart, *Sermons and Treatises*, vol. 1 (London, 1979), pp. xiii–xl. See also Kurt Flasch, *Meister Eckhart. Die Geburt der "Deutschen Mystik" aus dem Geist der arabischen Philosophie* (Munich, 2006).

[70] Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, ed. and trans. by Josef Quint, 4 vols (= vol. 1, 2, 3, 5) (Stuttgart, 1958–76). For full reference, see the indices of quotations in Quint's edition. Parallel passages in Eckhart's Latin works are indicated. The translations are from Meister Eckhart, *Sermons and Treatises*, trans. and ed. M. O'C. Walshe, 2 vols (London, 1979–81).

> [In the first place, when Paul says "One God and Father of all," he omits one little word, which implies change (the word "is"). By saying "one God," he means that God is one in Himself and apart from all. God belongs to no one, and no one belongs to him: God is one. Boethius says God is one and does not change. All that God ever created, He created changeable. All things, as they are created, bear the mark of change on their backs.
>
> This means that we should be one in ourselves and apart from all; firm and unmoved, we should be one with God. Outside of God there is nothing but—nothing! Therefore it is impossible that anything of change or mutability can get into God. Whatever seeks another place outside of Him, is changeable.][71]

The quoted Boethian passage is the third line of the famous poem 3m9: "*stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri*" [remaining motionless, you cause everything to move].[72] Cited more or less word-for-word, it figures several times in Eckhart's sermons to describe the being of God and the relationship of man and of all created things with God.[73]

At two points in his German sermons, in demonstrating the unity of God, Eckhart refers to *De* (*sancta*) *trinitate* 102–04: "*Quocirca hoc vere unum, in quo nullus numerus, nullum in eo aliud praeterquam id quod est*" [Wherefore that is truly one in which is no number, in which nothing is present except its own essence].[74] In his Whitsuntide Sermon 47 on Sap. 1:7 (*Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum*), Eckhart defines God's *hêrschaft* [lordship][75] by three criteria: richness, munificence, and that he gives without expecting any return. God's noblest gift to man is *wesen*, being:

> *Daz edelste, daz got würket in allen crêatûren, daz ist wesen. Mîn vater gibet mir wol mîne natûre, er engibet aber mir niht mîn wesen; daz würket got lûterlîche. Her umbe hânt alliu dinc, diu dâ sint, vernünftigen lust an irm wesene.*

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[71] Meister Eckhart, *Sermon* 21, ed. Quint, 1:357.6–358.4, trans. Walshe, 2:337.

[72] *Consolatio* 3m9.3, my translation. Watts (p. 66) translates: "unchanging Mover."

[73] See Meister Eckhart, *Sermon* 13: "*Boetius sprichet: got ist ein guot stille stânde, der alliu dinc beweget*" [Boethius says God is an unmoving good that moves all things], ed. Quint, 1:218.8–9, trans. Walshe, 1:190. *Sermon* 15: "*Boecius sprichet: 'got ist ain vnbeweglich gu^{o}t, in im selber still sta^{e}nd, vnberu^{e}ret vnd vnbewegt vnd ^{e}all^{l}u ding bewegend'*" [Boethius says: "God is an immovable good, remaining still in Himself, unmoved and motionless, yet moving all things"], ed. Quint, 1:250.16–17, trans. Walshe, 2:52. See also *Sermon*s 48 and 52, ed. Quint, 2:421.1–2 and 2:505.5–6.

[74] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae. Opuscula theologica*, ed. Moreschini. Boethius, *The Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), p. 10 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*). See Meister Eckhart, *Sermons* 54a and 55, ed. Quint, 2:559.2–4 and 2:584.4–5.

[75] Meister Eckhart, *Sermon* 47, ed. Quint, 2:398.2, trans. Walshe 1:182.

> *Sehet dar umbe, als ich ouch etwenne mê gesprochen hân und niht wol verstanden wart, daz Jûdas in der helle niht enwölte ein ander sîn in dem himelrîche. War umbe? Und sölte er ein ander werden, sô müeste er ze nihte werden an dem, sô er ist an wesene. Des enmac niht gesîn, wan wesen enlouget sîn selbes niht.*
>
> [The noblest thing that God works in all creatures is being. My father can give me my nature, but he does not give me my being: God alone does that. That is why all things that exist take rational delight in their being. See, that is why, as I said once before and was not properly understood, Judas in hell would not want to be another in heaven. Why? Because if he were to become another, he would have to become nothing in his own being. But that cannot be, for being does not deny itself.][76]

A parallel passage of Eckhart's Latin commentary to Genesis—"*Unde omne quod est nititur conservare suam unitatem sicut suum esse*" [Therefore everything that exists strives to conserve its unity and its being][77]—reveals that the underlying idea is taken from *Consolatio* 3p11.27–29 and 103–06 and 4p2.105–08.

In Sermon 69, on John 16:16 ("*Modicum et iam non videbitis me*"), Eckhart points out that anything "intermediary," a "means" belonging to the sphere of the creature, prevents the soul from seeing God:

> *Alle die wîle daz diu sêle niht entblœzet und entdecket enist von allem mittel, swie kleine daz sî, sô ensihet si got niht; und wære iht mittels zwischen lîbe und sêle als grôz als ein hâr breit ist, dâ enwære niemer rehtiu einunge.*
>
> [All the while that the soul is not entirely stripped and denuded of all means, however slight, she cannot see God; and if there were anything intervening, even of a hair's breadth, between body and soul, there would never be a proper union between them.][78]

In spiritual matters, he goes on, this is even more true, and he cites Philosophy's appeal to Boethius to abdicate all affects in order to be able to recognize the truth—"*Boethius sprichet: 'wilt dû die wârheit lûterlîche bekennen, sô lege abe vröude und pîne, vorhte und zuoversiht oder hoffenunge'*" [Boethius says, "If you would know truth clearly, cast off joy, and fear, expectation and hope, and pain"]—and explains:

> *Vröude und pîne ist ein mittel, vorhte und zuoversiht: ez ist allez ein mittel. Die wîle sô dû ez anesihest und ez dich wider anesihet, sô ensihest dû gotes niht.*

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[76] Meister Eckhart, *Sermon* 47, ed. Quint, 2:401.1–7, trans. Walshe 1:183.
[77] See ed. Quint, 2:401–02, n. 3, my translation.
[78] *Sermon* 69, ed. Quint 3:165.7–166.1, trans. Walshe 1:295.

> [Joy is a means, fear is a means, expectation and hope, and pain are all means. As long as you regard them and they regard you, you cannot see God.][79]

The reference is to *Consolatio* 1m7.20–28:

> *Tu quoque si vis / lumine claro / cernere verum, / tramite recto / carpere callem, / gaudia pelle, / pelle timorem / spemque fugato / nec dolor adsit.*
>
> [If you desire / to look on truth / And follow the path / With unswerving course, / Rid yourself / Of joy and fear, / Put hope to flight, / And banish grief.][80]

The importance of true cognition is also among the themes of Eckhart's sermon-treatise *Von dem edeln Menschen* [On the noble man], on Luke 19:12 ("*Homo quidam nobilis abiit in regionem longinquam accipere sibi regnum, et reverti*"), that is part of his *Liber Benedictus*, probably written for queen Agnes of Hungary, around 1313:

> *Man sol ouch wizzen, daz, die got blôz bekennent, die bekennent ouch mit im die crêatûre; wan bekanntnisse ist ein lieht der sêle, und alle menschen begernt von natûre bekanntnisse, wan joch bœser dinge bekanntnisse ist guot.*
>
> [It should also be known that those who purely recognize God, recognize the creatures together with Him; for cognition is a light of the soul, and all human beings naturally strive for cognition, because even cognition of evil things is good.][81]

This last reflection, an Augustinian thought, is reminiscent also of the statement in *De differentiis topicis*, Book 2, that a virtuous person can aspire to hold off only from a vice that he or she knows.[82]

For Eckhart, Boethius is one of his sources for both Platonic and neo-Platonic concepts. As Haug has demonstrated, Eckhart constantly refers to Platonic thought and frequently uses traditional Platonic-Christian metaphors, like the gradual ascent towards perfect cognition. But in doing this, he either alters the meaning of the quotations or shows immediately the inadequateness of the cited concepts and metaphors because the central concepts of his negative theology (the *Seelengrund*, innermost part of the

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[79] Meister Eckhart, *Sermon* 69, ed. Quint 3:166.2–167.1, trans. Walshe 1:295.

[80] Trans. Watts, p. 21.

[81] Meister Eckhart, *Von dem edeln Menschen*, ed. Quint 5:116.9–12, my translation.

[82] "*Mali quippe notitia deesse bono non potest, virtus enim sese diligit et aspernatur contraria, nec vitare vitium nisi cognitum queat*" [The cognition even of evil cannot be missed by the good because virtue loves itself and despises its opposite and it can hardly hold off from a vice unless it is well known to it]. J.-P. Migne, (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 64 (Paris, 1891), col. 1184b [hereafter PL], my translation. See Quint 5:130, note 45.

soul, in which the soul is united with God, and the birth of God in the soul) are radically opposed to any scheme of gradation and represent in fact a rupture with traditional Platonic-Christian thought.[83]

Konrad von Megenberg

That Boethius's accomplishments as a translator were not forgotten is apparent from his being mentioned in Konrad von Megenberg's *Puoch von den naturleichen dingen* [*Buch der Natur*, *Book of Nature*], the earliest "systematic" handbook of "natural science" in the German language (1348–50). Scientific matters form an important part of the work of this prolific author (1309–74), who was educated in Erfurt and Paris, directed the Stephansschule—later university—of Vienna from 1342–48, and spent the last two decades of his life as a canon in Regensburg. Among his works are theological, philosophical, ethical, and hagiographical writings as well as treatises on canonical matters and ecclesiastical controversies, especially ones opposing the orders of mendicant friars and William of Ockham's theology. Only two of his works are in German, the *Book of Nature* and the *German Sphaera*, a translation of Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Sphaera mundi*.[84]

The *Book of Nature* knew great success, circulating in far more than 100 manuscripts and several printed editions. Divided into eight books, it deals with human beings, with astronomical phenomena, with animals, trees, herbs, gems, metals, and waters. Among Konrad's sources are Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*, the scientific works of Albertus Magnus, and Arabic scholarly literature such as Avicenna and Rasi.[85]

In the verse prologue, Konrad defends his venture to write a learned encyclopædic work in German against the criticism of those who think that Latin is the only appropriate language for scholarly purposes. He stresses that knowledge remains the same in whatever language it is imparted. As his eminent authorities on translation, he names St Jerome and Boethius (strophe 5):

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[83] Walter Haug, "Das platonische Erbe bei Meister Eckhart," in *"[…] auf klassischem Boden begeistert." Antike-Rezeptionen in der deutschen Literatur. Festschrift für Jochen Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Olaf Hildebrand and Thomas Pittrof (Freiburg/Breisgau, 2004), pp. 17–35.

[84] On Konrad von Megenberg, see Georg Steer, "Konrad von Megenberg," ²VL, 5:221–36; Dagmar Gottschall, *Konrad von Megenbergs Buch von den natürlichen Dingen. Ein Dokument deutschsprachiger Albertus Magnus-Rezeption im 14. Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 2004); and *Konrad von Megenberg (1309–1374) und sein Werk. Das Wissen der Zeit*, ed. Claudia Märtl et al. (Munich, 2006).

[85] On Konrad's sources, see Gottschall, *Konrad von Megenbergs Buch*, pp. 4–23.

> *Ez tru°g Jeronimus / von hebraysch in latins wort / gantz waz die wibel sinnes hat vnd auch von andern zungen. / Sam tru°g Boetius / von chriechisch in lateines hort / mit fleiz, waz Aristotiles het in die chunst gedrungen.*
>
> [St Jerome translated from Hebrew into Latin all the meaning of the Bible—and also from other languages. In the same way, Boethius brought over with zealous diligence from the Greek into the hoard of Latin whatever Aristotle had made part of the Liberal Arts.][86]

Boethius's translations from Aristotle are presented on a par with the by-far most important and prestigious translation of all, St Jerome's *Vulgata*. Moreover, Konrad seems to share Boethius's own view that his translations into Latin took place just in time, on the verge of oblivion, to save the treasure of Greek knowledge for times to come.

Heinrich von Mügeln

A major authority on music, Boethius figures several times in the sophisticated didactic *Sangspruchdichtung* of Heinrich von Mügeln (fl. 1350–75)[87] that is dedicated to the Liberal Arts—for instance in *Langer Ton* 6:

> *Ein ieglich don, der hat uß musica* [...] *sin zil. / sie wirket, wibet, münzet alles seitenspil. / der lust sie gibet früte riche rente. /* [...] *gesenge dri sie leret finden in der hant. / ir formen und ir bilden machet uns bekant, / wie uß der quint sich löset diapente, /* [...] */ Boecius ist er genant, mir ist bekant, / ir meister, der gesigelt hat wit mit der künste maste.*
>
> [Every note aims at music. She works, weaves and mints all music made by string instruments. She gives good and extensive fulfillment to delight. She teaches to find three hexachords in the hand. Her forms and pictures show us how the consonance diapente disengages from the fifth interval. / Boethius is his name, I know, her master who sailed far with the mast of the arts.][88]

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[86] Konrad von Megenberg, *Das 'Buch der Natur,'* ed. Robert Luff and Georg Steer (Tübingen, 2003), p. 26, my translation. See Gottschall, *Konrad von Megenbergs Buch*, pp. 169–70.

[87] See Karl Stackmann, "Heinrich von Mügeln," ²VL, 3:815–27; Hans Szklenar, "Heinrich von Mügeln," LM, 4:2102–3; Rudolf Simek, "Sangspruchdichtung," LM, 7:2143–48, 2145–46; Michael Stolz, "Die Artes-Dichtungen Heinrichs von Mügeln," in *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln. Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz (Freiburg/Switzerland, 2002), pp. 175–209; and Dietlind Gade, *Wissen—Glaube—Dichtung. Kosmologie und Astronomie in der meisterlichen Lieddichtung des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 183–319.

[88] *Langer Ton* 6.1–6 and 16–17. *Die kleineren Dichtungen Heinrichs von Mügeln.* Zweite Abteilung, ed. Karl Stackmann (Berlin, 2003), p. 9, my translation. Similar mentions of Boethius as a teacher of music are found in Heinrich's Latin poem, *Artes liberales* 6, ibid., p. 27, and in Book 7, poem 6 of the *Spruchsammlung*, extant in Göttingen, University Library, Cod. philos. 21; see *Die kleineren Dichtungen Heinrichs von Mügeln.* Erste Abteilung, Zweiter Teilband, ed. Karl Stackmann (Berlin, 1959), p. 334.

The elements of musical theory displayed in this *Spruch*, especially the discussion of the interval, are based in essence on Boethius's *De musica*.[89]

Johannes Rothe

Around 1415, Johannes Rothe (*c*.1360–1434), a jurist, priest, and historiographer who had good connections to the court of the Landgraf of Thuringia and was the author of a widely known biography of St Elizabeth, wrote a didactic poem called *Der Ritterspiegel*.[90] As a teacher at the Eisenach Stiftsschule, frequented by the Thuringian nobility as well as by the sons of Eisenach's patrician families, Rothe probably intended his pupils to be the audience of his work. In the prologue, he tells the reader about his motivation: A young nobleman complains of the rapid social changes of his time, showing outrage at *eynes armen geburis son* [a poor peasant's son][91] who has acquired considerable wealth and honor by serving his master well, whereas he himself does not have the means to pay his servants. The text appeals to him to train himself to be a good knight whose outer appearance reflects his interior, as in a looking-glass. For, as the text underlines at various points, nobility and honor are not innate qualities, but have to be acquired by adequate behavior and attitude. Quoting a great many classical as well as Patristic and medieval authorities, the *Ritterspiegel* teaches the young man the elements of true knighthood, seen, however, from an urban, civic point of view that always shows an awareness of the possibilities of social mobility: peasants' children move to the city, their grandchildren may be knights already by merit, and in the course of several generations, it is possible that they could end up as princes or even as king. In contrast, a noble-born person who does

[89] See Annette Volfing, *Heinrich von Mügeln, 'Der meide kranz.' A Commentary* (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 121–26.

[90] Johannes Rothe, *Der Ritterspiegel*, ed. Hans Neumann (Halle, 1936), cited hereafter by line. On Rothe's life and works, see Volker Honemann, "Rothe, Johannes," ²VL, 8:277–85; and Volker Honemann, "Johannes Rothe in Eisenach. Literarisches Schaffen und Lebenswelt eines Autors um 1400," in *Autorentypen*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 69–88. On the *Ritterspiegel*, see Christoph Huber, "Die Ritterweihe Landgraf Ludwigs IV. bei Johannes Rothe. Historiographischer Textbaustein und poetologische Aspekte," in *Literatur und Macht im mittelalterlichen Thüringen*, ed. Ernst Hellgardt, Stephan Müller, and Peter Strohschneider (Cologne, 2002), pp. 165–77, 167–69; and Henrike Lähnemann, "Didaktische Verfahrensweisen im 'Ritterspiegel' des Johannes Rothe," in ibid., pp. 179–90. Also the English version of this essay: "Didactic strategies in the 'Ritterspiegel' of Johannes Rothe," *The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature Across the Disciplines*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 99–106.

[91] *Ritterspiegel* 6, my translation.

not care about virtue and wisdom rapidly loses his power and position (420–64). In an enumeration of seven characteristics of true knighthood, Johannes Rothe, like Thomasîn of Zerclære, 200 years earlier, insists on a nobility of merit and virtue and quotes Boethius as an authority:

> *Eyn meistir heißit Boecius, / der ist schoner kunste vol, / Der sprichit eynen spruch alsus / den mogit ir vornemen wol: / Daz adil ist eyn lobelichir wan / und ist eyn fremmede clarheit / Den di fromen luthe vordinet han, / und hastu dez nicht in wahrheit, / So machit ez dich nicht gud darzcu; / ist daz dir togunde gebricht / Und daz du ouch edillichen mogist getu, / so hilffit dich diner eldirn adil nicht. / Alle luthe uf deßeme ertriche / di sint kommen von eyner gebort / Und si warin mit dem adil gliche / also ir hi vor had gehort. / Darumme dir nicht kunnen gegebin / dine eldirn eyn schonis adil; / Furistu eyn bosis, schentlichis lebin, / ez werdit dir zcu eyme zcadil.*
>
> [There is a master called Boethius, expert in the Liberal Arts, who tells you the following sentence that you may listen to intently: Nobility is a glorious illusion, an outwardly shine, that good people have won by merit. If you do not have it in truth, it does not help you in becoming a good man. If you do not have virtue, and if you behave as nobly as you like, your parents' nobility will not be of use to you. All human beings on this earth have one common origin and originally were equal in nobility, as I told you before. Therefore your parents cannot have given you a beautiful nobility; if you lead a bad, shameful life, your nobility becomes a deficiency in you.][92]

The reference is to *Consolatio* 3p6.20–28 (quoted above, p. 18).

A second passage from Boethius is cited when the importance of learning, the training of intelligence (by dealing with the seven Liberal Arts), soul (by observing seven "virtues"), and body (by exercise in, e.g., riding, swimming, shooting) is stressed (2637–2724):

> *Boecius der meistir gud / spricht daz di lar der wißheit / Si eyn schatz also gar frud / und der edilstir den di werlt treid. Keyn ding mag sich em gegliche / daz man had uf deßir erdin, / Her machit di luthe selig und riche / noch allim willin und erin begerdin. / Von dem fure werdit her nicht vorbrant / noch von dem waßir irtrenkit, / Gar edil machit her den bekannt / der en den luthin schenkit. / Di kunst benemmit keyn gewalt / danne gotis gewalt alleyne; / Wo sy in eyme had eren enthalt, / des lebin machit sy gar reyne. / Dy dibe sy nicht gestelin kunnen / noch di roiber eyme geroibin, / Von den muttin werdit si nicht enkunnen; / dez han ich ganzcin gloibin.*
>
> [Boethius, the good master, says that the doctrine of wisdom is a very beautiful treasure, even the noblest in the world. Nothing on this earth is equal to it, it renders people blessed and rich, according to their will and wish.

[92] *Ritterspiegel* 1505–24, my translation.

> It is destroyed neither by fire nor by water. It makes renowned the man who gives it to the others. No violence can take away learning, only God's power. When it has taken its seat in a man, it makes his life perfectly pure. It cannot be stolen or carried off, it is not destroyed by the moths, this is my firm belief.][93]

This may be a rather loose allusion to *Consolatio* 1m4, which celebrates, by using metaphors taken from nature, the philosophers' serene and lofty state of mind which enables them to despise the violence of their contemporaries and the vicissitudes of fate.

In the German didactic texts of the 12th to the 15th centuries, Boethius, as this survey has shown, figures as an expert on specific matters of the Liberal Arts, on translation, as an important authority on moral philosophy in general, and also an exemplary bearer of "wisdom." What is known of his biography and death makes him, in the eye of the didactic authors, who do not take much notice of his political activity, an example of the devoted scholar and philosopher who falls victim to the violence of his contemporaries. The *Consolatio*'s most influential themes, in this respect, are the disdain of worldly goods and the question of evil and the theodicy. It is noteworthy that from Wernher von Elmendorf to Thomasîn von Zerclære down to Johannes Rothe, i.e., from around 1150 to 1400, Boethius, and peculiarly his concept of nobility of merit, is cited in texts written by clerical authors and intended for the moral improvement of an aristocratic audience. Outstanding in this series of texts is the philosophical reception of Boethian ideas as it occurs in Meister Eckhart's sermons.

Part IV
Fortune's Wheel: Literary Reception of the *Consolatio*

The motif of the *Consolatio* that proves most influential in narrative texts is Fortuna at her wheel, an allegory of the inconstancy of the human condition.[94] The principal point of reference is her "self-portrait" in the prosopopoeia in Book 2:

> *Haec nostra vis est, hunc continuum ludum ludimus: rotam volubili orbe versamus, infima summis, summa infimis mutare gaudemus. Ascende, si placet, sed ea lege, ne uti ludicri mei ratio poscet descendere iniuriam putes.*

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[93] *Ritterspiegel* 2725–44, my translation.

[94] For a complex interpretation of Fortuna's Wheel as a mnemonic and diagrammatic sign, see Matthias Vollmer, "Das Bild vor Augen—den Text im Kopf. Das Rad der Fortuna als textsubstituierendes Zeichen," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 355–86.

> [Inconstancy is my very essence; it is the game I never cease to play as I turn my wheel in its ever-changing circle, filled with joy as I bring the top to the bottom and the bottom to the top. Yes, rise up on my wheel if you like, but don't count it an injury when by the same token you begin to fall, as the rules of the game will require.][95]

In most cases, the Boethian motif seems to arrive in the German narrative texts of the Middle Ages, not by direct reception of the *Consolatio* but, rather, through the mediation of medieval Latin (such as the *Carmina burana*) and French texts. On her way from text to text, Fortuna once more continually changes her face.[96]

During the Early Middle Ages, the determining attitude towards Fortuna is that of the Christian apologetic and Patristic writers. Confronted with the Fortuna of pagan antiquity, in her negative aspect as a blind, licentious, and inconstant dominator of all worldly goods, as seen by the Stoa, or associated, rather positively, with the all powerful *fatum*, as in Vergil's *Aeneid*, the Patristic authors have two alternatives to choose from: either Fortuna is considered a mere projection, superfluous in a world ruled by divine providence, or she is regarded as a demon. Both alternatives lead to her elimination as a goddess and a major allegorical power. At the same time, the development of *fortuna* towards a mere rhetorical topos or synonym for chance/hazard that already had begun in pagan Roman literature, is being continued, and she thus survives as a literary commonplace.[97] Boethius, in the course of his argument, integrates Fortuna into his concept of an ordered cosmos and makes her an instrument of divine providence, thus opening up a way for her into the Christian centuries.[98] But when she reappears powerfully in the literature of the High Middle Ages, in most cases it is rather the image of the licentious,

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[95] *Consolatio* 2p2.27–31, trans. Watts, p. 25.

[96] See Willy Sanders, *Glück. Zur Herkunft und Bedeutungsentwicklung eines mittelalterlichen Schicksalsbegriffs* (Cologne, 1965), p. 20–22; and Adriaan Miltenburg, "Fortuna," LM, 4:665–66. On the ancient traditions of Fortuna and their medieval reception, see I. Kajanto, "Fortuna," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 8 (1972), 182–97; Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 103–58; and Jerold C. Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages. The Boethian Tradition* (Leiden, 1988). For a survey of mentionings of Fortuna in Middle High German texts see Manfred Kern, "Fortuna," in *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten in den deutschen Texten des Mittelalters*, ed. Manfred Kern and Alfred Ebenbauer (Berlin, 2003), pp. 255–58.

[97] See Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune*, pp. 11–29; and Walter Haug, "O Fortuna," *Fortuna*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 1–22, 4–5.

[98] See Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune*, pp. 30–63.

fickle donator of worldly goods and controller of the wheel that proves more influential than her Boethian manifestation.

Notker's attitude towards Fortuna, following the argument of the *Consolatio* that makes her an instrument of divine providence, is largely in line with the Christian interpretation. In many cases, in his translation, he retains the word *fortuna* instead of choosing a German equivalent. When employed, his equivalents vary according to the actual meaning of *fortuna* in the context. For example, he creates the word *uuîle uuéndigi* [something that changes from moment to moment] to render the meaning of *Consolatio* 1m5.45.[99] In *Consolatio* 2p1.28–31, he explains the meaning of *fortuna* by a Latin lexical gloss, drawing on the twofold aspect of Fortune: *fortuna prospera* and *fortuna adversa*.[100]

When Fortuna is called by Philosophia, according to the traditional iconography, a *caecum numen* [blind goddess], Notker gives two possible translations and adds an explanation:

> *Deprehendisti ambiguos uultus cęci numinis. Nû bechénnest tû dáz ánalútte . dés síh pérgenten trúgetîeueles. Álde chíd . plíndero gútenno . uuánda si ueteres hábetôn pro dea . únde sia mâletôn plínda. Zíu blínda? Uuánda íro gében álso getân íst . sámo sî negeséhe . uuémo si gébe. Sî gíbet temo uuírseren . únde úberhéuet ten bézeren.*
>
> [You recognized the ambiguous traits of the blind goddess. Now you recognize the face of the hiding fraud-devil. Or she says: of the blind goddess, because the ancients took her for a goddess and painted her blind. Why blind? Because she gives in a manner as if she could not see to whom she has given. She gives to the worse man and passes over the better one.][101]

"Fraud-devil" recalls the Patristic demonization of Fortuna, while the second translation gives an "historical" and iconographical explanation.

Explicit Christianizing occurs when Fortuna argues in *Consolatio* 2p2.40–45 that her inconstancy gives reason for hope in the one who is suffering misfortune: drawing on a sentence from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:10), Notker raises the discussion to an eschatological level.[102]

In the High Middle Ages, personified Fortuna wins back her poetic presence and comes to be a potent allegorical power. One especially

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[99] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 32:24–26.
[100] Notker, *Boethius, "De consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Tax, 44:24–25.
[101] Notker, *Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. Tax, 44:29–45:4, my translation.
[102] Notker, *Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. Tax, 52:19–23. See Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen*, pp. 207–10. For a detailed analysis of Notker's treatment of Fortuna, see also Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune*, pp. 123–56; Schröbler, *Notker III*, pp. 131–50; and Sanders, *Glück*, pp. 16–17.

influential description of Fortuna is found in the widely known allegorical Latin poem *Anticlaudianus*, written in 1182–83 by Alain de Lille (Alanus ab Insulis).[103] Nature, helped by Prudence, Reason, and other allegorical powers, designs a new and perfect human being. On a journey to heaven, God's approval of this project is secured. Once the new man is equipped with all virtues, Nobility goes to ask her mother Fortuna to give him her gifts as well. Fortuna's house is precariously located on a steep rock in the sea and offers a view of continuous change. Fortuna herself is of twofold aspect—rich and poor, healthy and sick—and moves her wheel alternately with her right and left hand. On Nobility's demand, she declares that the newly created man, due to his perfection, does not really need any of her gifts, but that for him she will make an effort, alter her character, and become steadfast:

> *Sed tamen hic nostros cognabor uincere lapsus / Et uires conferre mihi; mutabo propinquas / Fraudes atque mei deponam tedia casus. / Me reddam stabilem, motum pro parte recidens, / Incipiam solers, sapiens discretaque, uerax / Et stabilis fieri, que stulta, improuida, mendax / Et preceps hucusque fui, mutabo priores / Excessus, nostrasque manus mirabor ad horam.*
>
> [However, in this instance I will try to overcome my defects and gain myself strength. I will change my native trickery and put aside the irksome changes connected with me. I will make myself stable, cutting out change as far as I can. I will set about becoming sagacious, wise, discreet, truthful and steadfast—I, who so far have been foolish, improvident, lying, precipitate—I will change my former habit of aberration and for a short while will be proud of my work.][104]

Two changes are evident in comparison with the Boethian Fortuna: first, the twofold aspect of *fortuna prospera* and *fortuna adversa* is integrated into the image of Fortuna with the wheel; second, according to her position as a minor power in a Christian allegorical hierarchy, she is won over to contribute to the creation of the new man by fundamentally altering her character. Both modifications are found also in German narrative texts.

In Middle High German texts, Fortuna is sometimes called by her Latin name, thus evoking the image of the ancient goddess, but more often she appears as *sælde*—also personified as *Vrou* [Dame] *Sælde*—or, from the

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[103] Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, ed. R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955). Alain of Lille, *Anticlaudianus or The Good and Perfect Man*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973). On its impact on Middle High German literature, see Huber, *Die Aufnahme und Verarbeitung des Alanus ab Insulis*.

[104] Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus* 8:98–105, trans. Sheridan, p. 192.

12th century, as *gelücke* [luck]. Fortune's wheel (*gelückes rat*) may appear also separated from her.[105] Middle High German *sælde* and *gelücke,* however, cover a very wide semantic spectrum.[106] Therefore, I will confine myself to discussing such passages in which Fortuna appears clearly in her "Boethian shape," personified and/or with her attribute, the wheel.

Not surprisingly, authors dealing with ancient subjects seem to be peculiarly disposed to assigning to Fortuna an important part in their plots.[107] And it is, first of all, the tale of Alexander the Great that is presented as guided by the actions of Fortuna. This is true for the most popular medieval Latin Alexander romance, Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (1175),[108] as well as for the German texts.

Alexander Romances[109]

Strassburger Alexander

Apparently for the first time in German narrative literature, the image of Fortuna's wheel is found in the *Strassburger Alexander* (*c.*1180). This anonymous poem, extant until 1870 in a now lost Strasbourg manuscript, is the most influential version of the earliest German romance reporting the life of Alexander the Great, the *Alexanderlied des Pfaffen Lamprecht* (*c.*1150). In addition to considerably augmenting the text and adding

[105] The necessity of discriminating the reception of the Boethian Fortuna and the wider notion of lot, luck, *sælde* is already underlined by Helmut de Boor, "Fortuna in mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung, insbesondere in der '*Crône*' des Heinrich von dem Türlin," in *Verbum et signum. Festschrift für Friedrich Ohly*, ed. Hans Fromm, Wolfgang Harms, and Uwe Ruberg, 2 vols (Munich, 1975), 2:311–28, 312–13. A survey of passages on *gelückes rat* is given by Sanders, *Glück*, p. 22–32.

[106] See G.F. Benecke, W. Müller, and F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1854–66; repr. Stuttgart, 1990), 2.2:35–37 (*sælde*) and 1:1049 (*gelücke*).

[107] For a survey of the relevant subjects and works, see Elisabeth Lienert, *Deutsche Antikenromane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2001). In the *Eneit* (*c.*1170–85) of Heinrich von Veldeke, Fortuna is named twice, without being described or characterized. She saves Aeneas's ship from a storm (line 231) and once led Dardanus from Italy to Troy (line 11684). See Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneide*, ed. Otto Behaghel (Heilbronn, 1882; repr. Hildesheim, 1970).

[108] *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*, ed. Marvin L. Colker (Padua, 1978). Cited hereafter by book and line.

[109] For a survey of the spread of the Alexander subject during Antiquity and Middle Ages, see "Alexander der Große in Kunst und Literatur," LM, 1:354–66; and *Alexanderdichtungen im Mittelalter. Kulturelle Selbstbestimmung im Kontext literarischer Beziehungen*, ed. Jan Cölln, Susanne Friede, and Hartmut Wulfram (Göttingen, 2000).

episodes derived from further sources, it is a much more elaborated and stylistically refined work than the original *Alexanderlied*.[110]

Fortuna's wheel occurs in the desperate monologue of the Persian king Darius, after his defeat by Alexander at Erbil:

> *von mînen sunden daz leider quam / und durh mînen ubirmût. / Ungelucke, waz ir mir leides tut! / Fortuna di ist sô getân: / ir schîbe lâzet si umbegân. / si hilfit den armen, sô si wile, / den rîchen hât si ze spile; / umbeloufet ir rat, / dicke vellet, der dâ vaste saz.*
>
> [This is the consequence, alas, of my sins and of my arrogance. O misfortunes, what woe you give me! Fortuna is like that: she makes her disc turn. She helps the poor if she wants, and has her play with the rich; her wheel is revolving, often falls he who was sitting firmly.][111]

Through Darius's self-accusation, the passage is woven into the dominating theme of *superbia*: Darius's fall is a warning example for Alexander who is also perpetually in danger of succumbing to the temptation of *superbia*. Fortuna appears, thus, roughly in the Boethian way, as an instrument of divine providence.[112] The description of Fortuna is clearly derived from her "self-portrait" in *Consolatio* 2p2.27–38 (see above, p. ###) where she recalls, as an example for her play, the misfortunes of mighty kings.

A comparison with the other German versions (*Vorauer Alexander*, *Basler Alexander*) and the sources, as far as they are available—Alberich von Bisinzo's Franco-Provençal Alexander poem (*c.*1100), the *Historia de preliis* by Archpresbyter Leo from Naples (10th century), Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, Q. Curtius Rufus's *Gesta Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonum* (early 1st century) and Iulius Valerius's *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (*c.*320)[113]—shows that the mention of Fortuna's actions is

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[110] On the tradition, the sources, and further medieval Alexander poems, see Werner Schröder, "Der Pfaffe Lambrecht," ²VL, 5:494–510; and Jan Cölln, "Arbeit an Alexander. Lambrecht, seine Fortsetzungen und die handschriftliche Überlieferung," *Alexanderdichtungen*, pp. 162–207.

[111] *Lamprechts Alexander. Nach den drei Texten mit dem Fragment des Alberic von Besançon und den lateinischen Quellen*, ed. Karl Kinzel (Halle, 1884). *Strassburger Alexander*, lines 3413–21, my translation.

[112] See Sanders, *Glück*, pp. 79–93.

[113] *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni.* (*Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters*). *Synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und der interpolierten Fassungen J¹, J², J³* (*Buch I und II*), ed. Hermann-Josef Bergmeister (Meisenheim, 1975), pp. 170–71. Only three Strassburg prints from the late 15th century add Fortuna to this passage: see *Lamprechts Alexander*, ed. Kinzel, p. 232, apparatus. Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 5:386–421. Iulius Valerius, *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo graeco*, ed. Michaela Rosellini (Munich, 2004), 2.16:838–53. *Q. Curtii Rufi De Gestis Alexandri*

a common feature of the Alexander texts, but that it probably was the author of the *Strassburger Alexander* who added the image of the wheel.

Rudolf von Ems and Ulrich von Etzenbach

Rudolf von Ems's unfinished *Alexander*, written *c.*1240 at the Hohenstaufen court, turns the "wondrous man" of the *Strassburger Alexander* into the ideal king.[114] The image of Fortuna's wheel is evoked several times, but it is never used explicitly. Crucial for the concept of Fortuna in Rudolf's *Alexander* is the *fortuna stabilis*, *stæte sælde*, that favors Alexander and is a consequence of his virtue and his capability of temperance.[115]

In the Alexander romance of Ulrich von Etzenbach, written at the court of Prague between 1270 and 1286 and based on Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, Alexander appears likewise as a courtly knight and ideal ruler of the High Middle Ages,[116] and Fortuna is once again, and in much greater detail, presented as favoring him against his opponents.[117] In the lamentation of Alexander's army, after his losing consciousness during his bath in the river Cignus (Kydnos), Fortuna is accused of fickleness, and just as in *Consolatio* 2p2, she defends herself:

> *Fortûna in den lüften hôrt / die rede, die gegen ir wart getân. / ein lützel lachen sie began / gegen dem volke, daz mit jâmer ranc. / sie sprach, die werlt ist harte kranc / an wîsheit sie ist entnihtet. / ieslîcher ûf mich tihtet / scheltwort, als im*

Magni Regis Macedonum libri qui supersunt octo, ed. Heinrich Eduard Foss (Leipzig, 1877), 4.61:10.

[114] Rudolf von Ems, *Alexander. Ein höfischer Versroman des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Victor Junk, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1928–29). See Elizabeth A. Andersen, "Rudolf von Ems," in *German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Hasty, pp. 225–33; William H. Jackson, "Court Literature and Violence in the High Middle Ages," in ibid., pp. 263–76, 270–71; and Wolfgang Walliczek, "Rudolf von Ems," ²VL, 8:322–45.

[115] This feature occurs already in Q. Curtius Rufus. See Wilfried Schouwink, *Fortuna im Alexanderroman Rudolfs von Ems. Studien zum Verhältnis von Fortuna und Virtus bei einem Autor der späten Stauferzeit* (Göppingen, 1977); and Haug, "O Fortuna," pp. 10–11.

[116] Ulrich von Eschenbach [sic], *Alexander*, ed. Wendelin Toischer (Tübingen, 1888, repr. Hildesheim, 1974). Cited by line. See Hans-Joachim Behr, "Ulrich von Etzenbach," ²VL, 9:1256–64, Claudia Medert, *Der 'Alexander' Ulrichs von Etzenbach. Studien zur Erzählstruktur und Gattungsproblematik* (Göttingen, 1989), esp. pp. 183–94. On the composition, see Markus Stock, "Vielfache Erinnerung. Universaler Stoff und partikulare Bindung in Ulrichs von Etzenbach Alexander," *Alexanderdichtungen*, pp. 407–48, and Markus Stock, "Alexander in der Echokammer. Intertextualität in Ulrichs von Etzenbach Montagewerk," in *Dialoge. Sprachliche Kommunikation in und zwischen Texten im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Nikolaus Henkel, Martin H. Jones, and Nigel F. Palmer (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 113–34, with further references. See also Angelika Zacher, *Grenzwissen—Wissensgrenzen. Raumstruktur und Wissensorganisation im Alexanderroman Ulrichs von Etzenbach* (Stuttgart, 2009).

[117] See Walter Haug, "Eros und Fortuna. Der höfische Roman als Spiel von Liebe und Zufall," in *Fortuna*, pp. 52–75, 55–59.

sîn tôrheit giht, / wen er mich bî im niht stæte siht, / alsô daz ez nâch willen im ergê. / ist im wol gewesen ê, / als schiere sich daz verkêret, / sînen haz er gegen mir mêret, / er biutet mir sîn unminnen. / wil er sich des niht versinnen / daz ich alsô genatûret bin, / iezunt her, iezunt hin, / iezunt trûric, schiere frô? / mîn ordenunge stêt alsô, / ich mac niht stæte blîben, / ich muoz der werlde schîben / trîben her unde dar: / alsô sol man mîn nemen war. / ob ich stæte wielde, / den namen ich niht behielde / gelücke, als man mich nennet. / in unstæte man mich erkennet. / dem mîn milde rîcheit giht, / in des hulden man mich siht; / swenne ich mich wandel gegen im / und im daz guot abe nim / und sîn hœhe nider drücke, / sô nennet er mich ungelücke. / alzehant sô schilt er mich, / an mir mit worten unêrt er sich. / des ich alles wære frî, / wær ich der werlt mit stæte bî. / des enmac et niht geschehen. / man sol mich immer unstæte sehen.'

[Fortuna, floating in the air, heard what they said against her. She began to laugh a little at the lamenting people and said: "The world is very imperfect and completely bereft of wisdom. Everybody invents swearwords directed against me, as his foolishness tells him to do, as soon as he does not see me steadfast at his side and does not get his way. If he was well enough before—as soon as things change, he starts to hate me and is indignant against me. Does he not remember that this is my nature, now here, then there, now woeful, then gleeful? This is my state of being, I cannot be steadfast, I must push the world's disc to and fro: thus I have to be reckoned with. If I became steadfast, I would not keep my name: luck, as they call me. I am recognized by fickleness. Who is made rich by my munificence loves me quite well; as soon as I change my attitude towards him, take away his possessions and push him down, he calls me misfortune. Immediately he insults me in disgraceful words. I could get rid of all this if I were steadfast in the world, but this cannot be: I will always be seen fickle.][118]

In the lamentation of the army and in Fortuna's speech, Ulrich closely follows Walter of Châtillon's text, which, however, does not imagine Fortuna as a lofty goddess, but blind, according to the ancient tradition, sitting on the ground and tired from turning her wheel:

Audiit hec, ut forte rotam uoluendo fatiscens / Ceca sedebat humi Fortuna animamque resumens / Surgit et Argolicos subridens ore sereno / Increpat usque metus ac secum pauca susurrat.

[Blind Fortune heard these words, while on the ground / she sat and turned her wheel with languid hand. / Revived, she rose, and smiled upon the Greeks / with a glad face, rebuked their fears, and whispered / a few words to herself.][119]

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[118] *Alexander* 6422–60, my translation.

[119] Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 2:186–89. *The Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon*, trans. David Townsend (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 29.

The Persians' hope for Fortuna's assistance (7070–71) is disappointed in the battle of Issos (7370–84);[120] Alexander, by contrast, may securely rely on her (7540).

Similarly to the *Strassburger Alexander*, Darius complains in his monologue after his defeat at Erbil about Fortuna, but she is called here *Frou Sælde* and there is no mention of her attribute: "*Frou Sælde hât mich gar verlân*" [Dame Fortune has completely abandoned me].[121]

In a speech directed at his followers, he blames his misfortune on his own lapses (being punished by God) but hopes that later *Frou Sælde* will come back to him when he has suffered enough (14351–78).[122] Reason for his hope is the example of Cyrus who, once defeated by Croesus, was victorious a second time (14370–71). This example is taken from Fortuna's defense in *Consolatio* 2p2.31–35,[123] but employed in a different sense: Whereas Fortuna stresses Croesus's fall as an example for her waywardness, Darius wants to recognize in Cyrus's rise after his defeat a somewhat calculable pattern in Fortuna's actions, which is linked to lapse and punishment.[124]

The Trojan War: Konrad von Würzburg

Another prominent ancient subject for which authors are likely to ascribe the vicissitudes of the human condition to the power of Fortuna is the fall of Troy. In Konrad von Würzburg's voluminous fragment *Trojanerkrieg* (1281–87), in which Trojans and Greeks appear as chivalric heroes in a courtly romance, the action describes one and a half turns of Fortune's wheel.[125] The attributes of Fortuna, *sælde* and *gelücke*, are used nearly synonymously.

In the dispute of the goddesses, Juno and Pallas Athene reproach *minne* [love] for leading to sorrow and death. Venus defends love by blaming Fortuna for the calamities of lovers:

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[120] See Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 2:419–21.

[121] *Alexander* 14115, my translation.

[122] See Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 5:386–421.

[123] Not through the mediation of Walter of Châtillon, who only mentions Croesus's humiliation (*Alexandreis* 5:389).

[124] See Medert, *Der 'Alexander' Ulrichs von Etzenbach*, p. 188.

[125] *Der Trojanische Krieg von Konrad von Würzburg*, ed. Adelbert von Keller (Stuttgart, 1858; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), cited by line. See Rüdiger Brandt, "Konrad von Würzburg," in *German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Hasty, pp. 243–53; Horst Brunner, "Konrad von Würzburg," ²VL, 5:272–30; and Elisabeth Lienert, *Geschichte und Erzählen: Studien zu Konrads von Würzburg "Trojanerkrieg"* (Wiesbaden, 1996). See Martin Pfennig, *Erniuwen—Zur Erzähltechnik im Trojaroman Konrads von Würzburg* (Frankfurt, 1995), p. 182.

Ez ist iu beiden wol erkant, / vrô Pallas und vrô Jûne, / daz allenthalp Fortûne / vor ungelücke schirmet niht. / wer mac vor leider ungeschiht / behüeten sich die lenge? / der sælden anegenge / belîbet niht an einer stat. / jô walzet ir gelückes rat / vil stæteclîche ûf und nider; / her unde hin, dan unde wider / loufet ez spât unde fruo / dar umb enhœret niht dar zuo, / daz man gevâre sîner art. / nieman sô rehte wîse wart, / der wizzen müge die lûne, / wan im ir heil Fortûne / zu sîgen lâzen welle. / des kan vor ungevelle / lützel ieman sich bewarn. / waz mac diu minne, ob ir daz garn / des ungelückes wirt geleit?

[You know very well, Lady Pallas and Lady Juno, that Fortuna never protects from bad luck. Who can beware of unhappy misadventure in the long run? The origin of luck does not remain in one place. No, her wheel of fortune rolls constantly up and down, to and fro it runs from morning to night. Thus it is not possible to reckon its nature. Nobody is so expert that he might foresee the moon in which Fortuna will withdraw her favor from him. Thus, hardly anyone can beware of bad luck. What can love do if misfortune's thread is laid out for her?][126]

Fortuna also is presented by the narrator as abandoning Priamus (5758–59). For Priamus himself, as for Hector (13332–33), her inconstancy is a reason for hope (18400–413). In Helena's view, Fortuna is responsible for her happiness in her marriage to Menelaus (21826–27).

Arthurian Romances

Some decades ago, in a monograph entitled *Augustinus oder Boethius?*, Frederik P. Pickering put forth the hypothesis that all medieval historiography as well as narrative literature follows either the teleological theory of history as expressed in *De civitate Dei* or is affiliated, in an historico-philosophical manner, with the *Consolatio*. The discriminating feature, in his view, is the action of Fortuna as a determining force in secular history and chivalric romance.[127] Pickering's cursory analysis of relevant texts has not proved wholly convincing, but his study initiated further research on the Boethian motif of Fortuna in narrative texts and particularly in courtly romances.

As Haug has demonstrated, in the Arthurian romance, the chaotic and wayward realm of Fortuna is a world in contrast to the—in its ideal form—well-ordered and supremely balanced cosmos of the Arthurian court. Leaving the court for adventures means for the knight to expose

[126] *Trojanerkrieg* 2342–46, my translation.

[127] Frederik P. Pickering, *Augustinus oder Boethius? Geschichtsschreibung und epische Dichtung im Mittelalter—und in der Neuzeit*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1967–76).

himself to the fortuities and dangers of Fortuna's realm.[128] In Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* (*c.*1180), the first German Arthurian romance, and in his legendary narrative *Der arme Heinrich* (*c.*1195), a more complete Boethian concept of Fortuna is used that not only consists of the image of Fortuna as the personified inconstancy of the human condition but also implies the notion of Fortuna as a minor force in the service of Providentia (cf. *Consolatio* 4p6–4p7).[129]

Heinrich von dem Türlin: Diu Crône

The most original and detailed concept of Fortuna in German courtly literature is found in Heinrich von dem Türlin's voluminous Arthurian romance *Diu Crône* (*c.*1220–25).[130] Personified as *Vrou Sælde* or acting as chance or luck, Fortuna appears as a protecting force during the many adventures told, combining motifs from various French and German Arthurian romances. Similarly to the Alexander romance of Rudolf von Ems, who valued *Diu Crône* highly, Fortuna comparatively reliably favors the brave, while others experience her as fickle. King Arthur is presented as Fortuna's son; in the prologue dealing with his birth and further lot, the

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[128] Haug, "O Fortuna," pp. 12–16. See also Christoph Cormeau, "Fortuna und andere Mächte im Artusroman," in *Fortuna*, pp. 23–33, 27. Jerold C. Frakes, "Metaphysical Structure as Narrative Structure in the Medieval Romance," *Neophilologus* 69 (1985), 481–89, relates the structure of the Fortuna-ruled world to the narrative structure of medieval romances.

[129] See for *Der arme Heinrich*, K. Dieter Goebel, "Boethii 'Philosophiae Consolatio' und Hartmanns, Armer Heinrich," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 95 (1976), pp. 39–60, who argues that Hartmann made deliberate use of the *Consolatio* and its Fortuna concept. For *Erec*, see Frederik P. Pickering, "The 'Fortune' of Hartmann's Erec," *German Life & Letters* 30 (1976–77), 94–109; and for the figure of Enite, Ruth H. Firestone, "Chrétien's Enide, Hartmann's Enite and Boethii *Philosophiae Consolatio*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 26 (1987), 69–106.

[130] *Diu Crône von Heinrîch von dem Türlîn*, ed. Gottlob Heinrich Friedrich Scholl (Stuttgart, 1852; repr. Amsterdam, 1966), cited hereafter by line. See also Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Die Krone*, vol. 1: *Verse 1–12281. Nach der Handschrift der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 2779*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp and Manuela Niesner (Tübingen, 2000); Vol. 2: *Verse 12282–30042. Nach der Handschrift Cod. Pal. germ. 374 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, ed. Alfred Ebenbauer and Florian Kragl (Tübingen, 2005). *The Crown: A Tale of Sir Gawein and King Arthur's Court by Heinrich von dem Türlin*, trans. John Wesley Thomas (Lincoln, 1989). See Gudrun Felder, *Kommentar zur "Crône" Heinrichs von dem Türlin* (Berlin, 2006). On the author and the text, see Christoph Cormeau, "Heinrich von dem Türlin," ²VL, 3:894–99; Volker Mertens, "Heinrich von dem Türlin," LM, 4:2107–09; John Wesley Thomas, "Introduction," *The Crown* (pp. xi–xxvii); Neil Thomas, "Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*," in *German Literature of the High Middle Ages*, ed. Hasty, pp. 203–14, 209–12; and Peter Kern, "Die Romanstruktur der 'Krone' Heinrichs von dem Türlin," in *Figuren der Ordnung*, ed. Susanne Gramatzki et al. (Cologne, 2009). A survey of the Fortuna passages in *Diu Crône* is given by Kern, "Fortuna," p. 256–58.

narrator pictures a lonely—now childless—Fortuna after Arthur's disappearance: "*Nuo sitzet eine ûf dem rade / Âne erben vrowe Fortûne*" [Fortuna now sits alone on the wheel without an heir].[131] For she has, from his early childhood, been his tutor and protectress (412–22).

Particularly protected by Fortuna during his adventures is the protagonist Gawein, the hero of the Arthurian court, savior of the oppressed and redeemer of the souls in purgatory. In Book 2, he visits Fortuna in her splendid palace built of jewels and is given her blessing and a ring for king Arthur as a token of the permanence of his court.

> *Dâ saz in ir magenkraft / Ûf einem rade hôch erhaben, / Von golde gesagen und gegraben, / Vrou Sælde und daz Heil, ir kint. / Von ir wâte ein winster wint, / Der daz rat umbe treip, / Dar under sie doch beleip / An einer stat mit stæte; / Wan sô der wint wæte, / Sô lief snelle umb daz rat / Und wandelte die ir stat, / Die an dem rade hiengen: / Swelche stat sie geviengen, / Dâ muosten sie belîben. / Von mannen und von wîben / Hie ein schar an dem rade; / Sîn walgern was manegem schade / Und wart ouch vil manegem vrum: / Swelher kom an daz winster drum, / Der wart arm unde blôz; / Swelher aber her umbe geschôz, / Der wart rîch unde glanz / Und an allen dingen ganz. / Nu will ich iuch bescheiden / Die rede, von in beiden / Wan diu wandelunge kam, / Daz sie solch ende nam. / Vrou Sælde und ir kint, daz Heil, / Die wâren an dem rehten teil / Geziert von grôzer rîcheit / Beidiu lîp unde kleit, / Und was nâch vröuden gar gestalt; / Zer andern sîte schînen sie alt, / Blint, swarz unde bleich: / Von dem leben teil diu vröude weich, / Und was jæmerlîch getân; / Sie hâten bœse kleider an, / Zerizzen unde alsô swach, / Daz man den lîp dar durch sach: / Ein geisel hâte sie begriffen; / In was der vuoz entsliffen / Von dem rade her ze tal; / Der palas war über al / An der linken sîten von in val. /*
>
> *Als nu Gâwein in den sal trat, / Dô stuont stille daz rat / Und wart vrou Sælde gelîche gevar / Über al schœne unde clâr, / Als si vor zem rehten teil schein; / Dar zuo disiu schar gemein / Jenhalp unde hie dissît / Begunden singen widerstrît / Ein lop ir wol schône / Mit vil* süezem dône, / Und begunden alle nîgen. / Nu hiez sie vrou Sælde swîgen.
>
> [High on an engraved golden wheel sat Lady Fortune and her son Luck in majesty. A brisk wind came from her and drove the wheel around while she remained in her place. As long as the wind blew, the wheel turned rapidly and thus altered the position of all those who hung there on it, for everyone had to keep his station. Many of the crowd of men and women gained,

[131] *Diu Crône* 289–99, trans. Thomas, "Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*," p. 6. On Arthur as son of Fortuna, see Nicola Kaminski, *"Wâ ez sich êrste ane vienc, Daz ist ein teil unkunt." Abgründiges Erzählen in der Krone Heinrichs von dem Türlin* (Heidelberg, 2005), p. 53; and Fritz Peter Knapp, "Virtus und Fortuna in der 'Krone.' Zur Herkunft der ethischen Grundthese Heinrichs von dem Türlin," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 106 (1977), 253–65, 255–56.

> while others lost, by the rotation. Whoever moved to the left was reduced to poverty and nakedness, but he who spun around from there became rich, healthy, and splendidly dressed. Now let me tell you about the two who caused these changes. While Lady Fortune and Luck were on the right hand of the wheel they were handsome, finely arrayed, and joyous. But on the other side they appeared old, blind, dark, and sickly: all happiness had vanished and everything looked pitiful. Their clothes were wretched, torn, and so thin that one could look through them and see on their bodies the marks of a scourge; their feet had slipped over the edge and dangled from the wheel. On the left side of them the hall was desolate.
>
> As soon as Gawein stepped in, the wheel stopped and Lady Fortune became as lovely in every way as before while on the right side, and the throng on both parts of the wheel bowed and tried to outdo each other in singing to a charming melody a beautiful song of praise. Lady Fortune bade them be silent.][132]

Fortuna's appearance before Gawein seems, at first glance, like one of the Fortuna illustrations found in Boethius manuscripts, transformed into text. At closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that the image of Fortuna as it is given in the Boethian tradition is altered in various ways:[133] She is sitting on the wheel (in the place that holds, in many illustrations, the rich and mighty king) which is driven not by her hands but by a wind in some way propelled by her. In parallel to the enthroned Virgin and Child, she is holding her son, Luck. By the division of both Fortuna and Luck and the hall and people in it into a "light and rich" and a "dark and poor" half, the duality of the *fortuna prospera* and *fortuna adversa* is woven into the image of the enthroned Fortuna. The standstill of the wheel that follows Gawein's entrance and the vanishing of the duality in Gawein's honor express her attitude towards him: for him, as for king Arthur, she cannot but be a reliable *fortuna stabilis*, because her fickleness is overcome by his virtue. This shift towards an "antiboethian ideology" is prefigured in the Fortuna concept of Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*.[134]

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[132] *Diu Crône* 15826–81, trans. Thomas, "Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*," p. 179.

[133] See Lewis Jillings, *Diu Crone of Heinrich von dem Türlein: The Attempted Emancipation of Secular Narrative* (Göppingen, 1980), pp. 192–99; and Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Vröude. Artusbild, Fortuna- und Gralkonzeption in der "Crône" des Heinrich von dem Türlin als Verteidigung des höfischen Lebensideals* (Frankfurt, 1989), pp. 230–43. See also Helmut de Boor, "Fortuna in mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung," pp. 320–28.

[134] See above, p. **000**. On the influence of the *Anticlaudianus* on *Diu Crône*, see Fritz Peter Knapp, "Virtus und Fortuna"; and Huber, *Die Aufnahme und Verarbeitung des Alanus ab Insulis*, pp. 370–72. See also Neil Thomas, "Text gegen Texte. Zum Thema Intertextualität in der 'Crône' Heinrichs von dem Türlin," in *Dialoge*, ed. Henkel, Jones, and Palmer, pp. 75–94, 82–83.

Wirnt von Grafenberg: Wigalois

In Wirnt von Grafenberg's Arthurian romance *Wigalois* (*c.*1210) that narrates the adventures of Gawein's son Wigalois,[135] Fortuna is not present as a personification, but her wheel, *gelückes rat*, serves as an emblem of Wigalois's origin and destiny. In the fortress of the magician king Joram (who captures Gawein and weds him to his niece), where Wigalois is born after his father's return to the Arthurian court, Fortune's wheel is turning in the shape of an apparatus:

> *Ûf des küniges veste / was daz aller beste / werk von rôtem golde / gegozzen, als er wolde: / ein rat, enmitten ûf den sal; / daz gienc ûf und zetal; / dâ wâren bilde gegozzen an, / iegelîchz geschaffen als ein man. / hie sigen diu mit dem rade nider, / sô stigen d'andern ûf wider; / sus gienc ez umbe an der stat; / daz was des gelückes rat. / ez hêt ein pfaffe gemeistert dar; / von rôtem golde was ez gar. / ez bezeichent daz dem wirte nie / an deheinem dinge missegie, / wan daz gelücke volget im ie.*
>
> [In the king's castle, in the middle of the hall, was a splendid work of art, poured of red gold and fashioned after his wish: a revolving wheel on which were cast figures of men, some sinking with the wheel, others rising. Thus it turned there; it was the wheel of fortune. A scientist[136] had formed it, all of gold, and it meant that its owner never failed at anything, for luck always went with him.][137]

When Wigalois, grown up and now himself a knight of Arthur's court, sets out on a dangerous adventure, he is equipped by Gawein with the crest of Fortune's wheel (1824–31, 1860–69). In the course of his adventures, however, the emblem and its magical force do not prove determining for Wigalois's success. It is, rather, the sign of the narrow bond between Wigalois and his father Gawein. Wigalois's success results from his own virtue and his faithful confidence in God's help.[138]

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[135] Wirnt von Grafenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. and trans. Sabine Seelbach and Ulrich Seelbach (Berlin, 2005), cited by line. Wirnt von Grafenberg, *Wigalois. The Knight of Fortune's Wheel*, trans. John Wesley Thomas (Lincoln, 1977). See Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, "Wirnt von Grafenberg," ²VL, 10:1252–67, Neil Thomas, *Wirnt von Gravenberg's 'Wigalois': Intertextuality and Interpretation* (Woodbridge, 2005); Thomas, "Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*," pp. 203–09; and Sybille Wüstemann, *Der Ritter mit dem Rad: die 'stæte' des Wigalois zwischen Literatur und Zeitgeschichte* (Trier, 2006).

[136] *Pfaffe* means not only priest (as translates Thomas) but also, in a broader sense, scientist, learned mechanic. See Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* 2.1:473 (*ad locum*).

[137] *Wigalois* 1036–52, trans. Thomas, "Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*," p. 115.

[138] See Cormeau, "Fortuna und andere Mächte," p. 31; and Thomas, *Wirnt von Gravenberg's 'Wigalois'*, pp. 44–59.

Albrecht: Jüngerer Titurel

In the *Jüngerer Titurel*, written *c.*1272–94 by a poet who calls himself Albrecht, a monumental Grail epic that amplifies Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Titurel* fragment and develops secondary themes of his *Parzival*,[139] Fortuna, once called *kuniginne* (queen), is mentioned several times as bestower of luck and misfortune in war and life, according to the position her respective subject holds on *geluckes rat*.[140]

In one strophe, however, the notion of Fortuna is used to distinguish "pagans," i.e., Muslims, from Christians:

> *Hie mit sint underscheiden di heiden und di cristen. / Fortune zu got di heiden hant sunder waren got in valschen listen / so wunschen wir geluckes selden und heiles, / wan iz got selb ist gebende, ob got da niht benennet wirt des teiles.*
>
> [This is the difference between pagans and Christians: the pagans take Fortuna for a goddess. They are in error because of their ignorance of the true God. We, by contrast, wish each other luck and blessing, knowing well that it is given by God Himself, even if we do not always explicitly name Him.][141]

According to the custom of the Christian Middle Ages to equate Muslims with the—polytheistic—pagans of antiquity, the ancient goddess Fortuna becomes part of an imaginary Muslim pantheon.

As has been shown, the Boethian concept of Fortuna undergoes several modifications in the German texts of the Middle Ages, while the image of Fortuna with her wheel remains the predominant iconographic feature of her representation. In the Alexander romances of Ulrich von Etzenbach and Rudolf von Ems, as well as in *Wigalois* and *Diu Crône*, Fortuna as the personification of the inconstancy of the human condition is merged with the different, non-Boethian, concept of the *fortuna stabilis* that favors the good ruler and the virtuous hero, a concept derived from the *fortuna Caesaris* and used also in medieval dynastic historiography.[142]

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[139] *Albrechts Jüngerer Titurel*, ed. Werner Wolf and Kurt Nyholm, 5 vols (Berlin, 1955–92), cited by strophe and line. See also Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Titurel. Mit der gesamten Parallelüberlieferung des "Jüngeren Titurel*, ed. Joachim Bumke and Joachim Heinzle (Tübingen, 2006). See Dietrich Huschenbett," "Albrecht, Dichter des 'Jüngeren Titurel,'" ²VL, 1:158–73; Volker Mertens, "Titurel," LM, 8:816–18; Annette Volfing, *Medieval Literacy and Textuality in Middle High German: Reading and Writing in Albrecht's Jüngerer Titurel* (New York, 2007).

[140] *Jüngerer Titurel* 131:4–132:1, 1637:2, 2272:2, 2628:2, 2648:4, 3252:2, 4233:4, 4280:3, 4475:2, 5143:2.

[141] *Jüngerer Titurel* 4209:1–4, my translation.

[142] On this concept, see Miltenburg, "Fortuna," p. 665; and Mentzel-Reuters, *Vröude*, pp. 63–64.

A Late-Medieval Novel: Fortunatus

The central figure of Fortuna and a rather faint echo of the *Consolatio*'s theory of the *bona* are found in the *Fortunatus*, first printed at Augsburg in 1509, but probably written some decades earlier by an anonymous author.[143] Following the lives of three generations that come to exemplify one complete turn of Fortuna's wheel, the text reacts to and reflects the social changes at the end of the Middle Ages and the situation of the new urban merchant elites living in the commercial centers of Southern Germany.

Fortunatus's father, heir to a wealthy urban family of Famagusta in the kingdom of Cyprus, has ruined himself by leading a splendid court life, ending in poverty. Fortunatus leaves Cyprus in order to travel the Christian world. Having been chased by an intrigue of his fellow pages from the court of a benevolent count, and having by a hair's breadth escaped execution for a murder committed in a house in which he served, he finds himself lost in a deep forest in Brittany. Here he encounters the *iunckfraw des glücks* [virgin of fortune] (430:8), who permits him to choose from among six gifts: wisdom, wealth, strength, health, beauty, and a long life (430:12). His choice is wealth, bestowed on him in the form of a purse that is always filled with as much money as he wishes, and always in the currency of his present place. Fortunatus's journeys now seem ready to become a series of pleasures, but at nearly every stop, he becomes involved in situations in which his money turns out to be insufficient to save him from danger and suffering. Soon he is sorry not to have chosen "wisdom" instead of wealth, e.g., when in Constantinople (still thought of as capital of the Byzantine Empire) his servant kills the innkeeper who has tried repeatedly to steal Fortunatus's purse and he fears arrest and execution (460). Finally, after safely returning to Cyprus and building a palace and a church, in the choice of his wife (a countess named—not by chance—Cassandra), *weißer leüt rat* [wise people's advice] (471) is the decisive event, and from then on Fortunatus behaves very prudently and

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[143] *Fortunatus*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1990), pp. 383–585, cited by page and line. See Müller's commentary, pp. 1159–83; Marjatta Wis, "Fortunatus," ²VL, 2:796–98; Hans-Gert Roloff, "Fortunatus," LM, 4:666–67; Hannes Kästner, *Fortunatus—Peregrinator mundi. Welterfahrung und Selbsterkenntnis im ersten deutschen Prosaraman der Neuzeit* (Freiburg, 1990); Annette Gerok-Reiter, "Die Rationalität der Angst. Neuansätze im 'Fortunatus,'" in *Reflexion und Inszenierung von Rationalität in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Klaus Ridder et al. (Berlin, 2008), pp. 273–98; and Detlef Roth, "Negativexempel oder Sinnverweigerung? Zu neueren Deutungsversuchen des 'Fortunatus'-Romans," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 136 (2007), 203–30.

cautiously. But to secure definitely Fortunatus's fortune, a second magic instrument is needed: a hat that transports its wearer immediately to any place he wishes to go. Fortunatus steals it from the Sultan of Alexandria (497). But neither purse nor hat is capable of helping him in the last grief of his life, the mourning at his wife's death. In the biography of his sons, Fortune's wheel completes its turn. The younger son Andolosia uses purse and hat to satisfy his courtly ambitions, adventures, and erotic curiosities. He loses and regains both of them, only to end up as a victim of his noble rivals who murder him for his purse, which, however, loses its power at the death of Andolosia and of his brother Ampedo, who realizes much earlier than Andolosia that wealth inevitably brings along with it *angst vnd not* [fear and pain] (557). Emblematically, the last of the woodcuts that illustrate the *editio princeps* [first edition], shows the wheel on which Andolosia's murderers are executed at the end of the novel (578). And it is in the name of his murderer, too, that the story turns back to its origin: he, like Fortunatus's father, is called Theodorus. The epilogue gives the *fabula docet* [the meaning of the story]: had Fortunatus chosen wisdom instead of wealth, as Salomo had done, he would have gained wealth as a surplus, through his *weißhait vnnd vernunfft* [wisdom and reason] (579).

It is not by argument, thus, as in *Consolatio* 3p3, that the vanity of wealth is demonstrated in the *Fortunatus*, but by means of the various episodes and the outcome of the narrative. It seems as if, as in the world of the Fugger, a world that is more and more fascinated by the power of money, the importance of financial relationships and the mechanisms of cash flow, none of the worldly goods is worthy of consideration but wealth. Fortuna—despite the syncretism apparent in her description and actions[144]—has come to represent again, as she did in classical times, a chance that can be taken by everybody who will take a risk and seize the right moment.[145] The episodes of the novel, linked by chance, describe singular movements of rise and fall in the course of the turn of the wheel.[146] And wisdom, thoroughly secularized, seems to signify nothing more than cleverness, prudence, and common sense.[147]

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[144] See Kästner, *Fortunatus*, pp. 39–48 and 127.

[145] Müller, commentary, p. 1176.

[146] See Jan-Dirk Müller, "Die Fortuna des Fortunatus. Zur Auflösung mittelalterlicher Sinndeutung des Sinnlosen," *Fortuna*, pp. 216–38, 221–22.

[147] An explicit reference to Boethius in another novel of the 15th century, Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusine*, that likewise makes use of the image of Fortuna, is to the Pseudo-Boethius. See *Melusine*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 63 and 71.

Part V
Fifteenth-Century Translations of the *Consolatio*

After Notker, there is a gap of four centuries before the *Consolatio* is again translated into German. During this time, commentary and interpretation work in Latin on the *Consolatio* was not only continued but much intensified and enhanced in the context of the "Platonic revival," and numerous translations into various vernacular languages were produced.[148] It is not before the 15th century, however, that the need of reading the *Consolatio* in the German vernacular or of studying it with the help of German seems to have been felt.[149] From the 15th century, however, no fewer than seven German translations of the *Consolatio* are known. Two of them, clearly important ones from the beginning and from the last part of the century, are recorded, but apparently not transmitted.

Peter von Kastl

The first is the translation by Peter von Kastl of 1401. It is attested by Andreas von Regensburg, the principal 15th-century historian of Bavaria, in his *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum* (1420–22):

> *Eodem anno* [*1401*] *magister Petrus presbiter professus monasterii in Castello ordinis S. Benedicti, in Reichenbach constitutus, Boecium de consolacione philosophie transtulit de latino in teutonicum. Hic sepultus est in Castello, volgariter zu Chastel.*
>
> [In the same year, magister Peter, priest and monk of the Benedictine monastery in Castellum, living at Reichenbach, translated Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* from Latin into German. He is buried in Castellum, vulgo at Chastel.][150]

The presence and translation work of the Kastl magister Peter at the monastery of Reichenbach (northeast of Regensburg) must be viewed before the background of the reform of Kastl 1380, a late offshoot of the reforms

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[148] See, among others, *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the* Consolatio philosophiae, ed. Lodi Nauta and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Leiden, 1997).

[149] As regards the *Opuscula sacra*, only one 14th-century German paraphrase is indicated by Margaret T. Gibson, "The *Opuscula Sacra* in the Middle Ages," *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 214–34, 228. I have not been able, however, to find the edition indicated by Gibson.

[150] Andreas von Regensburg, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich, 1903), p. 119, my translation.

of Cluny and Hirsau.[151] The reform which led, after the decline of the Benedictine order in the 13th and 14th centuries, to a renewed interest in Christian learning and, consequently, to an increasing production and provision of books, was introduced to Reichenbach from Kastl in 1394, after considerable difficulties and the forced resignation of the Reichenbach abbot. The translator Peter von Kastl, who is, in all probability, identical with the Reichenbach probst Peter attested from 1398–1408, seems to have accompanied the newly appointed abbot as a member of his reform-oriented group. As a finally reformed monastery, Reichenbach became a center of advanced study during the 15th century. Peter von Kastl's translation of the *Consolatio*, which appears to have been preserved in the Reichenbach library at least until 1601, fits well into this cultural background, even though it is the only 15th-century translation of the text that originated in a monastic environment.[152]

Niklas von Wyle

The second lost translation is that of Niklas von Wyle (*c.*1415–79), the leading figure of early Humanism in Southern Germany. Apart from a voluminous epistolary œuvre, his literary work consists mainly of translations from Latin, most of them works of Italian contemporaries among whom he admired principally Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II). In accordance with his theoretical view that Latin was the best model for German style, he aspired in his translations to render the Latin as closely as possible.[153] When he published a collection of his *Translatzen* in 1478, he mentioned in the preface his yet-unfinished translation of the *Consolatio*, at the same time pointing to a rival translation that had appeared in print some years before, which had sold well and had wrongly been taken for his work.[154] The *Consolatio* seems to have aroused his interest, not only as a popular

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[151] See Stephan Schaller, "Kastl," LM, 5:1049; and Dietmar von Huebner, "Benediktiner. B IV: Deutschland im Spätmittelalter," LM, 1:1887–90.

[152] See Noel H. Kaylor, Jr., "Peter von Kastl: Fifteenth-Century Translator of Boethius," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 18 (1991), 133–42. See also Nigel F. Palmer, "The German Boethius Translation Printed in 1473 in its Historical Context," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nauta and Hoenen, pp. 287–302, 294–98, who points out the simultaneity with the translation work of the *Wiener Schule* centered around the Viennese court, which aimed at making available in German important texts of Antiquity.

[153] See Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Niklas von Wyle," ²VL, 6:1016–35.

[154] *Translationen von Niclas von Wyle*, ed. Adelbert von Keller (Stuttgart, 1861; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), pp. 11–12. See Palmer, "The German Boethius translation," pp. 299–300.

and authoritative work of Latin Antiquity but also because consolation is a recurrent motif in his dedicatory prefaces.[155]

The Münster Fragments

There is evidence of an idiosyncratic anonymous North German translation, probably from the mid-15th century and from the region around Münster and Dortmund, which has come down to us in a very fragmentary state, much damaged by the fortuities of transmission. In 1906, Alois Bömer discovered in the University Library of Münster fragments of a rhyming translation of the *Consolatio*, which were written on parchment folios used as book covers for an octavo volume from the Premonstratensian monastery Wedinghausen (near Arnsberg), and published them as far as they were legible.[156] They cover the following passages:

Fragment A: *Consolatio* 1m4.18 and 1p4.1–66
Fragment B: *Consolatio* 4p3.49–60
Fragment C: *Consolatio* 5p6.11–85.[157]

Two further fragments of the translation, a rendering of 1m1–1p1, appear to have been discovered later and were never published. The Boethius folios were destroyed, along with most of the Münster manuscripts, by fire in 1945.[158]

The Münster fragments represent the only known German translation of the *Consolatio* that is not in prose. The extant parts, which present very different pieces of text (meter, narrative, rhetorical, and philosophical passages) and span nearly the entire *Consolatio*, show, moreover, that the metrical principles changed in the course of the translation. Fragment A consists of rhyming couplets of long-lines, while fragments B and C are in prose in rhymed *cola*, combining couplets with triple and quadruple rhymes. In both cases, the manuscript text is punctuated in order to facilitate reading aloud. As Palmer points out, the text is less to be associated with any single German tradition, although there are features that link it to other known texts than it is indebted to the Latin tradition of rhyming prose, e.g.,

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[155] See Worstbrock, "Niklas von Wyle," p. 1030.

[156] A[lois] Bömer, "Fragmente einer gereimten deutschen Boethiusübersetzung," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 50 (1908), 149–58.

[157] The denomination of the fragments is from Nigel F. Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular in the Northern European Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," *Boethius*, pp. 362–409, 372. On pp. 372–81, Palmer thoroughly examines the Münster fragments and discusses the conditions of their origin and use.

[158] See Bömer, "Fragmente," p. 149 and 153; and Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," p. 372.

the very popular *Speculum humanae salvationis* (early 14th century). The purpose of the use of verse as well as of prose in rhymed *cola* seems to have been mnemonic, which is confirmed by evidence from mnemotechnic literature of the same period that lists the *Consolatio* among the particularly memorable books.[159] The use of Latin lemmata and linking glosses that relate the translation to the Boethian text (which was apparently not in the manuscript) and the close correspondence between Latin and German *cola* or Latin *colon* and German couplet suggest that the translation was not to be read on its own by an audience ignorant of the Latin text but, rather, was supposed to facilitate the understanding of the original. The translator's misunderstanding of the *coemptio*-passage (1p4.39–44) shows that he had no commentary explaining cultural and historical facts. That he made use of glosses, however, is made clear by his treatment of the Greek quotations in 1p4.1–4.[160]

Not only the metrical principles but also the idiom changes in the course of the translation. It is a mixture of Middle High and Middle Low German, but in fragment A, High German predominates, whereas the scribe—or rather the translator—slips back to his native Middle Low German, more precisely Westphalian, dialect in fragment C—a feature which is not uncommon in North German texts.[161]

There are no clues for a reliable dating of the translation. Bömer dated it to the mid-15th or to the second half of the 15th century, i.e., not significantly earlier than when the manuscript was produced, and this dating is followed by Henkel[162] and by Palmer, whereas Stammler, Worstbrock, and Beckers incline to a *c.*1300 or a 14th-century date.[163] Palmer places the translation within the cultural environment of learned laymen in the 15th century, pointing to the fact that the *Consolatio* was the topic of lectures at several German universities of the period.[164]

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[159] See Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 374–77, 381.

[160] See Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 377–79.

[161] See Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 379–80.

[162] Nikolaus Henkel, "Mittelalterliche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte ins Deutsche. Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Formtyp und Leistung," in *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Volker Honemann, Kurt Ruh, Bernhard Schnell, and Werner Wegstein (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 164–80, 177, n. 33. See Henkel, "Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte," p. 223.

[163] Wolfgang Stammler, "Die 'bürgerliche' Dichtung des Spätmittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 53 (1928), 12–13, n. 63; and Worstbrock, "Boethius," p. 921.

[164] Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 380–81; and Hartmut Beckers, "Mittelniederdeutsche Literatur—Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme (II)," *Niederdeutsches Wort* 18 (1978), 1–47, 34–35.

The Lemgo Translation

Another fragmentary Middle Low German translation of the *Consolatio* from *c.*1464 is extant in the manuscript Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 863.[165] Following a Gospel commentary (fols 1–228), fols 229r–243v contain a prose translation of Book 1. Books 2–4 have been lost; a strip tied to fol. 244r contains a fragment of the end of 2m3 and the beginning of 2p4. On fols. 244r and 244v, the commentary on the end of Book 4 is found, followed by a note that explains why Book 5 has not been translated, and by the subscription of the scribe:

> *Hir endet sick dat verde boeck boetij van trostinge der philosophien effte wysheit men dat viffte vnd dat leste boeck iß nicht in dudesch gesat wente ed iß van der wetenheit godeß vnd dar aff vele to sprekende moehte groten twiuel maken in den dummen luden.*
>
> *Scriptum a nassauwe gerhardo anno lxiiij in lemego In ieiunio ante Judica ija. Finis.*

> [Here ends the fourth book of Boethius, On the Consolation of Philosophy or Wisdom. Only the fifth and last book is not translated into German because it is about the cognition of God and to speak much about that might arouse great doubt in stupid people.
>
> (–) Written by Gerhard from Nassau, in Lemgo, on March 13, 1464.][166]

The scribe (who is not the translator) is attested as Gerhard Foel from Nassau (an der Lahn, east of Koblenz) in the records of Erfurt University in 1466–68, and he is probably a member of the Folle, a family of the lower nobility. A Georg Folle, priest in Friedberg (am Taunus, north of Frankfurt), was appointed visitator by the archbishop of Mainz in 1467. Gerhard Foel/Folle's native dialect, thus, was Rhine-Frankish, but working at Lemgo (east of Bielefeld) in 1464, he mastered quite well the Middle Low German (East Westphalian) idiom of the translation. In the margins of fols 229r–233r, isolated High German forms are added by a different hand.[167]

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[165] See Franz Josef Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption 1450–1550* (Boppard, 1976), p. 27; Michael Mommert, *Konrad Humery und seine Übersetzung der Consolatio Philosophiae. Studien zur deutschen Boethius-Tradition am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1965), p. 15; and Beckers, "Mittelniederdeutsche Literatur," p. 35. The text is cited hereafter from Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek: Cod. 863. The most recent description of the manuscript, by Ulrich Seelbach, is to be published in the Catalogue of the German manuscripts of the Universitätsbibliothek Giessen. See the preprint www.geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2007/4869 (2011-06-30).

[166] Fol. 244v, my translation.

[167] See Seelbach, Catalogue of the German manuscripts of the Universitätsbibliothek Giessen (in preparation), on Cod. 863.

The translation is preceded by a preface, which gives an *accessus ad auctorem* and explains, in Christianizing terms, the meaning of the title, starting with a quotation from Psalm 94:19: "*Konyng dauid der sprekhet in deme saltere alsuß Here dyne trostinghe hebbet gefrowet myne sele*" [King David says in the Psalter: Lord, your consolation brought joy to my soul].[168]

The translation progresses section by section, beginning typically with an introductory phrase by the narrator-translator, e.g.: "*In deme anbeghinne syneß boekeß sprehket der meister boeciuß alduß*" [At the beginning of his book, magister Boethius speaks as follows].[169] Each translated section is preceded by the respective Latin lemma and followed by a German paraphrasing commentary, headed *Exposicio* and offering principally Christianizing moral advice. At the beginning, the sections are rather small: 1m1 is subdivided into three parts (lines 1–6, 7–20, 21–22); 1p1 and meter 1m2 are jointly translated and subdivided into three parts (1p1.1–24, 1p1.25–42, 1p1.42–1m2.27), each followed by an *expositio*.[170] From 1.2 onwards, the translated sections are identical with the alternating prose and meter sections of the *Consolatio*.

An example for the style of the translation (1m4.1–10) follows:

> *Metrum quartum libri primi.*
> *Qvisquis composito || Hyr bewiset de wisheit wo man wederstæn sal den vianden dat ein sal wesen sunder angest vnd vast unvorwunden vnd spreckt alduß So we wel hebben ein wol gesattet leven de schal vnder de vote treden dat gelucke vnd sal alse nicht vorslæn vnd wesen rechtverdich vnd sin overwunnen [?] ongelucke vnd de mach hebben eynen vnuorwynliken dancken wedder alle dortlike dingk wente de storm deß merß de enmach ene nicht bewegen noch de rouck deß berndeß bergeß en mach ene swart maken noch de blixeme de van dem hymmel kommet enmach ene beroren alleine dat se wal beroret de hogen torne.*
>
> [Fourth meter of the first book. Quisquis composito. Here Wisdom shows how to resist one's enemies: that one shall be without fear and quite undefeated, and speaks as follows: Who wants to have a well-ordered life shall spurn fortune and shall thus not be frightened and be righteous and steadfast and defeat misfortune and he can have an invincible mind towards all fatuous things because the storm of the sea cannot move him nor the smoke of the burning mountain can blacken him nor the thunderbolt coming from the sky can touch him whereas it surely touches the high towers.][171]

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[168] Fol. 229r, my translation. The first part of the preface is printed, with some errors, in Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 140–41. On the Lemgo translation, see ibid., p. 15.

[169] Fol. 229v, my translation.

[170] Fols 229v–233r.

[171] Fol. 235v, my translation.

The *expositio* paraphrases the poem, advising the readers not to bother with the worldly and bodily. In explaining *utramque fortunam*, it refers to the iconography of Fortuna:

> *In olden tijden het* [*?*] *vormalß de lude dat gelucke mailden mid twen angesichten dat eyne waß claer dat ander waß duester By deme claren waß beteket dat velige gelucke by dem duistern dat vnuellige gelucke.*
>
> [Once in former times people used to paint Fortune with two faces, one was bright, the other one was dark. By the bright one was meant the secure fortune, by the dark one the dangerous fortune.][172]

Konrad Humery

Probably when he was imprisoned at Mainz in 1462–63, Konrad Humery (*c.*1403–before 1478) wrote a High German translation of the *Consolatio*.[173] A son in a wealthy merchant family of Mainz, Humery studied law at Erfurt, Cologne, and Bologna. From 1435, he served his native town in legal disputes, especially ones opposing the privileges of the clergy. In the confrontation between the old patristic families of Mainz and the guilds, he acted for the latter. In 1444, when the old town council of Mainz was dispossessed, he served as leader of the guilds and was appointed chancellor of the new council. In the preceding year, he had founded a society named *Bruderschaft von leckerechtigen und vireßigen knaben* [Brotherhood of gourmands] that functioned as an instrument of agitation against the patristic families. In the *Mainzer Stiftsfehde* 1459–63, the conflict between Archbishop Diether of Isenburg-Büdingen and his rival Adolf II of Nassau-Wiesbaden-Idstein,[174] the city of Mainz sided with Diether, and Humery was his most important advisor. In October 1462, Mainz was conquered, surprisingly, by Adolf's troops and subsequently deprived of its privileges. Most of Diether's supporters were exiled, and Humery was imprisoned for almost a year until, in October 1463, Diether and Adolf signed a treaty of peace in which Diether resigned his claim to the archbishopry. After Adolf's death in 1475, however, Diether was elected a second time archbishop of Mainz.

In his action for Diether, Humery made, for the first time, political use of the new technique of printing, which was booming in Mainz due to the

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[172] Fol. 236r, my translation.

[173] On Humery's life, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Humery, Konrad," ²VL, 4:301–04; and Mommert, *Konrad Humery*.

[174] See Alois Gerlich, "Mainzer Stiftsfehde," LM, 6:144–45.

work of Johannes Fust, Peter Schöffer, and Johannes Gutenberg. A document from 1468 shows that Humery had some relationship to Johannes Gutenberg, possibly as one of his financiers.

His translation of the *Consolatio* is extant in three manuscripts:

1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat., fol. 490, fols 109r–176v (1467);[175]
2. Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. III 44 , fols 2r–71r (1472); and
3. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. M. d. 124, fols 2r–115v (*c.*1475).[176]

In the preface, Humery tells the reader about his motivation and method:

> *Davon han ich . Conrad Humery eyn liebhaber der gerechtikeit fur* [*?*] *mit hulffe des Almechtigen gotts zu troste allen gefangen . Vnd auch allen den die in anderm trocke anfechten vnd lyden das elende dieses Jamertalis der werlde büwent vnd doldent eyn hoffelich vnd lobelich historie die da In dieffer betrachtünge aneligendem fliß . Vnd umbgriffigeren vnd swangern wortten vns allen schrifftlichen vnd in Latynscher züngen vorgehalten worden ist Vnd veil gutter vnd fast trostlicher lare vnd vnderwisünge inhat. Vß derselben latynschen züngen nach dem synne meynunge vnd rechter betutunge korczer inzoge so ferre dem gemeynen diet das dienen vnd gnungsame syn mocht doch mit vnderwissünge aller erluchten herczen die die selbe historie grüntsamelicher ußgelegen vnd gepreytern mogent . dann myn gerunge vnd lütczel zu achten vernunfft ergriffen oder zubrengen mag . In dutsche zungen brengen : Off das ir begirde vnd vernünfft notczbarliche lare vnd vnderrichtünge da baß gefassen vnd sich in heile Ir selen gode zu lobe dar In geschicken mogen.*
>
> [Therefore have I, Conrad Humery, a lover of the fire of (?) justice, helped by God the Omnipotent, as a consolation to all prisoners and to all those who live in and undergo the misery of this vale of tears, the world, in various pressures, impugnment and suffering, a hopeful and excellent story which was given to us all in deep contemplation, steady zeal and more comprehensive and rich words, in written form and Latin language, and which contains much good and very consolatory advice and instruction, from this Latin language have I translated it into German, according to its sense, meaning, and correct significance, and with short explanation, so far as it may serve and be enough for common people, well knowing, though, that there are noble

[175] The text is cited hereafter from the Berlin manuscript. On its composition, see Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 125–28; and Manfred Eikelmann, "Boethius für Laien. Konrad Humerys deutsche Übersetzung (vor 1467) der 'Consolatio Philosophiae,'" in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 129–56.

[176] See Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 15–17; and Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption*, pp. 26–27.

> minds who will be able to explain and interpret the same story more thoroughly than my small and humble reason can conceive and accomplish. I translated it with the intention that their desire and reason might better seize useful advice and instruction and might acquiesce for the salvation of their soul and in praise of God.][177]

In his reading of the *Consolatio*, and in transforming it into a book of Christian consolation for those in distress, Humery may have been influenced by the treatise *De adversitatibus huius saeculi* of one of his Bologna teachers, Baptista de San Petro, which is lost but cited in the *Margarita poetica* and in the *Ehebüchlein* of the German humanist Albrecht von Eyb (1420–75), who also had studied in Bologna. The quotations show that Baptista de San Petro made use of the *Consolatio* in his text. In its larger context, Humery's translation can be seen to be related to the German reception of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* of the 15th century, just as is true of Johann von Tepl's *Ackermann*.[178]

Following his intention to provide a comprehensive, understandable, and appealing vernacular version of the *Consolatio* for his contemporaries, especially the less erudite among them, Humery simplifies the text on syntactical, lexical, and rhetorical levels by using parataxis and summarizing entire paragraphs, translating not *verbum de verbo* but *sensus ex sensu*, and by omitting metaphorical and rhetorical expressions. The poems are translated into prose, or sometimes even completely replaced by a paraphrase. Logical deductions are often not reproduced in German, but their result is given in a summarizing phrase. Moreover, Humery tightens the text by eliminating redundancies, shortening the dialogical to-and-fro, forgoing rhetorical questions, and changing to reported speech in many cases. He omits historical names he supposes to be unknown to his readers, just as he does minor details from Boethius's life, particularly in 1p4. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that in the preface Humery introduces Boethius as a man of low birth who rose to his high position by merit, an assumption which, for all its historical incorrectness, may testify to Humery's identification with the author of the *Consolatio*.[179]

Nonetheless, Humery adds clarifications, explanations, and commentaries of his own wherever he thinks they might be helpful, and he tries

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[177] Fol. 109rb, my translation.

[178] See Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 26–32; and Palmer, "The German Boethius translation," p. 298.

[179] See Otto Herding, "Probleme des frühen Humanismus in Deutschland," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 38 (1956), 344–89, 374–79.

to enliven and "update" the text by alluding to his readers' experience and knowledge. Accordingly, he alters the character of the relationship Philosophia-Boethius, making it a cordial friendship. From Philosophia's portrait in 1p1, he eliminates the majestic and intimidating traits, making her a beautiful woman with lovely, not burning, eyes, who has great pity for Boethius. Her superhuman stature and her allegorically meaningful clothes are eliminated, just as the Muses also disappear, along with poem 1m1, which is completely left out.[180]

An interesting detail is seen in Humery's way of dealing with the theologically awkward poem 3m9.[181] He starts his translation with an echo of the *Pater noster: O hymmelscher vatter* [O Father in Heaven] and consistently Christianizes the hymn by reducing the Platonic traits. The most intriguing central passage, lines 13–21, which gave so much worry to the medieval commentators,[182] as it explicitly contradicts the Christian doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* by ascribing a soul to the cosmos and seeming to imply the preexistence of the human soul, is simply left out.

To give an example of Humery's translation and to compare it to the previous translations, I cite his version of *Consolatio* 1m4.1–10. For the Boethian text, see above p. **000**.

> *Metrum quartum Da von so gibbet sie zu erkennen was man begynnen vnd vornemen moge: da dorch der mensche . In sicherheit gesetczt vnd von der Infeldigen vnd offsetczigen bosheit der werlt vnd glucksfalle nit vber wünden worde das ist . das der mentsche in ordenunge eins wol geschickten lebens stede mütig sy In zu falle des . gluckes vnd das glich achte eß sy fur . oder widder yen . da durch er sich dan nit entsetzen oder forhten darff der wutunge des meres . des fuers des berges . vesenus vnd des slages des bernden blicks . Wilche dru drange [?] den wisen man mit nicht bewegen mogent . By dem ersten der wutunge des meres wirt verstanden der grymme vnd wutünge des volkes das sich eynander letzet vnd beschediget . want eyner den ander . verünrechtet . verweltiget vnd von siner stat zu eyner andern brengat . same da dut das mere so eß wudet . das dan etwas von eyner stat vnd plege in die andere wirffet By dem fuer des berges genanten . vesenus wirt verstanden der haße der grymmigen lude . die andern vnd frommen luden lutcze gutes gonent sunder yenen alles des das yen zu gude kommen mag . vergonnent Sie auch so ferre sie das zu wege . brengen mogent beschedigent an ir libe . vnd gut . Vnd so der heßige mensche der in haße enzondet ist einen andern nit beschedigen mag .*

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[180] For a detailed analysis of Humery's approach, see Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 47–125. See also Herding, "Probleme des frühen Humanismus."

[181] Fols. 131ra–131rb. Cf. Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 83–85.

[182] See Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie*, pp. 275–332; and Hehle, *Boethius in St Gallen*, pp. 49–53 and 250–71.

so beschediget er sih selb . In dem das durch den haße den er dreget der yen stediglichen naget sich selbest . verzeret . Want eyn ieder haße die eygenschafft hait das er synen eygen herren verczeret . So dut auh das füer . wan das nit findet vßerlich dinge darInn eß gewircken mag . so grifft eß sich selbest an . vnd verzirt sich wie groiß das ist . So das eß zu leste abe nymmet vnd verlihet By dem slage des blicks der da gemeynlichen slehet in die groß gezymmer . Ist zuuerstehen die boßheit der Tyrannen die da gewaltig sint . want als der blicke mit großer crafft . balde vnde stumplichen beschediget . Also beschediget der gewaltigen tyrannen macht auch stumplichen.

[Fourth meter. Here she makes clear what you should start with and decide to do: That man is well secured and not defeated by the hostile and deceitful wickedness of the world, and the changes of fortune is effected by his being steady and imperturbable, in the orderliness of a righteous life, in the face of the changing fortune and by his considering it just the same, whether it be for or against him. Thus, he need not be terrified or frightened by the rage of the sea, the fire of Mount Vesenus [*sic*] and the burning thunderbolt. These three hardships are not able to move the wise man in any way. The first, the rage of the sea, means the fierceness and rage of the people that injures and damages one another because one does injustice to the other one, violates him and pushes him from his place to another, just as the sea does when it rages and throws something from one place and point to another. The fire of the mountain named Vesenus means the hatred of the wicked men who do not allow much good to other, rightful men, but who begrudge them everything that may benefit them and damage them in body and belongings as far as they can. And if a hateful man aflame with hatred cannot damage someone else, he damages himself by dwelling in his hatred, which constantly gnaws on him. Because the nature of every hatred is to consume its proper master. So does the fire: if it does not find exterior things to work on it attacks and consumes itself, it may be as big as it will, until it finally burns down and goes out. The thunderbolt that often strikes high buildings means the wickedness of the tyrants who are mighty because, just as the thunderbolt, with great force, damages quickly and suddenly, just so the mighty tyrants' power damages all of a sudden.][183]

This passage exemplifies Humery's method: In an introductory sentence by the narrator (who is not the *Consolatio*'s narrator "Boethius"), the content and meaning of the poem is summarized, according to the translator. The text is rendered quite freely and typically in a series of paratactical clauses; metaphorical expressions are simplified. Following the translation, an interpretation is given that exceeds by far the length of the translated text and is obviously based on glosses Humery found in his copy of

[183] Fols. 111rb–111va, my translation.

the *Consolatio*.[184] Compared to Notker's translation of the poem (see above p. ###), the interpretation of the stormy sea and the flames of Vesuvius shift from the "theological" (storms of the world) and the "feudal" (rages of princes) towards the destructive fury and hatred of people directed against each other—perhaps also an echo of Humery's own experiences.

The Erfurt Translation

A partial translation of the *Consolatio*, dated 1465, was discovered by Nigel F. Palmer in an Oxford manuscript originating from Erfurt, presumably from the Charterhouse of St Salvator: Bodleian Library, Hamilton 46.[185] The manuscript is a late 15th-century compilation designed for the study needs of a probably monastic audience. Fols 61–223v contain the richly glossed and annotated Latin text of the *Consolatio* with a juxtaposed German prose translation of parts of Books 3–5 in the margins: 3p1.1–14, 3m8, 3p9.1–56; 4p1–4m7 (4m6 and 4m7 incomplete); 5p1–5p4.91. The addition of this translation in 1465, possibly by a Rotger Scheffer at the Cistercian monastery Buch im Ilgenthal (southeast of Leipzig), forms only one part of a very complicated process of work on the text and the layout of the manuscript, which includes rubrication, "textual criticism," and several layers of interlinear, marginal, and interleaved glosses, analyzed in detail and with great acuteness by Palmer. The translation, rough and often nearly illegible, represents, in all probability, the working copy of the translator who intended to produce a fair copy, as a Latin marginal note indicates. The translation, which is quite verbal,[186] draws heavily on the interlinear glosses—most of them of an elementary nature, offering synonyms or explaining grammatical relationships—whereas it does not use the marginal and interleaved glosses. Many of the interlinear glosses are even incorporated into the translation, which shows that the German text was intended as a commentary to be read in parallel with the original. This is also indicated by the close linking of Latin and German texts, effected by the careful juxtaposition as well as by referring lemmata.

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[184] See Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, p. 47.

[185] Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 381–91. The following is based on Palmer's study. See also Yvonne Dellsperger, "Die Erfurter Übersetzung der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' (1465) im Spannungsfeld von Jenseitsfurcht und Sündenvergebung," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 95–128.

[186] Two extracts from Book 4 are printed in Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 392–97.

Against this background, it is striking that the translation includes long interpolations of a distinctly affective religious language that is interspersed with Bible quotations. Even two Latin prayers to the Virgin are inserted into the text, and Latin Bible quotations are frequently used as section headings. The spiritual quality of the interpolations corresponds, however, to the context in which the *Consolatio* is placed in the manuscript. The work is followed by the glossed text of the Book of Revelation and linked to it by a joint introduction to both texts written on two double leaves that were wrapped around the outer quires of the *Consolatio*. This introduction, obviously provided by the compiler of the manuscript, at the end of the 15th century, is a treatise on tribulation and consolation, including a list of biblical figures and saints who experienced both. Boethius is called St Severinus and, thus, presented as a Catholic martyr killed by the Arian heretic Theodoric, as affirmed by the local cult of Pavia and the 13th-century legend.[187]

The same denomination is used also by the translator, some decades earlier, in an interpolation:

> *O wye hayt sich de meyster aller dinge durch syn werk Severinum, den hilligen merteler, dichter dyeßes buches anderß genant Boetius, gelobet.*
>
> [O how did the master of all things praise Himself through His creature Severinus, the saint martyr, author of this book, otherwise called Boethius.][188]

Thus, the Carthusian manuscript from Erfurt represents, quite similarly to Humery's translation, a devotional reading of the *Consolatio* as a work of Christian consolation.[189]

The Koberger Print

The successful translation of the *Consolatio*, edited and printed, that Niklas von Wyle mentioned, was finished on 24 July 1473, in the Nuremberg press of Anton Koberger.[190] The translator remains unknown, although the work was formerly identified with Peter von Kastl's lost translation.

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[187] Fol. 59; see Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," pp. 406–07, n. 63.

[188] Fol. 195; cited from Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," p. 383, my translation.

[189] See Palmer, "The German Boethius translation," p. 299.

[190] *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (hereafter GW) 4573 (vol. 4, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1968, pp. 342–43). *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* ib00816000. The text is cited hereafter from the Berlin copy: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. 2° Inc 1640 (printed 1467). See Bernd Bastert, "Boethius unter Druck. Die 'Consolatio Philosophiae' in einer Koberger-Inkunabel von 1473," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 35–69.

Each prose and meter is given first in Latin, presumably following a late-medieval manuscript, and followed by a German prose translation. Thus, the Koberger Boethius is the earliest bilingual edition printed in Germany and, at the same time, the first German translation of an ancient text to be printed at all. The *Consolatio*, which covers the first 100 folios, preceded by an alphabetical index of the prose chapters and metra and an explanation on Boethius's names and titles, is followed by the commentary of Pseudo-Aquinas on the next 100 folios. Without the Latin text and the commentary, the translation was printed a second time, in less splendid form, in 1500, at the Strasbourg workshop of Johann Schott.[191] It is extant also in a Schaffhausen manuscript from the second half of the 15th century.[192]

A beautifully finished and undoubtedly expensive printed book, the Koberger edition seems to have been designed principally for the use of libraries, mainly those of the large monasteries, as well as possibly for the still rather small circle of Humanist writers and philologists. A connection with the reformed Benedictine monasteries can be inferred from the fact that the Schottenkloster St Aegidien in Nuremberg belonged to the Kastl reform, having been reformed from Reichenbach in 1418. However, this is not sufficient evidence to identify the Koberger translation with that of Peter von Kastl. That Koberger, the second printer established in Nuremberg, had connections with Humanist circles is evident from his publication of Albrecht von Eyb's *Ehebüchlein*, the first German printed book from Nuremberg, in December 1472, a few months before the Boethius appeared. In the first decade of Koberger's activity, the *Ehebüchlein* and the Boethius translation are his only publications in the vernacular. Regarding the entire production of his press, which contains such famous vernacular books as the illustrated Bible from 1483, the *Schedelsche Weltchronik* (1493), and Dürer's *Apokalypse* (1498), the number of Latin works exceeds that of German editions.[193]

The anonymous translator of the Koberger Boethius, quite in contrast to Konrad Humery, closely—and mostly correctly, apart from a few mistakes and misunderstandings—follows the Latin text and refrains from adding extensive commentaries of his own, whereas he furnishes short explanatory glosses where they might be wanted. His close imitation of

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[191] GW 4575 (vol. 4, p. 344).

[192] Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek: Cod. Gen. 28. See Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption*, pp. 27–28; Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 12–15; and Palmer, "The German Boethius Translation," pp. 292 and 300–01.

[193] See Palmer, "The German Boethius Translation," pp. 287–89, 301–02.

the Latin syntax (perhaps following Wyle's translation theory) leads to a German style that does not strike one as totally fluent.[194] Unlike Konrad Humery, he does not feel any scruples in rendering the potentially inflammatory Platonic notions of 3m9 just as they are.[195]

Consolatio 1m4.1–10 may serve again as an example of the style of the translation. The preceding Latin text (fol. 12v, lines 7–15) is identical to that of the modern editions (see above p. **000** apart from orthographical variants. The German translation reads as follows:

> *Metrum quartum*
> *Wer nu sein leben lauter vnd o˚rdenlichen hat angericht . vnd die hohfertigen geschicht hat vnder die fu˚sse getreten . vnd siht yetwedere geschicht auffgerecht an . der mo˚cht ein vnu˚berwunden gemu˚te oder antlu ˚tz haben. In mo˚cht auch nit u˚berwinden die wu˚tung vnd die droe des meres . das do die hitz gru˚ntlich außwillet vnd auch der schweflig perg ueseuus genant in dem lant liguria gelegen . der do oft außwurfft die rauchmachenden fewre . wann er offt erpidemt als ob das ertrich da vmb gee . so seine fewrlo˚cher aufprechen. So bewegt in auch nit der weg des prynnenden plitzen strols . der do gewont hat durchzeslahen die hohen tu˚rne.*
>
> [Fourth meter. Who has set up his life in a pure and orderly manner and spurned arrogant fortune, and looks upright at every fortune, he can have an undefeated mind or face. Him cannot overbear the rage and threat of the sea that churns up from the bottom the heat and not the sulphurous mountain named Vesevus located in the land Liguria that often throws out the smoky flames when it frequently trembles as if the earth went around, as its fire-holes break up. Nor does the line of the burning thunderbolt that is used to strike through the high towers move him.][196]

The translation is quite literal, but it contains several inadequate renderings: e.g., "heat" for *aestus*, "as if the earth went around" for *vagus*. Geography does not seem to be the translator's/commentator's forte, either, since he locates Mount Vesuvius in Liguria.

The Koberger edition is the last of the German *Consolatio* translations of the 15th century. After Johann Schott's re-edition of the Koberger translation in 1500, there is no German version until 1660.[197]

The 15th-century translations show a renewed interest in studying the *Consolatio*, with the help of vernacular translations, as an authoritative ancient text. This need for close study seems to have been felt both in

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[194] See Mommert, *Konrad Humery*, pp. 12–15.
[195] Fol. 50v, line 15–fol. 51r, line 7.
[196] Fol. 12v, lines 16–31, my translation.
[197] See Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular," p. 380.

the circles of monastic reform (Peter von Kastl) and in the University and Humanist milieu (Niklas von Wyle, Koberger edition, probably also the Münster and Lemgo translations). In addition, Boethius's work is read and translated at this time as a model text of Christian consolation (Konrad Humery, Erfurt translation).

Part VI
Dispute and Consolation: *Der Ackermann*

Around 1400, an exceptional text within medieval German Boethius reception was written—one which, not being a translation or commentary on the *Consolatio*, not only takes up single motifs, themes, and quotations but also strikes the reader as a literary text quite equal to the quality of the *Consolatio* itself. The form of the dialogue and the situation of a man in despair who debates with an allegorical figure are only the most obvious characteristics that connect Johannes von Tepl's *Ackermann* (*c.*1400)[198] with the *Consolatio*.

The author (*c.*1350–1413/14) is attested as Johannes von Tepl or von Saaz, both in Bohemia. Tepl (Tepla) may have been his birthplace; in Saaz (Šitboř) he held for several decades an influential position as notary of the city and director of the Latin school. In 1411, he moved to the Neustadt of Prague, where he held the post of the *protonotarius* [notary] until the end of his life. Fluent in Latin as well as in German and Czech, he formed part of a productive trilingual culture that was favored during the reign of the House of Luxemburg in Bohemia.[199]

In an accompanying letter to Peter Rothers, a wealthy Jewish citizen and member of the Council of Prague who was presumably a friend from Saaz, he called his small—and afterward very popular—book simply *Libellus ackerman* [little book of the ploughman].[200] The protagonists of the

[198] *Johannes von Tepl: Der Ackermann. Frühneuhochdeutsch, neuhochdeutsch*, ed. and trans. Christian Kiening (Stuttgart, 2004), cited hereafter by chapter and line. On the complicated transmission of the text, see Christian Kiening, *Schwierige Modernität. Der 'Ackermann' des Johannes von Tepl und die Ambiguität historischen Wandels* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 35–85.

[199] On Johannes von Tepl, see Gerhard Hahn, "Johannes von Tepl," ²VL, 4:763–74; and Christian Kiening's "Nachwort" and commentary in his edition, pp. 159–79. On the *Tkadleček*, a Czech parallel work, probably written in Johannes von Tepl's surroundings, see Agáta Dinzl-Rybářová, *Der "Ackermann aus Böhmen" und der alttschechische "Tkadleček"* (Göppingen, 2006), with further references.

[200] Johannes von Tepl, "Begleitschreiben an Peter Rothers," *Ackermann*, p. 82.

dialogue are the personification of Death and the Ackermann (ploughman), who argue in 32 alternating chapters about the necessity of death, the dignity of man, love, marriage, and human happiness. The Ploughman introduces himself: "*Jch bins genant ein ackerman, von vogelwat ist meyn pflug, jch wone in Beheymer lande*" [I am a laborer of the field; the plough is my pen, my nib the ploughshare. I am of the land of Bohemia],[201] implying that he is a writer.[202] At the beginning, in desperate and wrathful outbreaks, later more calmly and pointedly, but in insistent and always highly rhetorical speech, he accuses Death of murder because his wife, mother of several children, has died in childbirth, on the exact date of 1 August 1400.[203] Death defends himself, arguing in a superior, often ironical, sometimes cynical, manner. In Chapter 33, God reminds the feuding parties that their happiness and their power is only lent to them, and he settles the argument: "*Darvmb clager, hab ere, Tot, syge!*" [Therefore, plaintiff, to you goes the honor. And to you, Death, goes the victory].[204]

The last chapter is the Ploughman's prayer for his late wife, which reveals both her name, Margaretha, and, in the form of an acrostic, his own name, Johannes. The suggested identity of the Ploughman and the author does not, however, hold up in face of the documented facts about Johannes von Tepl's biography and family, which means that the event that motivates the dialogue and the scope of the dialogue must be considered as fictional. The idealized figure of the wife, who bears the symbolic name of "pearl" and is given mariological attributes, is a beloved redemptress in the tradition of Petrarch's Laura and Dante's Beatrice.[205]

It is well attested that Johannes von Tepl read the *Consolatio* with his pupils at Saaz and was, therefore, thoroughly acquainted with the text. There are two direct references: when Death argues that the beauty and perfection of the Ploughman's lost wife is only outer luster and sketches

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[201] *Ackermann* 3:1. Johannes von Saaz, *Death and the Ploughman*, trans. Michael West (London, 2002), p. 4.

[202] See Jürgen Schulz-Grobert, "[…] *die feder mein pflug*. Schreiberpoesie, Grammatik-Ikonographie und das gelehrte Bild des 'Ackermann,'" in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen, Jens Haustein, Anne Simon, and Peter Strohschneider (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 323–33.

[203] *Ackermann* 14:16–21.

[204] *Ackermann* 33:22, trans. West, p. 30. Cf. John M. Clifton-Everest, "Zum Gottesurteil und Schlußgebet im 'Ackermann aus Böhmen.' Das Ende des Gesprächs," in *Dialoge* ed. Henkel, Jones, and Palmer, pp. 279–98.

[205] See Nigel F. Palmer, "Der Autor und seine Geliebte. Literarische Fiktion und Autobiographie im 'Ackermann aus Böhmen' des Johannes von Tepl," in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Andersen, Haustein, Simon, and Strohschneider, pp. 299–322.

a repugnant picture of the human body, he makes use of the *Consolatio*'s deconstruction of corporal beauty: "*So schones mensche gesahestu nie, hetestu eines linczen augen vnde kondest es jnnwendig durchsehen, dir wurd darvber grauwen*" [If you had the eye of a lynx, and could see through flesh, you would tremble in horror].[206]

Cf. *Consolatio* 3p8.21–26:

> *Quodsi, ut Aristoteles ait, Lyncei oculis homines uterentur, ut eorum visus obstantia penetraret, nonne introspectis visceribus illud Alcibiadis superficie pulcherrimum corpus turpissimum videretur?*
>
> [If, as Aristotle said, we had the piercing eyesight of the mythical Lynceus and could see right through things, even the body of an Alcibiades, so fair on the surface, would look thoroughly ugly once we had seen the bowels inside.][207]

The second reference occurs in the Ploughman's rejoinder to Death's misogynous arguments that aim at depreciating the dead wife:

> *Jn manigs weisen meysters geschrifft vindet man, das an weybes stewer niemant mag mit selden gestewert werden, wann weibes vnd kinder habe ist nit das mynste teyl der jrdischen selden. Mit sollicher warheyt hat den trostlichen Romer Boecium hin gelegt Philosophia, die weise meysterjnn.*
>
> [Many a wise thinker has said: "Without a woman at the helm, ^{the} man will be lo$^{st.}$" Because to have a wife and children is not the least part of earthly happiness. By such tru$^{th,\ the}$ wise mistress Philosophia calmed Boethius, the Roman $^{\text{full of consolation}}$.][208]

The Ploughman refers to the praise of Boethius's wife and children, who are named by Philosophia as one of the great favors Fortuna has not yet withdrawn (*Consolatio* 2p4.17–24). A second point of reference may be 3p2.28–35, where Philosophia describes a wife and children as a good that men seek for their pleasure (*iucunditatis gratia*); in the context of her argument, however, marriage and family life are seen as one of the misleading goods that do not give true happiness and sufficiency, as is confirmed in 3p7.11–15.

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[206] *Ackermann* 24:25–27, trans. West, p. 20.

[207] Trans. Watts, pp. 61–62. The Argonaut Lynceus was interpreted as a lynx in the Middle Ages; see, e.g., Konrad von Megenberg, *Das 'Buch der Natur,'* p. 172: III.A.41 *Von dem luhs* [*On the lynx*]. West translates "hawk" instead of "lynx."

[208] *Ackermann* 29:5–11, trans. West, p. 25, my translation.

Beyond these direct references, the scope, ideas, and development of the *Ackermann* dialogue frequently recall the *Consolatio*.[209] In his first answer, Death demands of the Ploughman that he expound properly the reasons of his indignation (*Ackermann* 2:21–23), just as Philosophia asks of Boethius the origin of his despair (*Consolatio* 1p4.1–4). Throughout the following dispute, carried forth in legal terms, Death as the Ploughman's interlocutor is taking a role which parallels that of Fortuna accused by Boethius. He uses her attitude and her arguments to defend himself, e.g.:

> *Hort, hort, hort, new wunder! Grawsam vnd vngehorte tayding vechten vns an. Von wem die komen, das ist vns zumale fremde.*
>
> [List, list; listen and marvel; these cruel charges against us, these accusations, whence do they come? Truly, it is passing strange.][210]

Cf. Fortuna's "appearance":

> *Quid tu, homo, ream me cotidianis agis querelis? quam tibi fecimus iniuriam? quae tibi tua detraximus bona?*
>
> ["Why do you burden me each day, mortal man," she asks, "with your querulous accusations? What harm have I done you? What possessions of yours have I stolen?"][211]

Against Death's depreciation of man (*Ackermann* 24), the Ploughman puts forward the dignity of man, founded on his similarity to God and his capability to approach God through cognition: "*Jn die gotheyt vnd darvber gar cleymet der mensch mit den synnen*" [man's conceit can reach the bounds of the known universe, can reach even unto God, and yet beyond],[212] an argument reminiscent of the *Consolatio*'s discussion of the grades of cognition (5.5). In his answer to Death's affirmation of his power, based on the transiency of all things and the necessity of death, just before his appeal to God, the Ploughman uses a Platonic argument that well may be drawn from the *Consolatio*, esp. 3m9:

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[209] See Kiening, *Schwierige Modernität*, pp. 307–09; and, in greater detail, Christian Kiening, "Hiob, Seneca, Boethius. Traditionen dialogischer Schicksalsbewältigung im 'Ackermann aus Böhmen,'" *Literatur im Umkreis des Prager Hofs der Luxemburger*, ed. Joachim Heinzle, L. Peter Johnson, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe, (Wolfram-Studien) 13 (Berlin, 1994), pp. 207–36, with further references. See also Kiening's commentary in his edition.

[210] *Ackermann* 2:1–3, trans. West, p. 3. Fortuna's wheel is mentioned in *Ackermann* 18:28.

[211] *Consolatio* 2p2.2–4, trans. Watts, p. 24.

[212] *Ackermann* 25:45–47, trans. West, p. 21.

> *So sprichet Plato vnd ander weyssagen, das jn allen sachen eines zurruttung des andern berung sey vnd wie alle sach auff ewigkeyt seint gepauwet vnd wie des hymels lauff aller vnd der erden von eynem jn das ander verwandelt würkung ewig sey.*
>
> [This is said by Plato and by other philosophers that in all things the destruction of one is the origin of the other, that all things are founded on eternity, and that creation, in which heaven's course of all things and of earth turns from one to the other, is eternal.][213]

As Kiening points out, Death is constantly making use of the Stoic arguments put forward in Seneca's consolatory writings, but they prove unavailing against the Ploughman's vigorous suffering and insistency, which make him another Job. It is by cognition, ontological insight, and the confidence of being part of a divinely guided cosmos that the Ploughman, like the Boethius of the *Consolatio*, finally overcomes his despair.[214] His prayer at the end of the dialogue, while being at points exact transformations of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Soliloquia*, translated into German *c*.1363 by the Prague chancellor Johann von Neumarkt, is inspired also by the invocations of *Consolatio* 3m9. It seems as if the Ploughman accomplishes what Philosophia recommends to Boethius at the end of the *Consolatio*:

> *humiles preces in excelsa porrigite*
>
> [lift up humble prayers on high].[215]

[213] *Ackermann* 31:26–30, my translation.
[214] Kiening, "Hiob, Seneca, Boethius."
[215] *Consolatio* 5p6.168–69, trans. Watts, p. 137.

BOETHIUS IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE: TRANSLATIONS OF THE *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE* AND LITERARY INFLUENCE[1]

Glynnis M. Cropp

The *De consolatione philosophiae* [*Consolatio*] and the example of Boethius imprisoned in Pavia, a victim of tyranny and injustice, listening to the soothing, but searching, discourse of Philosophia, have appealed for many centuries to people in adversity. French writers of the 14th and 15th centuries frequently evoked Boethius. In the *Roman de la Rose* (*c*.1269–78), Jean de Meun called for a translation of the *Consolatio* so that the laity might read the work,[2] a wish he himself fulfilled, perhaps without knowing of the prior existence of at least two translations in French by *c*.1300. Others followed, so that today 12 French translations can be identified and distinguished.

Individual writers of the 14th and 15th centuries evoked Boethius's life; they used him as a tragic figure, suffering unduly but rising above adversity by means of the human mind; they quoted him as an authority, especially with reference to the *Consolatio*. They also readily adopted its dialogue form, and alternation of verse and prose. Various prologues to translations and commentaries emphasized the moral purpose and utility of the *Consolatio* and thus reinforced the writers' testimony.

The medieval French translations of the *Consolatio* belong to the European tradition initiated by the Old English translation traditionally attributed to King Alfred (849–99).[3] Successive translators wished the work to

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[1] Updated and extended, this new version replaces my earlier essay, "The Medieval French Tradition," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the "Consolatio Philosophiae,"* ed. Lodi Nauta and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Leiden, 1997), pp. 243–65.

[2] Félix Lecoy, ed., *Le Roman de la Rose*, 3 vols (Paris, 1965–70), 1:154, lines 5005–10. See also Glynnis M. Cropp, "*Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*: From Translation to Glossed Text," in *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of 'De Consolatione Philosophiae,'* ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 63–88, especially 63–64.

[3] Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, eds., *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's* De Consolatione Philosophiae, 2 vols (Oxford, 2009). See Adrian Papahagi, "The Transmission of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Carolingian Age," *Medium Aevum* 78.1 (2009), 1–15 (pp. 3–4). The article summarizes the present state of scholarship on the authorship and also makes a case for the earliest center for study of the *Consolatio* to have been the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire,

be universally known, by both clergy and laity, to whom it would provide thoughtful consolation and hope. In no other country than France, in no other language than French, however, did so many vernacular translations of the *Consolatio* exist in the Middle Ages.[4] France also contributed significantly to the Latin commentary tradition by the commentary (*c.*1120) of William of Conches (*c.*1080–1154/60),[5] which, together with the commentaries of Nicholas Trevet (*c.*1258–after 1334), an English Dominican, and of his near contemporary William of Aragon, provided the main sources of explanation and interpretation of Boethius's text for the translators.

Before the translations into French, two other vernacular works, inspired by the *Consolatio*, appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries: the Occitan *Boecis* and the Anglo-Norman *Roman de Philosophie*. Found in a manuscript dating from the early 11th century, Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 444, fols 269–75, the *Boecis* is an anonymous, untitled fragment of 257 decasyllabic assonanced lines in *laisses* of varying length. It is the oldest Occitan text, as well as the oldest example of the vernacular tradition of the *Consolatio* in the Gallo-Roman area. It has three parts: first, a prologue, in which the author addresses young men in particular, and then sketches the biography of Boecis (*laisses* 1–10), second, Boecis's lament on his predicament and imprisonment, expressing his trust in God and the Holy Trinity, and blaming his friends (*laisses* 11–22), and third, description of a noble lady who visits Boecis in prison (*laisses* 23–35). While Boecis advocates living a Christian life and avoiding evil, the unnamed lady has a role corresponding to that of Philosophia, with the significant difference that she represents not the medieval categories of learning but certain moral virtues and Christian doctrine. The benefit achieved by ascending the ladder of virtues on the lady's gown is salvation in heaven. Reflecting Boethius's thought in the *Opuscula sacra*, the incomplete work thus offers

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from where it was transmitted to other monastic centers in France and farther afield, reaching England *c.*900. See also Philip Edward Phillips, "The English *Consolation of Philosophy*: Translation and Reception," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 17 (2008), 97–126 (pp. 98–99).

[4] See Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., *The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy. An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1992); and Glynnis M. Cropp, "Boethius in Translation in Medieval Europe," in *Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*, 2, ed. Harald Kittel et al. (Berlin, 2007), art. 141, pp. 1329–38. The Ecole nationale des chartes, Paris, also has a website: http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/miroir/boece/traduction/.

[5] Lodi Nauta, ed., *Guillelmi de Conchis. Glosae super Boetium*, (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis) 158 (Turnhout, 1999).

a Christian rather than philosophical vision, while synthesizing Boethius's classical philosophy and theology, in the context of his life experience.[6]

In the work known as the *Roman de Philosophie* (late 12th century), Simund de Freine, a cleric and canon of Hereford cathedral, composed a dialogue between a cleric and Philosophie on the subject of Fortune and human destiny, in which he paraphrased parts of the *Consolatio*. Written in heptasyllabic rhyming couplets, the work has 1658 lines. The author defined it as a romance, "*Icest romanz* [...] */Un escrit est de confort*" [This romance [...] it is a work of consolation], intended to be read aloud, like other romances, and presumably for a lay public needing solace.[7] It is contained in three manuscripts, copied in the late 13th or early 14th centuries. The cleric protagonist is not a persona of Boethius but a fictitious character, no doubt closer to Simund de Freine than to the author of the *Consolatio*. His interventions are relatively brief, often just questions, but the debate opens with his lament on his experience of the deceptiveness and mutability of Fortune, followed by his prayer to God in tones recalling "*O stelliferi*" (1m5). Philosophie develops a counter argument, selecting in particular salient points from Books 2 and 3, sometimes merging material from different contexts (for example, lines 1159–1202 largely derive from 3m2, but they also reflect something from 2m8 and 3m9), sometimes interpolating (for example, the extraneous piece on language differences, lines 945–60, prompted by 2p7, §7). Her exposition has clear Christian meaning, concluding with advice to eschew worldly glory, pleasure, wealth, and power, and to pursue heavenly joy (lines 1651–54). Simund de Freine has thus appropriated and adapted both form and thought of the *Consolatio*. These two early works, which mark the beginnings of the vernacular

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[6] C. Schwarze, ed., *Der altprovenzalische "Boeci"* (Münster, 1963); and Glynnis M. Cropp, "The Occitan *Boecis*, the Medieval French Tradition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* and Philosophy's Gown," in *Etudes de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter T. Ricketts à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire*, ed. Dominique Billy and Ann Buckley (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 255–66.

[7] John E. Matzke, ed., *Les Œuvres de Simund de Freine* (Paris, 1909; repr. New York, 1968), pp. 1–60; see lines 1–4. See also Francine Mora, "Du *Roman de Philosophie* de Simund de Freine au *Livre de Confort de Philosophie* de Jean de Meun: évolution des principes et des procédés de la *translatio*, du XIIème au XIIIème siècle," *Perspectives Médiévales* 26 (2001), 51–68; F. Mora, "Une Lecture de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce à la fin du XIIe siècle: le *Roman de Philosophie* de Simund de Freine," in *Ce est li fruis selonc la letre. Mélanges offerts à Charles Méla*, ed. Olivier Collet et al. (Paris, 2002), pp. 465–72; and Gilles Roques, "Les Régionalismes dans les traductions françaises de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce," in *The Medieval Translator. Traduire au Moyen Age. La traduction vers le moyen français*, ed. Claudio Galderisi and Cinzia Pignatelli (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 187–203; see pp. 188–90.

tradition in France, represent the transition of the *Consolatio* from Latin to the Romance vernaculars.

Twelve distinct French translations were produced in the period between about 1230 and 1477, the date of an *incunabulum* edition with commentary. They belong to an age of change and uncertainty, gloom and despondency, war and plague, with occasional short spells of optimism and peace. It is also a period when nobles, jurists, lawyers, and other families of means began to buy books, collect personal libraries, and show increased interest, as members of the laity, in serious literature and learning which had formerly been the demesne of the clergy. Boethius was a model to imitate, a statesman and scholar who had suffered in an age of political oppression and conflict, and one who through the words of Philosophia reminded his readers to look up, to aspire here and now to the Supreme Good.

The French translations dominate the medieval European tradition. Not only are there links among some of the French translations, as will be shown, but also certain of them are connected to other European translations, in England, Italy, and the Netherlands. Of most significance is Geoffrey Chaucer's use of Jean de Meun's translation in preparing his own English translation of the *Consolatio*.[8] Five French translations are in prose, four in verse and prose, and three in verse. All but four translations are anonymous; they originated mainly in the north, central, and eastern regions. Editions of six translations have been published; two others await publication; extracts of most of the translations have been published in scholarly articles. In combination with titles, the conventional numbering I–XIII in the Thomas-Roques classification of the translations is used,[9] but the translations are grouped according to their form (prose, verse-prose, verse). Each translation is briefly described, with reference to its connections with other translations. The present state of scholarship is noted. Then

[8] Kaylor, *Medieval Consolation*, pp. 174–76; A.J. Minnis, "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 312–61; Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 142–50; A.J. Minnis, ed., *Chaucer's Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius* (Cambridge, 1993); and T.W. Machan, ed., *Sources of the "Boece"* (Athens, GA, 2005).

[9] Antoine Thomas and Mario Roques, "Traductions françaises de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 37 (1938), 419–88, 543–47 (hereafter Thomas-Roques). Translation XI has now been identified as a version of translation IX. See below, n. 50. Richard A. Dwyer gave a different numbering in *Boethian Fictions: Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the* Consolatio Philosophiae (Cambridge, MA, 1976), pp. 129–31.

the evidence of certain prologues is examined, to perceive the purpose and approach of successive translators. The differences between translations are illustrated by comparison of key passages containing the descent-ascent metaphor, an essential vehicle of Boethius's thought. The essay concludes with a brief survey of the influence of Boethius and the *Consolatio* in 14th- to 15th-century French literature.

Prose Translations

The first known translation into French, *Del Confortement de Philosofie* (I in the Thomas-Roques classification), which must have been completed *c.*1230, is contained in one manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2642, fols 1–92.[10] From its language, the text seems to originate in southeast Burgundy, perhaps near Chalon-sur-Saône. The prose translation is preceded by a prologue translated from a Latin biography, and accompanied by passages of mythological and philosophical commentary, many of which derive from a version of William of Conches's 12th-century commentary, supplemented with material from Ovid, Vergil, and the Vatican Mythographers, and for 3m9 from the 10th-century commentary of Adalbold of Utrecht. A Latin epigraph concludes the translation, underlining its closeness to the Latin tradition. It is a scholarly work, showing the translator's proficiency in Latin, his knowledge of methods of exposition, and his understanding of Boethius's thought. Text and exposition alternate, with specific demarcation.[11] The work undoubtedly was intended for teaching in the vernacular, and according to traditional Latin didactic principles.

The second prose translation is the anonymous *Boesces de Consolation* (II), which is found in a single manuscript, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale

[10] Margaret Bolton-Hall, ed., "*Del Confortement de Philosofie*. A Critical Edition of the Medieval French Prose Translation and Commentary of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius contained in MS 2642 of the National Library of Austria, Vienna," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 5–6 (1996–97), i–xiii, 1–227. See also Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 129–33; and G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes," pp. 190–92.

[11] See Anna Maria Babbi, "Boezio 'cristiano' nel volgarizzamento di Bonaventura da Demena," in *Boethius Christianus? Transformationen der 'Consolatio Philosophiae' in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Reinhold F. Glei, Nicola Kaminski, Franz Lebsanft (Berlin/New York, 2010), pp. 19–34 (especially pp. 21–23); and Glynnis M. Cropp, "Le Rôle des Gloses dans l'Interprétation chrétienne des Traductions françaises: *Del Confortement de Philosofie* et *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 71–93.

898, fols 218–52, of the late 13th or early 14th century.[12] Features of the *scripta* of the Troyes manuscript are from northeastern Picardy (*rouchi*, i.e., the dialect of Valenciennes and its surroundings, Hainaut, Flanders). The probability of Flanders as the translation's region of origin is indicated by some lexical items.[13] The text lacks significant parts of Books 4 (e.g., meter 7) and 5 (meter 1, meter 4, prose 5, and meter 5). The renderings of Book 3, meter 12 (Orpheus and Eurydice),[14] and Book 4, meter 3 (Ulysses and Circe), read like short, independent versions of the stories, résumés of the essential message, not translations of Boethius's text. The significant feature is, however, the prologue, part of which was translated from the Latin prologue of William of Aragon's late 13th-century commentary, as was also Jean de Meun's prologue, which, in turn, was appropriated by the author of *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion* (VI).[15]

After completing the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, perhaps about 1300, Jean de Meun (d. *c.*1305) took up his own challenge and translated the *Consolatio* into French prose. His translation, *Li Livres de Confort de Philosophie* (III), is the best known of the medieval French translations.[16] It is contained in 23 known manuscripts,[17] the oldest of which, Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale 593 (1303), was copied in Jean de Meun's lifetime. In the prologue, he dedicated the translation to the king of France, Philippe

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[12] *Boesces de Consolation*, ed. Rolf Schroth, *Eine altfranzösische Übersetzung der "consolatio philosophiae" des Boethius* (*Handschrift Troyes Nr. 898*). *Edition und Kommentar* (Bern, 1976).

[13] See Kurt Baldinger's review of Schroth's edition, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 94 (1978), 181–85; J. Keith Atkinson, "Le Dialecte du *Boèce* de Troyes 898. A propos d'une édition récente," *Romania* 102 (1981), 250–59 (Atkinson had also edited this translation as his doctoral thesis, University of Queensland, 1976); and G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes," pp. 192–94.

[14] J. Keith Atkinson et Anna Maria Babbi, eds., *L' "Orphée" de Boèce au Moyen Age. Traductions françaises et commentaires latins* (*XII*e*–XV*e *siècles*) (Verona, 2000), pp. 13–15.

[15] Roberto Crespo, "Il Prologo alla traduzione della *Consolatio Philosophiae* di Jean de Meun e il commento di Guglielmo d'Aragona," in *Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia I.H. Waszink* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 55–70; and Glynnis M. Cropp, "Le Prologue de Jean de Meun et *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," *Romania* 103 (1982), 278–98, especially pp. 279–83.

[16] V.L. Dedeck-Héry, ed., "Boethius' *De Consolatione* by Jean de Meun," *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952), 165–275.

[17] In addition to the 17 manuscripts of the edition, others have been identified: Glynnis M. Cropp, "Quelques manuscrits méconnus de la traduction en prose de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* par Jean de Meun," *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), 260–66. The total was brought to 23 with Christie's London sale 7233 (7 June 2006), lot 19, of a 14th-century manuscript, probably of Parisian provenance, bound for the library of Louis de Gruuthuse (*c.*1425–92). At one time, MS 12222 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Middle Hill, it was sold on this recent occasion to a European collector. It contains both the translation (fols 1–97v) and Jean de Meun's *Testament* (fols 98–102v).

le Bel (1285–1314), acknowledged his authorship, listed his other works, defended his style of translation, which was in compliance with royal command: "*que je preisse plainement la sentence de l'aucteur sens trop ensuivre les paroles du latin*" [that I should capture clearly the author's meaning without following too closely the words of the Latin],[18] and defined his readership as both laity and clergy, even though they might understand Latin. The remainder of the prologue, bar the last sentence, is translated from William of Aragon's commentary. Besides attachment of this royal dedication and prologue to translation VI, a part of the text was in some manuscripts combined with parts of the two verse-prose translations V and VI, thus creating a network of relationships among translations. Jean de Meun's translation is complete and exact, with some use of binary or ternary expressions to explain meaning, and in places amplification, usually based on the William of Conches commentary tradition, to clarify Boethian thought.[19]

Translation IV, an individual work without affiliation to any other translation, is found in one manuscript, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 4788, dated 20 September 1309 and copied by "*maistre Ogier*" on the island of Cyprus for "*mesire Johan Coqueriau*," who belonged to a family from Provence then resident in Genoa. Written in a Franco-Venetian dialect, this *Livre de Boece de Consolation* is the work of Pierre de Paris (d. *c.*1327), who belonged to the Order of Hospitallers and lived in Cyprus 1299–1310.[20] The translated text, which is complete and literal to the point

[18] Dedeck-Héry, "Boethius," p. 168, lines 10–11.

[19] On language and style, see J. Keith Atkinson, "Les Compléments prédicatifs dans *Li Livres de confort de philosophie* de Jean de Meun," *Studia Neophilologica* 46.2 (1974), 391–408; Denis Billotte, et al., "Jean de Meun lexicographe: usage de la réduplication synonymique dans deux traductions," in *Traduction et Adaptation en France à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Université de Nancy II 23–25 mars 1995*, ed. Charles Brucker (Paris, 1997), pp. 141–57; Denis Billotte, *Le Vocabulaire de la traduction par Jean de Meun de la "Consolatio Philosophiae" de Boèce*, 2 vols (Paris, 2000); Ludmilla Evdokimova, "La Traduction en vers et la traduction en prose à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècles: quelques lectures de la *Consolation* de Boèce," *Le Moyen Age* 109.2 (2003), 237–60, especially pp. 240–47; and G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes," pp. 194–95. On the integral role of *Li Livres de Confort* in the nexus of translations, see Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 133–39, 142–50.

[20] Antoine Thomas, "Notes sur le manuscrit latin 4788 du Vatican," *Notes et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 41 (1923), 29–90; Thomas-Roques, "Traductions françaises," pp. 441–50; Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 320, 414; Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*, pp. 11, 77–79; Atkinson and Babbi, *L' "Orphée,"* pp. 25–30; and Anna Maria Babbi, ed., *Rinascite di Ercole. Convegno internazionale Verona, 29 maggio–1 giugno 2002. Atti* (Verona, 2002), Appendice, pp. 399–405.

of obscuring the meaning—a hazard of which Jean de Meun warned in his prologue—is accompanied by a commentary, often in the form of paraphrase, but distinct from the text itself. Sources of the commentary, which attempts to explain geographical, historical and mythological allusions as well as the philosophy, have not been precisely identified, but Pierre de Paris has been found wanting in his understanding and facts. The commentary, with fragments of text intertwined, was later translated into Latin in the 15th century and is contained in the manuscript Nice, Bibliothèque municipale 42, fols 74–159. This illustrates both the permutations possible in the hands of translators and commentators and the easy transfer in both directions between French and Latin.

The remaining prose translation (VIII), *La Complainte de la tribulation del mirable phylosophe qi fu appelez Boeces, et de la consolation de la phylosophie qel confortoit en scemblance d'une dame* by Bonaventura da Demena, is a Franco-Italian version dating from the late 13th century. Contained in one early 14th-century North Italian manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 821, fols 27ra–52vb, it had been dismissed because of its errors and incompleteness,[21] until Anna Maria Babbi brought to light a corresponding Venetian version in Verona, Biblioteca Civica 212.[22] Thus there exist two translations in two Romance languages by one and the same translator. Statements in the prologues complicate rather than clarify the relationship between the two versions, which, while not entirely or directly dependent on one another, present certain close parallels.[23] In the prologue of the French translation, its author affirms he has translated the text "*en vulgar françois*" as he formerly translated it "*en vulgar latin*" (fol. 27ra), that is, into Italian. Bonaventura aimed to make Boethius's thought accessible to those not conversant in Latin, adding and subtracting material at his own discretion; he radically shortened and rewrote the meters, omitting some altogether. He showed confused knowledge of antiquity, and a tendency to Christianize the text. In his discussion on felicity at the end of 3p10, he inserted the Ten Commandments, and the New Commandments and moral precepts from the New Testament: "*por*

[21] Thomas-Roques, "Traductions françaises," pp. 466–70; and Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*, pp. 10, 25.

[22] Anna Maria Babbi, ed., *"Consolatio Philosophiae." Una versione veneta* (Milan, 1995); see especially pp. 7–75.

[23] Babbi, "*Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 9–75; and J. Keith Atkinson, "The French and Italian Translations of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* by Bonaventura da Demena," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 7 (1998), 67–80.

ce que ciste oevre au meins as laïcs soit plus vive et plus proufitable" [in order that this work, at least to lay people, be more lively and more useful] (fol. 38va).[24] The resulting work is less a translation than a paraphrase of certain parts of the *Consolatio*, with some commentary.

Verse-Prose Translations

In the early 14th century, translators began to adopt the prosimetric form of the Latin original. They did not, however, attempt to imitate Boethius's complex prosody. Instead, with only a few exceptions and then for a specific meter, they used octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The alternation of verse and prose not only marked the organization of the text, but also heightened awareness of Boethius's deliberate use of poetry to lighten the weight of his argument and to sooth and assuage suffering and sorrow. Of the four verse-prose translations, the first two, V and VI, are closely related to one another and to the verse translation of Renaut de Louhans (IX).

The full text of the anonymous translation V, *Boeces: De Consolacion*, which dates from 1320–30, is contained in two manuscripts, with portions of text in four other manuscripts.[25] Recent examination of the linguistic traits has led to the conclusion that the author's language was of the Franche-Comté region, although three manuscripts contain dialectal traits of Lorraine.[26] The text in the base manuscript of Atkinson's edition, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1096 (1397), has central French characteristics. Meters in octosyllabic couplets alternate with prose sections. The translation respects the meaning of the Latin text and has few omissions even if some of the subtleties of Boethian thought are reduced. The style is concise and lean, without binary expressions and amplification of meaning.[27] It seems better suited than the prose translations to the needs of lay readers, who are defined in the prologue: "[...] *chevaliers et bourgois* / [...] *et les dames, / S'ilz ont triboul de corps et d'ames*" [(...) knights and townspeople / (...) and the ladies, / If they are troubled in

[24] Quoted by Babbi, "*Consolatio Philosophiae*," p. 21. See also her "Boezio 'cristiano' nel volgarizzamento di Bonaventura da Demena," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 19–34.

[25] J. Keith Atkinson, ed., *Boeces: De Consolacion. Edition critique d'après le manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nationale, fr. 1096, avec Introduction, Variantes, Notes et Glossaires*, (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie) 277 (Tübingen, 1996).

[26] Atkinson, *Boeces*, pp. 41–43; see Gilles Roques's review of the edition, in *Revue de Linguistique romane* 61 (1997), 289–90. See also id., "Les Régionalismes," pp. 195–96.

[27] See Evdokimova, "La Traduction," pp. 247–52.

body and soul] (lines 6–8). At the end of Book 4, the translator added an epilogue in which he restates his purpose to provide a version for lay readers, "*Qui ne pueent pourter le fais / De subtilitei, de science*" [Who cannot bear the burden of subtlety, of learning] (lines 4–5) and accordingly he would leave Book 5 "*au clers soultif*" [to the intelligent scholar] (line 15), but as the prologue to Book 5 states, he was prevailed upon to continue, to satisfy the curiosity of his readers (lines 6–9).[28] This is possibly a piece of apologetic rhetoric, clerical modesty in the face of the greater complexity of Boethius's ideas in Book 5, but it accords with the purpose and style of the translation.

The second verse-prose translation, VI, *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*, the most popular of the French translations, combined passages from the first verse-prose translation, *Boeces: De Consolacion*, with new and often fuller translations of extensive parts of the *Consolatio*.[29] The oldest of the 65 known manuscripts, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 525, dated 1362, has at the end of 5m2 a rubric announcing that "*Jusques cy souffist par tant come il en appartient aus lais*" [Up to here it thus sufficed appropriately for lay people] (fol. 217rb), and that because the meaning is difficult to understand, the remainder has been taken from Jean de Meun's translation.

In the second oldest known manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1728 (fols 221r–270v), copied by Henri du Trevou, the verse-prose translation is complete and introduced by Jean de Meun's prologue, which explains the longstanding attribution of this translation to Jean de Meun, an error still sometimes perpetuated, despite the findings of scholarship.[30] The translation, which seems to have originated in the Paris region or nearby, must have gained recognition from its association with both a famous writer and his royal patron, Philippe le Bel, although it probably dates from the reign of Jean II (1350–64).

Before 1383, it was amplified with explanatory glosses selected and translated from the long form of the compilation of William of Conches's commentary on the *Consolatio*, which in some manuscripts bears the title

[28] Atkinson, *Boeces*, p. 122, and see p. 41.

[29] Glynnis M. Cropp, "Les Manuscrits du *Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 12–13 (1982–83), 263–352; Glynnis M. Cropp, ed., *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion. Edition critique*, Textes Littéraires Français 580 (Geneva, 2006); see Gilles Roques's review, *Revue de Linguistique romane* 71 (2007), 578–81.

[30] Ernest Langlois, "La Traduction de Boèce par Jean de Meun," *Romania* 42 (1913), 331–69.

Commentum domini linconiensis.[31] The glossed version was the most well known of all the French translations of the *Consolatio*, to judge by the number of manuscripts containing it (49 out of the total of 65 known manuscripts) and their variety, ranging from the richly illuminated to modest, plain copies. No other medieval translation of the *Consolatio* is so well represented today. It was also known outside of France and in turn translated into other European languages. The manuscript Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana 56, fols 357r–386r, contains an Italian translation of the unglossed version of *Le Livre de Boece*.[32] The Netherlandic translation completed in 1466 by Jacob Vilt, a Bruges goldsmith, is a translation of the glossed version.[33]

Although this translation is not flawless, it clearly corresponded to the taste of the contemporary readership for a text written in a fairly open style, enriched by examples from history, the Bible, lives of saints, and the wisdom of philosophers, which enlivened the discourse, freeing it from some of its subtle complexities.[34] Three manuscripts of the second half of the 15th century contain revised versions of the text.[35] One reviser aimed to rejuvenate the text with contemporary historical allusions, to amalgamate glossed and unglossed versions, and to reunite the translation with the Latin text and a Latin commentary. The others simply tried to update lexical and stylistic features, while maintaining respect for the textual tradition. None of the revisers captured more of Boethius's meaning than is found in the principal groups of manuscripts. Their efforts show, however, the resilience of the translation which retained a recognizable identity, while absorbing additions and changes during more than a century.

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[31] Glynnis M. Cropp, "Les Gloses du *Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," *Le Moyen Age* 92 (1986), 367–81; id., "Le Rôle des Gloses," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 71–93; and Nauta, *Glosae super Boetium*, pp. lxxx–lxxxvi.

[32] Thomas Ricklin, "…*Quello non conosciuto da molti libro di Boezio.* Hinweise zur *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Norditalien," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nauta and Hoenen, pp. 267–86 and pl. 1; and Glynnis M. Cropp, "An Italian Translation of *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*, in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips (Kalamazoo, 2007), pp. 75–82.

[33] M. Goris and W. Wissink, "The Middle Dutch Tradition of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae,*" in *Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nauta and Hoenen, pp. 121–65; and Jefferey H. Taylor, "The Dutch *Consolatio* Tradition," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 18 (2009), 37–63 (pp. 39–40).

[34] Glynnis M. Cropp, "*Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*: Translation as Literature," *Parergon* n.s. 18.3 (2001), 1–13.

[35] Glynnis M. Cropp, "*Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*: Revision of the Translation in Some Later Manuscripts," *Parergon* n.s. 9.2 (1991), 17–30.

Translations V and VI are closely related, the latter being significantly based on the former. In Book 5, their correspondence is most evident. Both translators tended to treat analogously material from Classical Antiquity, omitting some proper names and relieving the text of allusions considered too erudite, no doubt with their lay readership in mind. Verse translation IX, *Le Roman de Fortune et de Felicité* by Renaut de Louhans, contains a considerable number of lines borrowed from translation V and certain others inspired by its example. Nevertheless, there is little evidence of a direct connection between translations VI and IX, apart from a rare lexical correspondence. But in both VI and IX, the text has been enriched and extended by the addition of explanatory material from commentaries and other sources.[36]

Two further verse-prose translations exist. A hybrid version (XII) found in a single manuscript, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 5038D, consists of meters from the verse translation (X) and a new translation of the prose sections in a style that, in places, reflects Boethius's tight Latin syntax, while attempting to open up the meaning of the text.[37] The meters have been significantly revised; although the modifications, in some instances, reflect variants of manuscripts of translation X, they cannot be linked to any one set of variants. Other changes seem to be due to the translator. The Latin text of the meters is copied in a right-hand column, spaced to match the lines of the translation. A few passages are accompanied by glosses: 1p1, 1m3, 1p5, 3m12.[38] The text begins with 1m1, corresponding to line 13 of the Latin, line 193 of translation X, and therefore lacks both title and prologue. A missing quire must have contained text from 2p8 to 3p5, §13, and a missing folio, the end of 4p1 and the beginning of 4m1. Some learned vocabulary and expression of complex philosophical notions suggest that the translation was for educated 15th-century readers.

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[36] J. Keith Atkinson and Glynnis M. Cropp, "Trois Traductions de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce," *Romania* 106 (1985), 198–232; see also Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 139–42.

[37] Richard A. Dwyer, "Another Boece," *Romance Philology* 19 (1965), 268–70; Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*, p. 16; and Glynnis M. Cropp, "The Medieval French Translation of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* in National Library of Wales Manuscript 5038D. Prose style and Translation of Boethian Concepts," in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature and Translation. Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. Peter Rolfe Monks and D.D.R. Owen (Leiden, 1994), pp. 333–42. See also Glynnis M. Cropp, ed., *Böece de Confort remanié. Edition critique*, (MHRA European Translations) 1 (London, 2011).

[38] For the text of this gloss, see Atkinson and Babbi, *L' "Orphée,"* pp. 120–24.

The last verse-prose translation (XIII) is the *incunabulum* edition with commentary, entitled *Böece de Consolation*, printed by Colard Mansion at Bruges in 1477 (281 folios) and reprinted in Paris by Antoine Vérard in 1494.[39] The translator was an anonymous "*honneste clerc desole*" [respectable, disconsolate scholar] (fol. 2r), overwhelmed by the adversities of his time, that is, the war between Maximilian of Habsbourg, who had married Marie of Burgundy, and Louis XI. The commentary is a translated adaptation of the Latin commentary (1381) of Regnier de Saint-Trond, doctor of theology (fol. 279v), who is not always accurate.[40] It consists of select passages with insertion of other details.

Introduced by a prologue and divided into books, the translation of the *Consolatio* is complete. Rubrics and the beginning of the Latin text precede each verse and prose section, with the headings "*Texte*" and "*Glose*" clearly separating the two parts of the work. The translator attempted to vary the prosody, by using couplets of different lengths and some stanzaic forms. At the beginning of Book 1, the purpose is stated: "[...] *a la consolation des desolez et a la retractation de ceulx qui trop se adherdent et empeschent des biens temporelz*" [(...) for the consolation of the sorrowful and the reproof of those who excessively cling to worldly goods and are entangled with them] (fol. 19r). The readership envisaged in the commentary is: "*o mes loyaux compaignons et mes tresamez militans en la lice de la discipline de methaphesicque*" [Oh, my loyal companions and my very dear militants in the field of combat of the discipline of metaphysics] (fol. 10r), whereas the translator implores "*hommes de tous estas desolez*" [men of all states of grief] to read the translation of Boethius's work and to find in it tranquility, the means of disdaining fortune and transitory worldly things, and concentrating on sovereign felicity (fol. 279v).[41]

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[39] M. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 (Paris, 1905), nos. 2549–50; *Gesamt Katalog der Wiegendruck*, 4 (Leipzig, 1930), nos. 4579–80; M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Brussels, 1932), 1, no. 747; Antal Lökkös, *Les Incunables de la Bibliothèque de Genève* (Geneva, 1982), 281; and Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*, pp. 16–17, 71.

[40] Courcelle, *La Consolation*, pp. 325, 415–16; Atkinson and Babbi, *L' "Orphée,"* pp. 213–34; and Babbi, *Rinascite*, Appendix, pp. 475–90.

[41] See Franz Lebsanft, "Der Trost der Philosophie und die christliche Tugend der Demut. Reniers de Saint-Trond lateinischer Kommentar (ante 1381) und Colard Mansions französische Übersetzung (1477) der kommentierten *Consolatio Philosophiae*," in *Boethius Christianus?* ed. Glei et al., pp. 303–31 (especially pp. 309–17). Professor Lebsanft, Universität Bonn, is preparing an edition of this translation.

Verse Translations

Three 14th-century verse translations are known, two of which exist in a number of important manuscripts, showing their continued popularity in the 15th century. Octosyllabic couplets are the preferred metric form, but Renaut de Louhans, author of translation IX, tried initially to vary the prosody.

The copyist of the manuscript Glasgow, University, Hunterian Museum 439 provided the title *Roman de Fortune et de Felicité sus Boece de Consolation*, based on lines 5–6 of the prologue, for the translation (IX) completed by Renaut de Louhans, a Dominican monk, on 31 March 1336 [1337, n.s.] at the monastery of Poligny in the Jura. Coming from the east of Burgundy, he retained some of its linguistic characteristics, with certain traits of the Franche-Comté region.[42] Two versions of the translation have been distinguished: the long version contained in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 578, the base manuscript of the printed edition,[43] and an abridged version found, for example, in the Glasgow manuscript, where certain passages have been eliminated. Thirty-seven extant manuscripts attest the popularity of Renaut's version, which might be deemed an adaptation rather than a translation.[44] Knowing the consolatory character of Boethius's work, he began to translate it for a lady who had encountered misfortune (lines 1–16). His purpose was to produce a text to be read and enjoyed, rather than a close rendering of the Latin text. Thus he amplified and suppressed text as he chose, illustrating some ideas, paraphrasing others. He omitted certain meters which only repeated ideas expressed in the preceding prose, or presented neo-Platonic concepts which might seem in conflict with his essentially Christian moral interpretation of Boethian thought. He incorporated explanatory and narrative material (e.g., the Inconstant Scholar narrative in Book 2). He used various sources, particularly Nicholas Trevet's Latin commentary on the *Consolatio*, completed before 1307.

The translation has 7914 lines. Renaut began with octosyllabic huitains (*ab ab ab ab*), except in 1m2 which has six octosyllabic douzains (*aab aab*

[42] G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes," pp. 198–200.

[43] Beatrice Atherton, "Edition critique de la version longue du *Roman de Fortune et de Felicité* de Renaut de Louhans, Traduction en Vers de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce" (Ph.D. diss., University of Queensland, 1994).

[44] Beatrice Atherton and J. Keith Atkinson, "Les Manuscrits du *Roman de Fortune et de Felicité*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 22 (1992), 169–251.

bba bba), which he repeated in Book 2m1. Otherwise he wrote in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, except for the two strophic interpolations on Fortune and on Death in Book 2. He incorporated some 165 lines from the meters of translation V.[45]

In the prologue, Renaut justified his modification of the form. He aimed to respect Boethius's meaning and the coherence of the source text, while at the same time amplifying and illustrating the argument in order to capture readers' interest. Thus he claimed greater latitude than any other translators. The title *Roman de Fortune et de Felicité* reflects both the author's literary aim and the conception of the work in two thematic parts, with transition via the "*O qui perpetua*" hymn of Book 3m9.

About 1380, an anonymous Dominican (although it was long assumed he was a Benedictine) extensively revised Renaut's text, correcting errors and rectifying omissions, thus producing translation X, *Böece de Confort*.[46] In the prologue, the author criticized previous translators for their inadequacies; although unspecified, Renaut de Louhans's work is clearly implied (lines 41–62). The author also mentioned that, after completing his work, he discovered another translation by a certain Maistre Jehan de Cis (lines 63–68).[47] *Le Roman de Fortune et de Felicité*, however, forms the basis of this new translation which contains 50–60 per cent of Renaut's text. The translator aimed to provide a faithful rendering of the full Latin text, so he omitted Renaut's strophes on Fortune and Death but retained material from most of the additional sources, particularly Trevet's commentary, to which he must have referred directly.[48] Many of the modifications eliminate Renaut's East-Burgundian/Franche-comtois rhymes and help maintain the formal regularity and didactic purpose. The author produced in 11,084 octosyllabic lines a translation of the full Latin text, incorporating explanations of historical and mythological allusions. He expressed his respect for Boethius's thought: "[...] *la grant matere / Est haulte et de noble mistere*" [(...) the great subject matter is elevated and of noble mystery] (lines 43–44) and approached Book 5 with a sense of awe at its lofty style and content, pleading at first his inadequacy (lines

[45] Atkinson and Cropp, "Trois Traductions," pp. 206–07.

[46] Marcel M. Noest, ed., "A Critical Edition of a Late Fourteenth Century French Verse Translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae: The Böece de Confort*," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 8–9 (1999–2000), v–xviii, 1–331; 11 (2002), 9–15 (Notes to the Introduction). See also G. Roques's review of the edition in *Revue de Linguistique romane* 66 (2002), 303–05. See also id., "Les Régionalismes," pp. 200–02.

[47] See below, n. 54.

[48] Noest, *Böece de Confort*, pp. xv–xvii.

77–84) and then invoking in the prologue to Book 5 the help of divine grace (lines 9415–424).

Thirty-five extant manuscripts attest its popularity. The base manuscript of Marcel Noest's edition is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 1982, copied by Raoulet d'Orléans (line 11 108), who was active 1367–96. In the prologue, the translation is dedicated to King Charles (lines 125–40), that is Charles VI, who acceded to the throne in 1380. In certain manuscripts, the translation is described as "royal:" "Böece Royal de Consolacion," but the title stated initially is "Böece de Confort" (line 6), and the intended readership was broadened to include "*tous mes amis de France*" (line 142) needing consolation in stressful times. In the epilogue, "*le congié de l'escrivain*," the Christian lesson of a life well lived bringing salvation in heaven is emphasized (lines 11063–084).

In the manuscript Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale 822, fol. 85r, a second epilogue, found only in this manuscript, identifies the author as a Dominican, formerly "*prieur* [...] *empréz Savoie*" (line 19), and then in the service of Louis II of Bourbon, who became count of Forez in 1372 and was a maternal uncle of King Charles VI. It also allusively indicates that the author's name is "Jaques" and he might have been born in Beauvais.[49]

Among the 37 manuscripts of *Le Roman de Fortune* (IX) are two anomalies. The first is the text of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25418, fols 1–74r, from the turn of the 14th–15th centuries. It was classified as translation XI, an abridgement of translation X. In fact, it contains a version which results from a severe culling of *Le Roman de Fortune*, with some reworking and omission of Book 5.[50] Of its 4615 lines, some 4389 were copied from the Renaut de Louhans's *Roman*. It differs considerably in intention, tone and effect from the earlier work, revealing a rather strict, dogmatic piety. The second anomalous manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12459, a compilation of extracts of text from both *Le Roman de Fortune* and *Böece de Confort*.[51]

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[49] Ibid., pp. ix–xi, including the text of the epilogue, and n. 55 (*Carmina Philosophiae* 11, 14–15); and J. Keith Atkinson, "A *Dit contre Fortune*, the Medieval French Boethian *Consolatio* contained in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25418," in *New Directions*, ed. Kaylor and Phillips, pp. 53–74 (pp. 69–70, n. 8). Dr Atkinson's on-going research confirms and extends this identification.

[50] Thomas-Roques, "Traductions," pp. 543–47; Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*, pp. 16, 71; Atherton and Atkinson, "Les Manuscrits," no. 36, pp. 221–22; J. Keith Atkinson, "Manuscript Context as a Guide to Generic Shift: Some Middle French Consolations," in *Medieval Codicology*, ed. Monks and Owen, pp. 321–32, especially p. 322 n. 8; and J.K. Atkinson, "A *Dit contre Fortune*," pp. 53–74.

[51] Atherton and Atkinson, "Les Manuscrits," no. 37, pp. 222–24.

The third verse translation (VII) is an anonymous translation-commentary of 12,844 lines in octosyllabic couplets. The full work is contained in one manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 576, fols 1–82ra, dated 1382 and copied by the Flemish scribe Pierre de Palude. Lacking the first quire, a second manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1543, fols 1–76v, begins with 1p2, line 1138; it was copied in 1402 by Alixandre Dannes.[52] Recent examination of certain rhymes and lexical regionalisms points to an eastern Walloon origin, rather than the Picard origin formerly attributed to the work.[53] The date of composition has also been re-assessed as reasonably the third quarter of the 14th century, with attribution of the authorship to Jehan de Thys (a village in the province of Liège).[54] In neither manuscript does the work have a title. The explicit of Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 576 is in Latin: "*Explicit Boetius de Consolatione Philosophie*" (fol. 82ra). The title adopted, *Boece en rime*, reflects the translator's description of his work in the prologue (lines 577–88, 607–10). The epilogue is the source of a somewhat ironic, and often quoted, apology for the use of non-Parisian French: "*Si m'escuse de mon langage, / Rude, malostru et sauvage, / Car nes ne sui pas de Paris*" [And I apologize for my rough, awkward, outlandish language, for I am not born in Paris] (lines 12,331–33), and a defense of the author's own regional vernacular.

The translation is complete, generally accurate and independent of other French translations. Its length is due to the translator's interpretative approach. Embedded in the text, commentary from a variety of sources, which the translator tried to harmonize, consists of explanations—sometimes lengthy—of historical and mythological allusions and the meaning of terms. The Orpheus meter (3m12), for example, is expanded to 1250 lines.[55] The translator achieved something new and different. Interpreting the text from his secondary material, he created in the vernacular an independent commentary along Scholastic lines, but suitable for lay readers.

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[52] J. Keith Atkinson, "A Fourteenth-Century Picard Translation-Commentary of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*," in *The Medieval Boethius*, ed. Minnis, pp. 31–62; and id., "Manuscript Context," pp. 321–22.

[53] G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes," pp. 196–98; and J. Keith Atkinson, "Les Locutions *a depart* et *sans depart* dans le *Boece en rime*, traduction en vers français par un anonyme du XIVe siècle de la *Consolatio philosophiae* de Boèce," *Revue de Linguistique romane* 73 (2009), 185–95 (especially p. 185, note 1).

[54] In six manuscripts of the *Böece de Confort*, the name of the translator mentioned in the prologue (line 65) has a variant corresponding to Jehan de Thys, as opposed to Jehan de Cis, the reading of the edition. I am grateful to Dr Atkinson for this detail.

[55] Atkinson and Babbi, *L' "Orphée,"* pp. 45–91.

It is noteworthy that in the epilogue he recommends that the translation be read alongside the Latin text (lines 12,324–30).

Composed over a period of more than 150 years, the French translations show the challenge the *Consolatio* offered successive translators and the interest it held for several generations of readers. Links exist between the prologues of translations II and III, III, and VI; translations V, VI, and IX are interdependent, while translations IX, X, and XII form a chain through successive revision and compilation. The translations form what has been called "a nearly self-contained system of genealogy."[56] Only translations I, IV, VII, and XIII stand entirely alone.

The Translations in Context: The Prologues

The translators, who would have received a clerical education, transmitted to a lay readership a culture previously accessible in Latin, within monasteries, schools, and universities. Their prologues correspond, to a greater or lesser extent, to the form of the Latin *accessus*, or prologue, introducing a text. While it is beyond the limits of this study to compare in detail the translation prologues, some particularities have already been noted, and certain general tendencies are also discernible. First, all the translations (with the exception of XII, which is contained in an acephalous manuscript) have prologues, which become longer: translation I has 49 lines of prose, translation V has 14 octosyllabic lines of verse, but translation VII has 614 octosyllabic lines of verse, including a universal history. Second, some prologues derive from Latin prologues to the *Consolatio* or a commentary (translations I, II, III, VI); others are essentially the translator's preface (especially translations V, IX, and X), and three include a dedication to a king (translations III, VI [by borrowing from III], and X). Third, reference is made to the act of translating: "*translater en roumanc*" [to translate into French vernacular] (II, p. 112, line 50), "*j'ai translaté de latin en françois*" [I have translated from Latin into French] (III, p. 168, lines 7–8), "*translater en françois*" [to translate into French] (V, p. 51, line 5), "*rommanchiet en mettre*," "*roumanchier ouvertement*" [translated into French in verse, to translate clearly into French] (VII, p. 14, lines 583, 595), "*translater en françois*," "*de tel latin rommancïer*" [to translate into French, from Latin of this kind] (X, pp. 2–3, lines 35, 84). The terms *translater* and

[56] Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 139.

romancier[57] seem to have been used interchangeably, but the latter occurs particularly in the translations of northern French origin.

Fourth, the conventional components, which are not necessarily all present, nor always in the same order, are: details about Boethius's life, a summary of the moral purpose and the development of the philosophical argument in the dialogue between Boethius and Philosophy, and perhaps reference to the verse-prose alternation. Almost as a matter of convention, translators express their concern about the hazards of "*mot a mot*" translation, underlining the need of an increased number of words to convey clearly in French the complexity of Boethius's thought[58] and to "unveil" the meaning of the fictions and fables, as the verse translators of IX and X express: "*De clerement a tous aprendre, / Sans aucun voile ou couverture, / Histoire brief, fort a comprendre, / Et la fable qui est obscure*" [To make clearly known to everyone, without any veil or disguise, a short narrative, which is hard to understand, and the story which is obscure].[59]

A shift is perceptible in expression of the specific didactic purpose of the translations, from primary emphasis on the pursuit of the *summum bonum*, disregard for worldly things, and avoidance of evil, to consolation of all those, including women, who, like Boethius, have experienced trial and tribulation. Boethius's philosophy is thus considered of universal relevance to everyday living and recognized as an aid to the pursuit of Christian salvation. In the prologues of translations I, II, III, V, and VI, Fortune is not specifically mentioned, while in the prologues of VII, IX, and X, Fortune is considered an opposing force. Renaut de Louhans states that his book exposes Fortune's "*faulx visage*" (line 96) and he advocates trust in God, and praise of both God and Boethius: "*Löer devons Dieu et cest homme / Qui nous a fait cel escripture / Ou de vertus trouvons la somme / Et de bien vivre la mesure*" [We must praise God and this man who wrote for us that work, in which we find the sum of virtues and the means of living well] (lines 105–08). In translation X, it is stated that Boethius rose above the distress Fortune caused him by the light of his mind ("*sa raison enluminee*," line 151) and gave us an enduring lesson.

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[57] F.E. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française du IXe au XVe siècles*, 10 vols (Paris, 1881–1902; repr. New York, 1961), 7:230; and A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, 11 vols (Tübingen-Stuttgart, 1925–2002), 8:1437.

[58] For example, Noest, *Böece de Confort*, lines 85–92.

[59] Ibid., lines 103–06. Cf. Atherton, *Le Roman de Fortune*, lines 51–54. The text is almost identical.

The Christian moral lesson is clearly expressed in the prologue of translation I: "[...] *devons tendre au soverain et verai bien, qui est Dex, au quel nous puissuns tuit venir*" [(...) we must strive for the sovereign true good—that is God—which we can all attain],[60] and, even if not explicitly mentioned, underlies other translations. Just as Boethius and Philosophy are presented as opposite parties in dialogue, so the argument is presented in terms of moral dualism: it is necessary to distinguish good and evil, to pursue the first and avoid the latter, and thus transcend not only adversity, but also material reality in order to attain the highest good. This purpose is clearly expressed in the prologue common to *Li Livres de Confort* and *Le Livre de Boece*:

> *Donc selonc ce est homme devisé en deuz, ce est a savoir en homme tourmenté et demené par passions sensibles et en homme devinement ellevé es biens entendibles. Et pour ce que seule philosophie nous ellieve par le don de Dieu aus biens entendibles, Boeces establist et represente soi en partie de homme troublé et tourmenté et demené par passions sensibles et establist philosophie en partie de homme ellevé et ensuivant les biens entendibles.*[61]
>
> [Therefore, man is accordingly divided into two parts, that is into a person tormented and driven by passions of the senses and into a person divinely raised towards matters of the mind. And because only philosophy raises us by means of God's grace to the things of the mind, Boethius established and presented himself in the role of a person worried and tormented, and driven by passions of the senses, and established philosophy in the role of a person uplifted and pursuing matters of the mind.]

Translators at Work: The Descent-Ascent Metaphor

The dichotomy expressed in the above passage adumbrates the metaphor of descent-ascent which echoes through the entire work. The contrast is drawn between Boethius, who sees himself as now fallen ("*Qui cecidit*," 1m1, line 22)[62] from his former position of respect and intellectual power when he could search the heavens for knowledge and truth, and Philoso-

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[60] Bolton-Hall, *Del Confortement*, p. 2, lines 31–32.

[61] Dedeck-Héry, "Boethius' *De Consolatione*," p. 171, lines 115–21; cf. Cropp, *Le Livre de Boece*, p. 87, §28–§29, lines 162–70.

[62] L. Bieler, ed., *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 94 (Turnholt, 1957), p. 1. All references to the Latin text are to this edition. Translations of the Latin text are from *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973) (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*). The medieval translations compared are I, III, V, VI, VII, IX, and X.

phia, standing tall and erect, at times exceeding human proportions and sight as she reaches up into the heavens from where she has descended to accompany and console Boethius (1p1, §2).

Boethius describes himself: "[…] *obstupui uisuque in terram defixo* […] *meumque* […] *uultum luctu grauem atque in humum maerore deiectum* […]" [I was struck dumb, my eyes cast down (…) my face worn with weeping and cast down with sorrow] (p. 3, [1p1], §13–§14). Philosophia describes his state with vivid images, ending 1m2 as follows:

> *nunc iacet effeto lumine mentis*
> *et pressus grauibus colla catenis*
> *desliuemque gerens pondere uultum*
> *cogitur, heu, stolidam cernere terram.* (p. 4, lines 24–27)
>
> [But now he lies / His mind's light languishing, / Bowed with these heavy chains about his neck, / His eyes cast down beneath the weight of care, / Seeing nothing / But the dull, solid earth.]

Examination of the translation of five key points or expressions will show how adequately, or otherwise, different translators captured the meaning of this relationship on which the dialectic of the dialogue depends. The points selected are Boethius's "*uisuque in terram defixo*" and "*uultum* […] *maerore deiectum*," followed by Philosophia's "*effeto lumine mentis*," "*pressus grauibus colla catenis*," and "*stolidam* […] *terram*."

The prose translations are close to the Latin text, conveying the literal meaning:

> *Merveillai moi, fichai mes iouz en terre* […] *ma chiere grieve de plor, fichee a la terre por dolur.* (*Del Confortement de Philosofie*, pp. 5–6, lines 53–54, 56–57)
>
> [I was amazed, I stared at the ground (…) my tearful face, staring at the ground in sorrow.]
>
> […] *m'esbahi et, mon regart en terre geté,* […] *mon voult pesant et grief de pleur et par pleur en terre degeté* (*Li Livres de Confort*, p. 173, lines 43, 45–46)
>
> [I was startled, and gazing at the ground (…) my unhappy, tearful face, downcast from weeping.]

Both translations convey the downcast eyes or gaze, but Jean de Meun has disregarded the meaning of the Latin *maerore* [grief, sadness] and repeated *pleur*.

In Philosophie's lament (meter 2), the first translator has glossed one element of the text:

> Or a perdu la lumiere de pensé et sozmist ses cous es pesanz chaienes, e portant sa chiere encline por le charge, e[st] constreind esgarder la terre, la quel fait les homes fous. (*Del Confortement de Philosofie*, p. 6, lines 15–18)

> [Now he has lost the light of thought and let his shoulders be heavily chained, and with his head bowed because of the weight, he is forced to look at the ground, *which makes people unreasonable*.]

Jean de Meun's translation is:

> *Helas! or se gist, avuglee la clarté de sa pensee et son col chargié de chaenes pesans, et portanz son voult enclin pour le faiz est contrains a regarder la fole terre*. (*Li Livres de Confort*, p. 174, lines 15–17)
>
> [Alas! now he lies, with the brightness of his thought blinded and his neck weighed down with heavy chains, and, his face downcast because of the burden, he is forced to look at the senseless ground.]

The renderings of "*effeto lumine mentis*" differ, but express the essential meaning; both translations successfully convey the image of the heavy chains—the one specific allusion in the *Consolatio* to Boethius as a prisoner. The translation of "*stolidam* [...] *terram*" posed a problem, for whereas Jean de Meun qualified *terre* with the epithet *fole*,[63] the first translator supplied an explanatory gloss. The Latin adjective *stolidus* has complex meaning, describing what is "insensible, dull, stupid, inert, unmovable."[64] In this context, the English *senseless* is probably the most suitable equivalent. The medieval French *fol*, meaning "silly, mad, unreasonable," does not have the same resonance as the Latin *stolidus*, although it might have seemed an obvious choice. Philosophia, however, is here contrasting the lofty realms of knowledge in which Boethius formerly moved with down-to-earth reality.[65]

The versions in the verse-prose translations V and VI resemble one another and convey simplified meaning:

> [...] *m'esbahi et tourné mon vis vers terre* [...] *mon vis pesant de pleur et a terre encliné* [...]
> *Qu'il ne scet plus le ciel requerre,*

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[63] See *Boesces de Consolation*, ed. Schroth, p. 117, line 94.

[64] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1976), 2:1825.

[65] The classical Latin *stolidus* occurs twice elsewhere in the *Consolatio*. As adverb, the superlative form appears: "omnium mortalium stolidissime" (2p1, §19; you are the biggest fool alive), translated by *fol* (e.g., "*tres fous de toz les homes*" (I), "*li tres fols de touz les mortiex hommes*" (III). A lament on human ignorance and the tendency not to seek true good in the heavens but sunk in the earth prompts a rhetorical question: "*Qui dignum stolidus mentibus imprecer?*" (3m8, line 19; What curse can I invoke on such stupid minds?). Again the translators resort to *fol*: e.g., "*as foles pensés*" (I), "*aus folez pensees des hommes*" (III). Modern French seems to lack a derivative of *stolidus*. The English *stolid* tends to have physical, rather than intellectual, connotations.

Mais est enclinez vers la terre. (*Boeces: De Consolacion*, pp. 52–53, 1p1, §13–§14; 1m2, lines 22–24)

[(…) I was dismayed, and with my face turned towards the ground (…) my tearful downcast face (…)
for he can no longer search heaven, but is bowed down towards earth.]

[…] *me esbahy et enclinay les yeulx vers terre* […] *ma face qui estoit abosmee de plourer et enclinee vers terre* […]
Qu'il ne scet plus le ciel requerre,
Ainz est encliné vers la terre—
Pour la cure des choses temporelles. (*Livre de Boece de Consolacion*, p. 94, lines 122–23, 127–28; p. 95, lines 25–28)

[(…) I was dismayed and looked down towards the ground (…) my face which was griefstricken from weeping and bowed towards the ground (…) for he can no longer search heaven, but is bowed down towards the earth—because of concern about worldly things.]

Both versions have significant omissions: in prose 1, translation of "*maerore*"; in meter 2, the chains, and qualification of "*terre*"; in addition, "*effeto luminis mente*" has been paraphrased. In the *Livre de Boece* the verb *encliner*, "to bow, bend," appears three times and a brief gloss explains the reason for Boethius's state of mind.

In verse translations IX and X, certain liberties have been taken. At this point in prose 1, both translators omitted further reference to Boethius's bowed head, tears and grief, summing up in a single line Philosophie's view of him: "*Et me vit en merencoulie*" [And saw me in a state of melancholy].[66] They rendered meter 2 differently. In a long digression, Renaut de Louhans had Philosophie blame Fortune (lines 357–92, 408–13) for Boethius's fall:

Lasse, moy! Ce n'est pas Böece
De grant vertu, de grant noblesse,
Qui la fleur d'entendement porte;
N'est pas cheüz en tel foiblesse
Par desconfort ne par tristesse
Cil qui tout autre reconforte. […]
Un homme de treshault merite,
Par forcenerie subite,
A tout encliné vers la terre. (pp. 23–24, lines 393–98, 414–16)

[Alas! It is not Boethius of great virtue, of great nobility, who bears the flower of understanding; he who comforts everyone else has not fallen into

[66] Atherton, *Le Roman de Fortune*, p. 21, line 342; and Noest, *Böece de Confort*, p. 12, line 338.

> such weakness as a result of unhappiness or sorrow. [...] Because of sudden fury, a man of very high merit has completely bowed down towards the ground.]

Not grief, but "*forcenerie subite*," the irrational force of Fortune, has caused Boethius's mental collapse.

The author of *Böece de Confort* (X) omitted the digression on Fortune, and concluded the meter in phrasing close to that of the Latin text:

> *Helas, or voy si esvuidie*[67]
> *Sa pensee d'entendement*
> *Et de chaiennes durement*
> *Est sa chiere si enlacie*
> *Que contraint est hastivement*
> *De regarder honteusement*
> *La terre de face esbahie.* (p. 13, lines 381–87)

> [Alas! Now I perceive his thought so void of understanding, and his head so heavily chained that he is immediately forced to stare shamefully at the ground with an anxious look.]

The image of the light of the mind is absent, even if Boethius's mental application and understanding are mentioned; chains enclose, literally, his face, "*sa chiere*," instead of his neck; and the emotion implicit in the final line of the meter has here been made explicit by the mention of shame and anxiety. Both translators evaded translation of *stolidam*.

The author of the third verse translation, *Boece en rime* (VII), captured succinctly the essential points:

> *M'esbahi et baissay ma chiere*
> *Et pris, tasibles, a entendre* [...]
> [...] *ploroie*
> *Et tous pensis en bas musoie,* [...]
> *Or gist jus a lumiere estainte,*
> *Pressés des mauls de sa complainte.*
> *Las, queüs* [*si*] *est de s'escole*
> *Qu'il ne voit que la terre fole.* (lines 1044–45, 1053–54, 1085–88)

> [I was dismayed and looked down, and silently began to listen (...) I was weeping and lost in melancholy thought (...). Now he lies below in the dark,

[67] The edition has *estudie*, the reading of the base manuscript and of three others, which does not seem to make sense in the context. On the basis of the readings *esvuidie* and *est vuidie* found in 19 other manuscripts, an amendment has been made here, in consultation with Keith Atkinson who has the variants of all manuscripts. One manuscript, London, British Library, Add. 26767, has the variant *estourdie*, a possible correction of *estudie*.

> oppressed by the painfulness of his lament. Alas, he has so fallen from his place of higher knowledge, that he sees only the senseless earth.]

Boethius knows Philosophie has discerned from his appearance "*le mesaise de mon corage*" (line 1052), which she expresses herself at the end of the meter in terms of darkness, oppression and suffering, and a view restricted to the senseless earth.

As a translator is expected not to reconstitute the original text on a word-for-word basis but to transmit its meaning, the internal value of the source text, this inevitably entails some interpretation of the substance, and hence differences between one translation and the next. In this comparison, the prose translations I and III reflect most faithfully the wording of the Latin text. The translator of *Boece en rime* selected only the most significant details, which are concisely rendered into French. The exigencies of the octosyllabic line might in some measure account for absence of translation of *stolidam* in four translations, but the complex meaning of the epithet also presented difficulty, both linguistic and contextual.

Let us now examine two passages in Book 5, where Philosophia advocates the upward thrust towards heaven: "*Quare in illius summae intellegentiae cacumen si possumus erigamur*" [Wherefore let us be raised up, if we can, to the height of that highest intelligence] (p. 100, 5p5, §12). Using the first person plural, she calls for elevation of human minds to the highest point possible in order to understand something of what lies beyond the normal scope of reason. Our comparison first focuses on translation of "*summae intellegentiae cacumen*." The renderings in prose translations I and III are respectively: "*la hautece de cel soverein entendement*, que nos poissoms veeir ce que il conoist" (*Del Confortement de Philosofie*, p. 191, lines 72–73, emphasis in the original) and "*la hautece de celle souveraine divine intelligence*" (*Li Livres de Confort*, p. 269, line 54). While the first translation includes a gloss, Jean de Meun added the epithet *divine*, thus carrying forward the idea of "*la divine pensee*" from the previous sentence. The two verse-prose translations are more or less identical: "*la souverainne hautece de tel* (*cel*) *entendement*" (*Boeces: De Consolacion*, p. 132).[68] Renaut de Louhans turned Philosophia's exhortation into an obligation which he justified further:

> *Pour ce, nous devons adrecier*
> *Et noz testes en hault drecier*
> *En tel guise et en tel maniere*
> *Que puissions veoir la lumiere,*

[68] See *Le Livre de Boece*, p. 266, lines 74–76.

La noblesse et l'excellence
De la divine intelligence;
Car pure contemplation
Est voye et disposicion
Par la quelle nous sont revellees
Choses secretes et celees. (*Le Roman de Fortune*, p. 297, lines 7743–752)

[On this account we must turn and raise our heads in such a manner and way that we can see the light, the nobility, and the excellence of divine intelligence; for pure contemplation is the path and means by which secret, hidden things are revealed to us.]

Renaut thus ends the section, omitting translation of the remainder of §12. The author of *Böece de Confort* repeats these lines (10637–646), with the addition of a couplet (10647–48), and continues the translation to the end of the section (pp. 307–08, lines 10 649–662). In *Boece en rime*, the expression is unusually concise, with the addition of a stirring-up enjoinder: "*Eslevons si com nous pöons / Nos coers, attrais hors de pereche, / Au savoir de ceste haulteche*" [Let us, as we can, lift our hearts, freed from sluggishness, to the knowledge of this loftiness] (p. 248, lines 11 792–94).

In the following meter, Philosophia expresses with cosmic lyricism the contrast between humans and other living things: humans stand erect, look up towards the sky and lift their thoughts to the heavens above; all other forms of life look downwards to the ground. The last four lines spell out the meaning of the metaphor:

Haec, nisi terrenus male desipis, ammonet figura:
Qui recto caelum uultu petis exserisque frontem,
in sublime feras animum quoque, ne grauata pessum
inferior sidat mens corpore celsius leuato. (p. 100, 5m5, lines 12–15)

[And (unless, being earthly, you are stupidly wrong) this shape tells you, / You who with upright face do seek the sky, and thrust your forehead out, / You should also bear your mind aloft, lest weighted down / The mind sink lower than the body raised above.]

While recalling the human tendency to be earthbound and hence of limited intelligence, the injunction not only to look up but also to address one's mind heavenwards contrasts with the description in Book 1 of the suffering, downcast Boethius, and offers hope for the human individual.

Both prose translations give a full interpretation, translation I reinforcing the lesson with a gloss:

O tu, hom, qui requierz le ciel par droite chiere e qui lieves tun front en haut, iceste figure t'amoneste que tu doies porter semblanment tun corage en haut, se tu, trop terriens, non es fous, que la pensé, agravee, ne seit plus basse desoz,

> *si que li cors seit levez plus haut*—ce est, li hom se deit garder que li cors ne seit levez en haut e l'arme seit desoz environ les terrienes choses. (*Del Confortement de Philosofie*, pp. 192–93, lines 20–25, emphasis in the original)
>
> [O you, man, who search the sky with upturned face and who lift up your forehead, this posture serves to remind you that you must similarly raise your mind—unless you are unintelligent, being earthbound—so that thought, weighed down, be not lower underneath, with the body raised higher—*that is, man must take care lest the body be raised up and the soul be below among earthly things*.]
>
> *Ceste figure, se tu ne es hors du sens, tu qui requiers le ciel par droit visage et lievez ton front en haut, t'amonneste que tu portez aussi ton courage en haut, si que ta pensee ne soit plus grevee des terriennes chosez ne ne descende pas plus basse souz eulz, puis que tes corps est levéz plus haut*. (*Li Livres de Confort*, p. 270, lines 13–16)
>
> [If you are not out of your mind, you who search heaven with upturned face and raise your forehead upwards, this posture serves to remind you that you should also lift your mind so that your thought be not weighed down by earthly things and not fall lower under their weight, as your body is raised higher.]

Apart from one line, translations V and VI are identical. The text of the first of these follows:

> *Doncques sachiez que moult deffaut*
> *Se il n'entent au ciel requierre,*
> *Se son cuer baisse vers la terre;*
> *Quar c'est chose desordonnee*
> *S'en corps droit a courbe pensee*. (*Boeces: De Consolacion*, p. 132, lines 12–16)
>
> [Therefore note that he is very remiss not to think of searching heaven, if his heart descends towards the ground; for it is irregular if there is crooked thinking in an upright body.]

Le Livre de Boece has a different version corresponding to line 14 above: "*Se le corps s'abaisse vers terre*" [If the body stoops towards the ground], but it is doubtful whether either translator grasped Boethius's idea of the mind and thought needing always to be higher than the body. The opposition of *droit* [straight, upright] and *courbe* [bent, crooked] (line 16) does not convey the sense of movement up and down expressed in the Latin. However, this couplet (lines 15–16) is retained in translations IX and X. The extract from the first of these illustrates its close relationship to the verse-prose translations:

> *Donques sachiez que moult deffault*
> *Së il n'entend le ciel requerre,*

Se son cuer a baissié vers terre;
Car c'est chose desordonnee
Se corps droit a corbe pensee. (*Le Roman de Fortune*, p. 298, lines 7768–772)

[Therefore note that he is very remiss not to think of searching heaven, if his heart has descended towards earth, for it is irregular for there to be crooked thinking in an upright body.]

In translation X, expression of the essential idea is more extended and closer to the Latin than in the three translations to which it is related, but the sententious final couplet has been retained:

Pourquoy la façon le fait sage
Qu'aussy que son front et visage
N'est point envers terre encliné,
Mais hault sus ou ciel eslevé,
Aussy le courage dedens
Se conferme avec tous ses sens
Et hault par contemplacion
Face ou ciel s'abitacion,
Car c'est chose desordenee
S'en droit corps a courbe pensee. (*Böece de Confort*, pp. 308–09, lines 10 691–700)

[For this reason, his manner makes him wise, for just as his forehead and face are not turned down towards the ground, but up towards the sky, so the heart within is strengthened with all his senses and by means of contemplation resides on high in heaven, as it is irregular for there to be crooked thinking in an upright body.]

In verse translation VII, a different permutation appears. The other translators oppose the physical and the intellectual, or spiritual, with the terms *cor*(*p*)*s* and *cuer*, *co*(*u*)*age*, *pensee*, but this translator alternates the word *amour* with *penser* in contrast to *corps*:

Homs dont, ensy drois de stature,
Se tu regardes ta figure,
Elle t'ensengne et t'amonneste,
Se tu n'es pris d'amour malnette,
Que tu en hault ton amour lieves,
Ne ton penser en bas n'aggrieves;
Car trop serroit cose contraire
Le corps hault et l'amour bas traire. (*Boece en rime*, p. 249, lines 11 847–54)

[Therefore, man, erect in stature, if you look at your form, it teaches and reminds you, unless you feel unchaste love, that you direct your love upwards and do not weigh down your mind below; for it would be a very contrary matter to drive the body upwards and love downwards.]

This passage from meter 5 prepares for Philosophia's concluding entreaty that those seeking to live in accordance with virtue and to do good should raise their hopes and address their prayers to heaven (5p6, §47), where God, the supreme observer and judge, all-seeing and all-knowing, presides. All the translators clearly express this message.

This cursory comparison of two series of key passages from the most important translations shows certain differences of style and emphasis. Prose translations I and III are complete, exact, and close to the Latin text. In their prose sections, the verse-prose translations are closer to the Latin text than in the meters, where translators tended to give the general meaning in a smooth verse or two, without transferring entire images, and hence with varying degrees of attrition of meaning of the descent-ascent metaphor. The author of translation VII endeavored to convey the meaning of the Latin text as concisely as possible, when not incorporating new additions. In contrast, the authors of the other two verse translations permitted themselves the greatest latitude, Renaut de Louhans adapting the text to suit his own interpretation, and the author of *Böece de Confort* extending explanation of the meaning. The truth lies in the very language of a text; any departure from the language of the source text incurs departure from its substance. Inevitable loss of meaning occurs in translation, but the margin of difference must be as narrow as possible. The discrepancies noted in the translation of the metaphor of descent-ascent suggest, however, that not all the translators perceived its function as a unifying theme of the *Consolatio*. The Latin text of these examples is, nevertheless, clear and accessible; adequate French vocabulary was current. But in following a popularizing trend which emphasized the moral rather than the spiritual implications of Boethius's thought, some translators glossed over or omitted certain imaginative aspects, for the *Consolatio* is not only a work of philosophy and autobiography but also a work of imaginative literature. The power and charm of Boethius's poetry soothed and healed, and it opened up cosmic vistas. The metaphor of descent and ascent, with its various permutations, is an integral part of the expression of the heavenward gaze and the vision of higher knowledge and truth to which Philosophia leads Boethius and other earth-bound readers.

Literary Influence

Now that more medieval French translations are available in published editions, scholars have embarked on further study of the texts, in particular

comparing versions in search of more precise definition of their provenance and kinship. For example, all the translations of the mythological meters (3m12 and 4m7) have been collected,[69] styles of translation have been differentiated,[70] a close study made of some puzzling lines in Book 3m12,[71] and examination of regionalisms has helped define the original location of certain translations.[72]

A further line of more general enquiry has been pursued to determine the influence of Boethius and the *Consolatio* in French literary writing of the 14th and 15th centuries. Here, Boethius himself figures as a tragic example of the innocent man of worth, unjustly put to death. The *Consolatio* is quoted as a source for various themes, and some of its ideas simply assimilated into contemporary writers' thought. Their aim was not to make the age of Boethius live again in the present, but to show that his moral ideas and values were both valid and needed in order to combat corruption and injustice in their times. In addition, the form of the *Consolatio* was imitated, the alternating verse and prose structure, as in Alain Chartier's *Livre de l'Espérance*,[73] and more especially the dialogue, where one person or personification dominates the argument, consoling and instructing another, as in Guillaume de Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* and Christine de Pizan's *Livre de l'Advision Cristine*.[74] Differences are discerned between their model and medieval poets' rewriting of the *Consolatio*, as in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* and *Confort d'ami*.[75]

Of the contemporary writers who refer to Boethius, Christine de Pizan (1364–1434) is dominant, with allusions to Boethius appearing in most of her long works. She integrates the example of Boethius, adapts his philosophical viewpoint to her own experience, even identifying with him in

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[69] Atkinson and Babbi, *L' "Orphée"*; Babbi, *Rinascite*, Appendice, pp. 379–493.

[70] L. Evdokimova, "La Traduction."

[71] J. Keith Atkinson, "Medieval French and Latin Interpretations of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Book III, Metre xii, vv. 49–51," in *L'Offrande du cœur. Medieval and Early Modern Studies in honour of Glynnis Cropp*, ed. Margaret Burrell and Judith Grant (Christchurch, 2004), pp. 61–76.

[72] G. Roques, "Les Régionalismes."

[73] Sylvia Huot, "Re-fashioning Boethius: Prose and Poetry in Chartier's *Livre de l'Espérance*," *Medium Aevum* 76.2 (2007), 268–84; and Douglas Kelly, "Boethius as Model for Rewriting in Alain Chartier's *Livre de l'Espérance*," in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Emma Cayley and Ashby Kinch (Cambridge, 2008).

[74] See Glynnis M. Cropp, "Boethius and the *Consolatio Philosophiae* in XIVth- and XVth-century French Writing," *Essays in French Literature* 42 (2005), 27–43.

[75] See Sarah Kay, "Touching Singularity. Melancholy and Consolation in the medieval French *dit*," in *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine Léglu and Stephen Milner (London, 2008).

her suffering, and uses the dialogue form and content of the *Consolatio* in her works. Although she might have read the *Consolatio* in Latin or in French, it has been shown that some of her quotations derive from the unglossed version of the *Livre de Boece* (VI).[76] Her indebtedness to Boethius and absorption of his ideas continue to be closely studied.[77]

Given this industry, it remains to examine in the work of Eustache Deschamps (*c.*1346–*c.*1406) the instances, in mainly biographical and thematic contexts, where Boethius and the *Consolatio* are mentioned. In *Le Lay Perilleux*, Deschamps relates first Boethius's role as statesman and the end of his life (lines 19–58), then the lives of Julius Caesar and Seneca, to illustrate the perils of government and service, and especially the need to avoid serving the people, a woman, and children. Boethius served the Roman people, incurring the wrath and cruelty of Theodoric, who had him imprisoned. Theodoric thus deprived the Romans of their defender, a loss they recognized too late:

Boece qui tant fut saige
De vray cuer et de couraige
Le peuple Rommain servi,
Leur bien crut, mais leur dommaige
Rebouta, et bon usaige
En leur cité establit;
Theodoise contre lui
Fut meuz d'ire et de raige,
Pour ce que par beau langaige
Sa cruaulté deffendit.
[...]

[76] Glynnis M. Cropp, "Boèce et Christine de Pizan," *Le Moyen Age* 87 (1981), 387–417.

[77] Joël Blanchard, "Artéfact littéraire et problématisation morale au XVe siècle," *Le Moyen Français* 17 (1985), 1–47; id., "Christine de Pizan: les raisons de l'histoire," *Le Moyen Age* 92 (1986), 417–36 (pp. 425–36); Benjamin Semple, "The Consolation of a Woman Writer: Christine de Pizan's Use of Boethius in *Lavision-Christine*," in *Women, the Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda's Conference, 1993*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1995), 2:39–48; Lori Walters, "Boethius and the Triple Ending of the *Cent Balades*," *French Studies* 50.2 (1996), 129–37; Anne Paupert, "Christine et Boèce. De la lecture à l'écriture, de la réécriture à l'écriture du moi," in *Contexts and Continuities. Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy et al., 3 vols (Glasgow, 2002), 3:645–62; Glynnis M. Cropp, "Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, and Theology in *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* and *Le Livre de l'advision Cristine*," in *Healing the Body Politic. The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 139–59; and Miranda Griffin, "Transforming Fortune: Reading and Chance in Christine de Pizan's *Mutacion de Fortune* and *Chemin de long estude*," *Modern Languages Review* 104.1 (2009), 55–70.

L'innocent fut mis en caige
Et jugié sanz estre oÿ.
De bien faire mal joÿ.
A Pavie ot son estaige:
En prinson dure et sauvaige
A illec son temps feni.[78]

[Boethius, who was so very wise, of true heart and mind, served the Roman people, increased their good, repelled harm to them, and established good custom in their city. Theodoric was angry and furious with him, because by his eloquence he resisted Theodoric's cruelty. (…) The innocent man was imprisoned, judged without being heard. As a result of doing good, he was wronged. He was lodged in Pavia: in a harsh, brutish prison he ended his days.]

With insistence, Deschamps bewails the injustice:

Veez la condempnacion
Du peuple a l'acercion
D'un faulx et faint messagier,
[…]
V*ez ci grant confusion*
De si faintement jugier. (lines 42–44, 47–48)

[Behold the condemnation of the people by the assertion of a false, deceitful messenger (…) Behold great disgrace from such sham justice.]

In line with this argument, Boethius is victim of both Theodoric's power and the people's lack of political conscience and voice.[79] Elsewhere, Deschamps stresses the irrationality of Boethius's end, in lines reproaching *Folie*: "*Boece fistes enmurer / A Pavie contre raison*" [You had Boethius unjustly imprisoned in Pavia].[80] In a ballade on the corrupt state of the world, he again laments the injustice Boethius suffered, imagining the dismay he would feel at the present turmoil and contrasting his wisdom and stability with Fortune's mutability:

Se Boeces, de Consolacion,
Qui saiges fut et de tel reconfort
Que pour perte ne tribulacion

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[78] *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Auguste Edouard, marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, et Gaston Raynaud, 11 vols (Paris, 1878–1904; repr. New York, 1965), 2:344–46, 314, lines 19–28, 33–38.

[79] Deschamps returns to the dangers of serving the people, a woman, and children in two other poems, mentioning in both the example of Boethius: *Œuvres complètes*, 6:266–68, 1251, lines 23–28; 7:10–11, 1271, line 9.

[80] *Œuvres complètes*, 9:356, "Le Miroir de mariage," lines 11 058–59.

Qui lui venist n'ot oncques desconfort,
Ne pour bien nul ne s'esjouÿ trop fort
Pour ce qu'il sceut que fortune mondaine
Est inconstant, perilleuse et soudaine,
Vivoit encor
[...]
Petit seroit de s'accusacion,
De son exil, estre jugié a tort,
Sanz lui oïr mettre a dampnacion,
Absent aussi, non congnoissant [...][81]

[If Boethius, of the *Consolation*, who was wise and of such heart that he was never unhappy because of loss or tribulation which befell him, nor excessively joyful because of any good thing, as he knew that worldly fortune is inconstant, dangerous, and sudden,—if he were still alive, [...] His accusation, exile, wrongful judgment, condemnation without hearing, also in his absence and in ignorance, would be small matters.]

As in *Le Lay Perilleux*, the biographical details echo Boethius's self-defense in 1p4 of the *Consolatio*.

It is probably most frequently in association with Fortune that Boethius's name appears in vernacular literature, often, as in the following ballade, with features derived from 2p1–2 of the *Consolatio*:

En Boece, de consolacion
Trouverez-vous de Fortune l'assault,
Ses blandices et sa decepcion,
S'inconstance, muer de bas en hault
Les soufraiteus; aux riches ses biens tault
[...]
En tous temps est Fortune decepvable.[82]

[In Boethius, of the Consolation, you will find Fortune's assault, her flattery and deceit, her inconsistency, elevating the needy from low to high; she snatches her good things from the rich. (...) At all times Fortune is deceptive.]

He evokes the traditional figure of the blindfolded goddess with her wheel, who is to be despised, distrusted, and avoided. No one is exempt from her arbitrary and sudden mutability (lines 17–23).

Boethius is also Deschamps's authority when he advises against possession of worldly goods. He attributes to familiarity with Boethius, "*homs noble d'ame et de corps*" [a man noble in soul and person], the capacity

[81] *Œuvres complètes*, 5:209–10, 972, lines 1–14.
[82] *Œuvres complètes*, 1:316–17, 181, lines 1–5, 8.

to disdain worldly goods.[83] In the *Complainte de l'Eglise*, he cites not the "*tiers livre*" [third book], as he states, but *Consolatio* 2p5: "*Lasse! lasse! chetives sont ces richesses mondaines, comme dit Boece, de* Consolacion *ou tiers livre, car si tost comme on les commence a acquerir, on delaisse a estre seur*" [Alas, alas, how miserable are these worldly riches, as Boethius says in the third book of the *Consolatio*, for as soon as one begins to acquire them, one ceases to be secure].[84] Likewise, he follows Boethius in condemning covetousness:

> *En Boece est plus a plain recité*
> *Que convoitise est lais vices et ors*
> *Dont ce monde est destruit et tourmenté;*
> *Souffisance est un tresriches tresors*.[85]
>
> [In Boethius, it is most clearly repeated that covetousness is an ugly, repulsive vice, by which this world is destroyed and tormented; sufficiency is a very rich treasure.]

In the following ballade on God's constancy, without mention of Boethius, Deschamps condemns the false goods of the world associated with Fortune in the *Consolatio*: "*Richesce, honeurs, puissances, dignitez*," which do not bring true happiness.[86]

Praising Christine de Pizan's eloquence, learning, and accomplishments in a reply to her *épître* of 10 February 1403, and in the *envoi* asking humbly to join her company, Deschamps concludes with the compliment: "*Car je te voy, com Boece a Pavie, / Seule en tes faiz ou royaume de France*" [For I see you, like Boethius at Pavia, / Alone in your deeds in the kingdom of France].[87] The lines seem to encapsulate her reputation for outstanding knowledge, her distance from her Italian birthplace, her struggle with legal authorities to obtain justice, and her unique solitude as a woman writer in France, as well as to acknowledge her closeness to Boethius's ideas. Having discovered on first reading the *Consolatio* what was to be one of her firm principles, that is, that the human mind can rise above adversity by reliance on philosophy, Christine thereafter cited Boethius

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[83] *Œuvres complètes*, 2:7–8, 190, lines 1–4; cf. *Consolatio* 3p8.

[84] *Œuvres complètes*, 7:297. See *Le Livre de Boece*, pp. 133–36, §7, §22, §34–§35; Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de long estude*, ed. Robert Püschel (Berlin, 1887; repr. Geneva, 1974), pp. 206–07, lines 4837–860.

[85] *Œuvres complètes*, 3:10–12, 319, lines 27–30; cf. *Consolatio* 3p3 and 3m3.

[86] *Œuvres complètes*, 3:12–13, 320, line 25; cf. *Consolatio* 2p5 and 6; 3p3, 4, and 5.

[87] *Œuvres complètes*, 6:251–52, 1242, lines 35–36.

alongside classical authors and the Church Fathers and recognized him as "*le tres souffisant philosophe*."[88]

Deschamps's final reference to Boethius focuses exclusively on his status as an authoritative scholar. He is cited in the *Miroir de Mariage* with Seneca, Plato, Hippocrates, Vergil, and Ezra among the "*phillosophes grans*" who sought the secrets of nature for the good of humanity, so that people may live "*selon Dieu et selon nature, / Par le bien de leur escripture*" [according to God and according to nature, through the goodness of their writing].[89] In this list, Boethius stands out as the most recent of the great philosophers, but five centuries away from Seneca (d. A.D. 65), who is otherwise the latest in time. In Deschamps's vast corpus, allusions to Boethius are relatively few in number, usually brief, yet they serve as apposite illustration of moral and political commentary on contemporary society.

The consolation Boethius offers and which writers recommend is pertinent in the turbulence of the late Middle Ages. For example, in his *Complainte de Fortune* George Chastelain (*c*.1405/1415–75) comforted himself with thoughts of deposed and exiled kings, suffering martyrs, Job, and Boethius:

> *Puis me revient en mon penser*
> *Boèce de très-grant renom,*
> *Qui me fait plus en gré porter*
> *Mon grief par consolation,*
> *En recordant mainte leçon*
> *Que luy a fait philosophie,*
> *Qui me donnent occasion*
> *De mieux porter mérancolie*.[90]
>
> [Then I remember the very famous Boethius, who lets me more readily bear my suffering through consolation, recalling the many lessons he received from Philosophy, which enable me better to endure melancholy.]

Boethius continued to be invoked as a comforter of the suffering, an exemplary figure whose fortitude was to be imitated and whose thought was always relevant. Deschamps, Chastelain, and other contemporary writers respect the general meaning and content of Boethius's thought, rather

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[88] *Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine*, ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac (Paris, 2001), p. 94, lines 83–84.

[89] *Œuvres complètes*, 9:260–61, lines 8043–060, of which lines 8045 and 8059–060 are quoted.

[90] *Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols (Brussels, 1863–66; repr. Geneva, 1971), 8:331.

than the form in which it is presented. Christine de Pizan is an exception, in that she incorporates passages of the *Consolatio*, in translation or in paraphrase, in her own work.

Conclusion

Within the European vernacular tradition of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, the medieval French translations dominate by reason of their number, variety, and vigor, forming their own lengthy tradition and presenting an extensive and fertile field of scholarship. Beginning with a translation which recreates in the vernacular Latin academic didactic discourse, they evince in successive translations the aim of substituting for the Latin text a version with additional exposition of meaning for lay readers. Nonetheless, the Latin text was not entirely replaced, but accompanies a translation in some manuscripts, or is recommended for concurrent reading. Despite their differences, the translations derive coherence and unity from the Latin source text, the reputation of which they are intended to enhance and extend. As R. Dragonetti observed:

> *Les grandes créations littéraires demeurent inséparablement liées à leurs multiples modes de traductions et d'interprétations qui rendent les œuvres originales toujours autres, disons en état de mouvance, sans laquelle elles ne pourraient survivre.*[91]
>
> [The great works of literature remain inseparably linked to their multiple translations and interpretations, which make the original works always different, let us say in a state of change, without which they could not survive.]

The translators wanted to transmit knowledge of Boethius's thought to the laity, to a wider readership who could benefit from the lasting wisdom of a Roman statesman and philosopher of Late Antiquity, which should no longer be the preserve of clerical Latin discourse.

This essay outlines recent scholarship pertaining to the identification of the medieval French translations and their manuscripts, the preparation and publication of editions of the text, which are the foundation for further study and interpretation of the translations. An attempt is made to distinguish the translations and their particular purposes, and

[91] R. Dragonetti, "Propos sur la traduction," in *Hommage à Jean Dufournet*, 1 (Paris, 1993), p. 437; quoted by Charles Buridant in a review (*Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 38 [1995], p. 44*).

to glimpse the practice of translation, by a brief comparative study of a very significant metaphor illustrating differences and similarities in content and expression. Finally, in a sketch of the literary influence, Eustache Deschamps's allusions reflect sympathy for Boethius and familiarity with his thought. Although it is seldom possible to trace such allusions to the *Consolatio* to a specific translation, their presence and influence in literary writing of the 14th and 15th centuries attest the deep respect of writers for Boethius.

READERS AND INTERPRETERS OF THE *CONSOLATIO* IN ITALY, 1300–1550

Dario Brancato

Introduction

At the beginning of an obscure Baroque text, published in Rome in 1635, the author, Giovanni Giacomo Ricci (1595–after 1643), describes his encounter with a Muse who is supposed to accompany him on his voyage to Mount Parnassus:

> *Mentr'io in cotal guisa descrivendo ne stava l'instabilità del mio stato, cantando i miei pianti e l'inquietudine della mia quiete, apparvemi d'improvviso amorosa Verginella, che nelle mani e nelle chiome teneva alcune roze ghirlandette di fronde e fiori, vestita di color cangiante; pareva, quasi colomba esposta al sole, cangiarsi ad ogni momento, e con benigno volto a me si rivolse, che mi porse animo di chiederle chi fosse. Sorridendo, ella mi rispose: "Ben se' tu fuori di te stesso, che te stesso e me non conosci che sono la tua Musa*."[1]
>
> [While I was describing the instability of my state in that fashion, singing my lament and the anguish of my silence, a lovely Virgin suddenly appeared to me. She was holding some simple wreaths and garlands of leaves and flowers in her hands and hair; her dress was of a changing color; almost like a dove on a sunny day, she seemed to change at every moment; finally, she looked at me with such an affectionate face, that I found the courage of asking her who she might be. Smiling, she replied: "You must not be yourself, because you fail to recognize either yourself or me: I am your Muse."]

This description of our Muse shares striking similarities with Lady Philosophy depicted in the first book of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*.[2] Actually, the whole scene itself is almost a paraphrase of the first

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[1] Giovanni Giacomo Ricci, *I diporti di Parnaso* (Rome, 1635), p. 4.

[2] Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter, *Consolatio*] 1p1.1, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich and Leipzig, 2005): "*Haec dum mecum tacitus ipse reputarem querimoniamque lacrimabilem stili officio signarem adstitisse mihi supra verticem visa est mulier reverendi admodum vultus, oculis ardentibus et ultra communem hominum valentiam perspicacibus, colore vivido atque inexhausti vigoris, quamvis ita aevi plena foret ut nullo modo nostrae crederetur aetatis, statura discretionis ambiguae*" [While I was thinking these thoughts to myself in silence, and set my pen to record this tearful complaint, there seemed to stand above my head a woman. Her look filled me with awe; her burning eyes penetrated more deeply than those of ordinary men; her complexion was fresh with an ever-lively

sentences of *Consolatio* 1p1. Readers of the *Consolatio*, it would seem, were not that difficult to find in Italy well after 1450, the period of time when the popularity of Boethius's masterpiece waned.[3] Pierre Courcelle, for example, has attributed this to the availability of original Greek sources, and has written that

> *À cause de cet esprit nouveau, la Consolation allait être délaissée bientôt. Cette œuvre, qui avait passionné les écoles aux temps carolingiens, puis au xiie siècle, parce qu'elle exposait un système philosophique et compensait ainsi dans une certaine mesure l'absence des originaux grecs néo-platoniciens, va perdre de son intérêt. Désormais ces originaux, répandus en Occident depuis la chute de Costantinople, attireront les esprits curieux de philosophie antique. L'intérêt littéraire de la Consolation s'est lui-même évanoui sous l'amas des commentaires scolastiques des xive et xve siècles. Les amateurs de beau style préféreront l'étude des grands classiques.*[4]
>
> [Because of this new spirit, the *Consolation* was soon to be abandoned. This work first enthralled schools in Carolingian times; then, in the 12th century, it began to become less interesting because it expounded on a philosophical system and, to a certain extent, made up for the absence of the Greek neo-Platonist originals. From then on, it would be those originals, which would circulate in the West after the fall of Constantinople, to attract the minds inquiring on ancient philosophy. The literary interest of the *Consolation* also disappeared under the burden of 14- and 15-century Scholastic commentaries. Lovers of beautiful style would prefer to study the great Classical texts.]

Curiously, Courcelle's statement has always been taken for granted and justified by two facts. First, the humanist Lorenzo Valla's (1406–57) attack against the philosophical content of the *Consolatio* in his *De vero falsoque bono* ("On True and False Good," 1431 as *De voluptate*, "On Pleasure"; first printed 1483) and *De libero arbitrio* ("On Free Will," 1439; first printed 1540) has been taken as the first sign of the declining fortune of the Boethian work. Second, the quantitative data collected and analyzed in recent monographs have shown that in Italy the text was no longer

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bloom, yet she seemed so ancient that none would think her of our time]. English translation here and throughout this chapter are quoted from Boethius, *Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), p. 133 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*).

[3] Robert Black and Gabriella Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia *nel medioevo e nel Rinascimento italiano / Boethius's* Consolation of Philosophy *in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Tavarnuzze, Italy, 2000), p. 29.

[4] Pierre Courcelle, *La* Consolation de philosophie *dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), p. 332. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

read and studied as of the second half of the 15th century as it had been one century earlier.[5] It is obvious that the invention of print had a great impact on the readers' habits; nevertheless, one has to wonder why the book was uninterruptedly reprinted in Italy between 1471 (the date when the first *Consolatio* was printed) and 1524 (when it is reasonable to assume a saturation in the market). The most compelling evidence comes from the fact that the best 16th-century commentaries to the *Consolatio* were produced in the Netherlands by Rodolphus Agricola and Joannes Murmellius and were never printed in Italy.[6] Yet, one can find that four different Italian translations were published in the 1500s alone. This fact by itself challenges Courcelle's statement, as readers in the Italian peninsula still appreciated the moral content of the *Consolatio*.

This chapter is a history of the reception of the *Consolatio* in Italy between the 14th and 16th centuries that addresses three main questions: 1) What did Boethius represent to late-medieval and Renaissance readers?; 2) What was the approach to Boethius and the *Consolatio* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance?; and 3) What intellectual communities in Italy perused the text? A further question also arises: Under what historical circumstances were translations and commentaries produced? The material examined primarily includes Latin editions of the *Consolatio* (which may or may not contain commentaries), as well as Italian vernacular translations written or published in Italy between roughly 1300 (the date of composition of Nicholas Trevet's *Exposicio super Boecio* (see Section 1.1) and 1549–52 (the dates of composition and publication of three competing Florentine vernacular renderings). In particular, I will concentrate on the intellectual environment surrounding the translations by Alberto della Piagentina (written in 1332; first printed 1735), Anselmo Tanzo (written at the end of the 15th century; first printed in 1520), Lodovico Domenichi (written in 1549; first printed in 1550), Benedetto Varchi (written in 1549; first printed in 1551), and Cosimo Bartoli (written in 1549; printed in 1552). I also will explore the role of the *Consolatio* in Quattrocento learned circles, in particular that of Marsilio Ficino (1433–99). This chapter is not a

[5] See Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001); and Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentines (1413–1608)* (Florence, 1984).

[6] See Lodi Nauta, "A Humanist Reading of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*: The Commentary by Murmellius and Agricola (1514)," in *Between Demonstration and Imagination. Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North*, ed. Lodi Nauta and A. Vanderjagt (Leiden, 1999), pp. 313–38.

history of Boethius as a literary source in works of the first two centuries of Italian literature: references to the *Consolatio* are countless in all the main authors of the Italian canon (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and Tasso, just to name a few). For some of them—Dante in particular—there are books, articles, and encyclopedia entries already available; for others—Ariosto and Tasso—one has to rely on the footnotes to their works.[7] But my contribution is not a systematic study of the themes in the *Consolatio* found in the Italian literature: such an undertaking would require a book by itself, while it would not necessarily answer all the questions I have posited at the beginning of this paragraph.

The goal of this chapter is to identify different attitudes towards Boethius's text distributed in different periods and intellectual communities. In a volume published in 2006 on 14th-century Italian translations of the *Consolatio*, Silvia Albesano has proposed two ways of reading Boethius's work in the Middle Ages: in the first one, the *Consolatio* was used as edifying reading for a secular or religious readership ignorant of Latin; in the other one, it is considered as a "classic," a full-fledged authority that needed to be interpreted.[8]

Albesano's analysis can be refined by incorporating the seven typologies of reading that James Hankins has defined in his *Plato in the Renaissance*. In this groundbreaking work, Hankins lists seven typologies of reading that can be found in the 15th century: 1) *meditative* ("the text, like a religious icon, is used as a window on the divine. Reading is done very slowly; each passage is allowed to dissolve in the mind like a lozenge"); 2) *doctrinal* ("to use the text of the *auctores* as an armature upon which to hang moral lessons and encyclopedic knowledge of all the arts and sciences"); 3) *scholastic* ("first, it aimed to impress upon the student's memory the texts he would need for his professional work. Second, it taught him to argue for an answer to any question he might be faced with by teaching him to manipulate authorities according to the rules of logic [...] It was thus interested in *auctoritates* rather than *auctores*"); 4) and 5) *imitative*,

[7] On Dante, see at least Rocco Murari, *Dante e Boezio, contributo allo studio delle fonti dantesche* (Bologna 1905); and Francesco Tateo, "Boezio Severino," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. Umberto Bosco, vol. 1 (Rome, 1970), pp. 654–58. On Petrarch, see Marco Galdi, "Boezio e Petrarca," in his *Saggi Boeziani* (Pisa, 1938), pp. 1–39. On 14th-century Italian translations, see Silvia Albesano, *"Consolatio Philosophiae" volgare. Volgarizzamenti e tradizioni discorsive nel Trecento italiano* (Heidelberg, 2006); and Thomas Ricklin, "... *Quello non conosciuto da molti libro di Boezio*. Hinweise zur *Consolatio philosophiae* en Norditalien," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lodi Nauta and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Leiden, 1997), pp. 267–86.

[8] Albesano, *"Consolatio Philosophiae" volgare*, pp. 187–88.

allegorical ("The allegorist thought that the entire text, not just single passages, had been intentionally allegorized by the author in order to teach the *illuminati* sublime theological truths"); 6) *critical* ("Critical reading tends to look on texts as *fontes* rather than *auctoritates*. It is sensitive to anachronism and therefore aware that the original intention of the author cannot simply be intuited but needs rather to be reconstructed by careful observation of contexts and parallels"), and 7) *aesthetic* ("Whereas the reader in the first five of our forms believes that the author's primary desire was to teach, and that the literary pleasure he provides is subordinate to that end, the aesthetic reader emphasizes above all the writer's purpose to give literary pleasure through beauty, and judges a critical artifact on the basis of its success in producing a beautiful effect").[9] Hankins's categories, however, need not be taken unconditionally, lest one seem too schematic: in fact, it is possible to find several attitudes in the same reader.

Another layer of complexity has to be taken into consideration in the case of translations: not only the way in which the translator appropriates his source text, which in turn is affected by the hermeneutical stance of previous readers and scholars, but also the way in which the target text (the translated text) is itself used as a base of appropriation.[10]

Moreover, translations need to be considered as both hermeneutical and rhetorical exercises. For this reason, I will make use of the double distinction introduced by Rita Copeland between "primary" and "secondary" translation, and "interlingual" and "intralingual" reception. Primary translations "exhibit a close alliance with the aims and methods of exegetical practice, and like exegesis define their purpose in terms of service to a source text."[11] These types of translations, therefore, present themselves as such and are directly related to the most common type of scholastic exegesis (that is, the commentary which is often interpolated in the target text); at the same time, they serve as an *exercitatio* that tends to augment and improve the literary language of the target text.[12] Secondary translations, albeit using the same rhetorical strategies of primary translations, "tend to define themselves as independent textual productions

[9] James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1990), pp. 18–26.

[10] I give *appropriation* the same meaning as Paul Ricoeur, "Appropriation," in *Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences*, ed. and trans. John B. Thompson (Cambridge, 1995), p. 185: " '[T]o make one's own' what was initially 'alien.' "

[11] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 6–7.

[12] Ibid., p. 94.

[...] Rather than representing themselves as translations in the service of authoritative sources, these texts tend to claim for themselves [...] a kind of originary discursive status."[13] Interlingual reception positions itself in a discourse of continuity between source and target texts, while at an intralingual level the source text is displaced and ultimately supplanted.[14]

Finally, there is another factor that comes into play in some translations: that of patronage. According to André Lefevere, patronage and professionals (critics, translators, etc.) constitute the dialectical kernel around which any literary system develops.[15] In the specific case of translations, patronage affects and determines the translator's ideology and the poetics dominant in the target culture when the translation is carried out. In other words, translators may decide to enhance their work or they may be constrained by certain rules imposed by their patrons, but they also have to abide by the poetics set up by the literary establishment.[16] In our specific cases, one also has to wonder whether the rise of vernacular literature in Italy and the formation of a canon of vernacular classics might have constituted a change in the translators' attitude toward the source text of the *Consolatio*.

Given the enormous heterogeneity of time, places, themes, and cultural environments, a simple chronological exposition is not sustainable for this chapter. Instead, I have chosen to narrow the focus down to four case studies, which will be discussed in four sections. In the first section, I will concentrate on the doctrinal reading found in Alberto della Piagentina's *Boezio*; the second section will analyze the critical treatment of the *Consolatio* in the works of Italian humanists, with particular attention to the *concordatio*, or harmonization of Plato and Aristotle in the 15th century; the third section will expound on the meditative reading practices one can notice in the translation by the Augustinian Anselmo Tanzo; finally, the last section will examine the three translations published in Florence between 1550 and 1552 and offered to Emperor Charles V, and how the three translators had to cope with the aesthetic constraints imposed by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. My choice of using case studies is based on three factors, as Christopher Celenza has explained:

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[13] Ibid., pp. 94–95.
[14] Ibid., p. 7.
[15] André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London, 1992), pp. 14–17.
[16] Ibid., pp. 18–21.

> First, implicitly we are given the reminder that groups of people can wind up marginalized by factors outside their own control [...] Second, the notion that modes of cultural transmission in premodern Europe are best thought of as circular rather than vertical, and social as well as textual, is important but not current among scholars who work on Renaissance intellectuals. Third, the focus on small communities is essential, if one wants to move toward a fuller picture of Renaissance life than is the norm.[17]

1. Nicholas Trevet and Alberto della Piagentina

1.1 *Trevet's* Exposicio

The 13th century witnessed a rebirth of scholarship in Latin poetry in Europe. This revival, originating from Hermann the German's translation of Averroes's commentary to Aristotle's *Poetics*, stems from the classification of poetry under the label of logic in university curricula.[18] Moreover, by the beginning of the 1200s, the specialization of academic curricula in the three programs of law, medicine, and theology caused Latin poetry to become a subject in lower educational institutions, namely the grammar schools.[19] The texts studied in these schools were grouped into two canons of *auctores*: the *minores* and the *maiores*.[20] A commentary often accompanied the text and was preceded by a preliminary lecture on the author (*accessus ad auctorem*), where the commentator also expounded on the aims and content of the text.[21] In the 13th century, the most popular *accessus* was the "Aristotelian" type, which focused on the four causes found in the second book of Aristotle's *Physics*. This approach aimed at seeking four characteristics in a text: 1) the efficient cause (*causa efficiens*), i.e., the author; 2) the material cause (*causa materialis*), i.e., the sources the author used; 3) the final cause (*causa finalis*), i.e., the writer's aim; and 4) the formal cause (*causa formalis*), i.e., the shape or pattern the author could give to his work, which in turn could be divided into method of

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[17] Christopher S. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore, 2004), p. 74.

[18] *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100–c.1375*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis and A.B. Scott (Oxford, 1988), p. 279.

[19] Black, *Humanism*, p. 23.

[20] Ibid., p. 173.

[21] Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), p. 14.

treatment or procedure (*modus agendi* or *procedendi*), and the structure of a tractate (*forma tractatus*).[22]

In Italy, most grammar schools introduced the *Consolatio* into the students' curricula, and this text's particular nature as Menippean satire (or *prosimetrum*, a mixture of prose and poetry) granted it a special status between the *maiores* and the *minores*.[23] In this framework, Boethius's text proved to be extremely versatile, insofar as it could be used not only as a moral text but also as a very useful tool to learn grammar and versification. Evidence from 14th-century manuscripts shows that the nature of the marginal glosses is of a philological and erudite nature.[24]

In 1301 or 1304, while in Florence, English Dominican Nicholas Trevet (*c*.1257–*c*.1334) wrote his *Exposicio super Boecio*, the most widely read commentary to the *Consolatio* in the Middle Ages. Its popularity is witnessed not only by the great number of extant manuscripts of his commentary, but also by the fact that several authors (Chaucer for one) used the *Exposicio* in their works until as late as the 16th century.[25] It is unclear why he was in Italy at the time he composed his commentary, but it might be possible that his stay in Tuscany was related to one of his many scholarly activities that had him travel across western Europe.[26] In a letter to his friend Paul, another Dominican residing in Pisa and soliciting the commentary, Trevet complained that he could not find a manuscript of the *Consolation* in Florence: he literally had to beg to obtain a copy of Boethius's book.[27] Trevet's difficulty in finding a manuscript of Boethius's book reminds us of the observation that Dante makes in *Convivio* 2.12.2 of a "*da molti non conosciuto libro di Boezio de Consolazione*" [That book of Boethius, not known to many], which has not been clarified entirely. It is true, as Robert Black writes, that "Boethius was hardly used as an

[22] Ibid., pp. 28–29.

[23] Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia, pp. 4–5; Black, *Humanism*, p. 222.

[24] Black, *Humanism*, p. 289.

[25] The commentary, still to this day, is unpublished. All the passages quoted here are taken from Edmund T. Silk's unfinished typescript, except for the extracts from 3m9 that have been published, along with its translation (made by A.B. Scott), in *Chaucer's* Boece *and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 36–81.

[26] See Ruth J. Dean, "Cultural Relations in the Middle Ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato," *Studies in Philology* 45.4 (1948), 541–64.

[27] Ruth J. Dean, "The Dedication of Nicholas Trevet's Commentary on Boethius," *Studies in Philology* 63.5 (1966), 601.

Italian schoolbook before the thirteenth century."[28] However, he admits that Dante's reference to the *Consolatio* perhaps reflects limited Italian readership of the text before the 14th century; alternatively, Dante could be referring to the lack of philosophical/theological understanding of the work in the hands of Italian grammarians. Given all the evidence of Boethius's intensive use in Italian grammar schools in the later Middle Ages, Dante's remark cannot be cited as evidence for limited penetration of the *Consolatio* into 14th/15th-century Italian culture.[29]

Trevet's commentary shares the same structure as that by William of Conches (*c*.1090–after 1154), another great example of Boethian scholarship produced in the Middle Ages.[30] Similar to his predecessor, Trevet had to justify the Platonic content (borrowed from the *Timaeus*) of the *Consolatio* that was clearly against the Christian doctrines, such as in the theory of reminiscence (3m11.9–16); the status of prime matter (3m9.5); the World Soul (3m9.13–17); and the pre-existence of souls, their sowing in the heavens and their descent through heavenly spheres into an earthly body (3m9.19–20; 3m6.5).[31] Rejecting Platonism altogether was not an option for William and Trevet, given the positive attitude towards Plato found in Origen and, in part, Augustine. Furthermore, these theories were also present in authors who had been popular throughout the Middle Ages: Macrobius, Calcidius, and Martianus Capella.[32] The two commentators, therefore, chose to anchor Platonic ideas to Christian tenets (for Trevet "*adaptare litteram ad sententiam*" [adapting [...] the controversial literal meaning [...] of the text to an acceptable deeper meaning])[33] and assume that the truths contained in Plato had to be acceptable to Christians, but that these truths were concealed by a philosophical veil called an *integumentum*.[34]

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[28] Black, *Humanism*, p. 271.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Lodi Nauta, "The *Consolation*: The Latin Commentary Tradition, 800–1700," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 263–64. Also see William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. Lodi Nauta (Turnhout, 2006).

[31] See A.J. Minnis and Lodi Nauta, "*More Platonico loquitur*: What Nicholas Trevet Really Did to William of Conches," in *Chaucer's* Boece, ed. Minnis, pp. 1–33.

[32] Lodi Nauta, " 'Magis sit Platonicus quam Aristotelicus': Interpretations of Boethius's Platonism in the *Consolatio Philosophiae* from the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Century," in *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages. A Doxographic Approach*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Berlin, 2002), p. 166.

[33] Nauta, "The *Consolatio*," p. 264.

[34] Ibid., p. 260.

1.2 *Alberto della Piagentina*

The popularity of Trevet's commentary and its influence on vernacular translations can be appreciated particularly in the work of Alberto della Piagentina. The sparse information about him indicates that he was a notary from Florence (there are two documents signed by him in 1322) who, before dying in a Venetian prison in 1332, completed a translation of the *Consolatio* in the Florentine vernacular, *Della filosofica consolazione*, or *Il Boezio*.[35] This work is the most popular Italian translation in the Middle Ages, with 37 complete manuscripts, copied as late as the 15th century;[36] despite its popularity, however, the text was printed only in 1735.[37] Alberto's intended audience was expressed in the "Prolago" of his work: similar to Dante's *Convivio*, Alberto's translation was intended for the benefit of a lay readership who could not read Latin.[38] The translation maintains the dichotomy between prose and poetry of the source text and renders into *terza rima* the various meters of Boethius's poems. Until Alberto's version, however, it was customary for translators to transpose Latin poetry into prose. The stylistic change in Alberto's translating practice has been interpreted as an attempt to ascribe his translation to the genre of "elegy," which, in the words of 14th-century commentators, defined the *prosimetrum*.[39] Alberto's "Prolago" is structured according to the rules of the *accessus ad auctorem* and examines the text in light of Aristotle's typology of causes:

> *Ben dunque dice di Boezio dirittamente Ieremia profeta nella proposta parola: "Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae et dedit illam"* [actually Bar. 3:37],

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[35] Salvatore Battaglia, ed., *Il* Boezio *e l'*Arrighetto *nelle versioni del Trecento* (Turin, 1929), pp. viii–ix.

[36] Alessandra Favero, "La tradizione del volgarizzamento di Alberto della Piagentina del *De consolatione philosophiae* di Boezio," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 73 (2006), 61–115. The article lists 36 manuscripts, to which we must add Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 536, as fol. 1r attributes the translation to "Pierozzo Dominici Iacobi Rubej" (fl. 1459). A closer look at the text reveals that the translation is by Alberto della Piagentina.

[37] *Boezio* Della Consolazione*, volgarizzato da Maestro Fiorentino, co'* Motti de' filosofi *ed un'orazione di Tullio, volgarizzamento di Brunetto Latini*, ed. Domenico Maria Manni (Florence, 1735).

[38] Ibid., p. 5: "[*A*] *utolitade de' volgari che sanza lettera hanno intrinseco abito virtuoso*" [For the benefit of the lay who, although Latinless, possess a virtuous character].

[39] Stefano Carrai, *Dante elegiaco: una chiave di lettura per la* Vita nova (Florence, 2006), p. 19. Jacopo Alighieri, for example, lists four literary styles: "*tragedia*," "*commedia*," "*satira*," and "*elegia, sotto 'l quale d'alcuna miseria si tratta, sì come Boezio*" (ibidem) ["tragedy," "comedy," "satyre," and "elegy, the genre that treats of misfortune, just as Boethius did."]

> *nelle quali parole si notano le quattro cagioni principali di questo libro* [...] *La* cagione efficiente *di questo libro si mostra in quello pronome dimostrativo ad occhio, "hic," cioè costui autore di questo libro, Boezio, il quale fu uomo di Roma gentile e nel Sanato onorevole e pregiato. La* cagione materiale *di questo libro si mostra quando dice "omnem viam disciplinae," imperciò che qui si tratta di disciplinare sì chiunque vive in prosperitade, che le cose vili non reputi care, come di consolare chi in istato di miseria si riputa per cose temporali perdute, pensando che le cose iguali a' meriti non procedano* [...] *La* cagione formale *si tocca quando dice "adinvenit," che in ciò dimostra la forma perfetta insieme unita; la quale secondo considerazione è doppia, cioè la* forma del trattato [forma tractatus], *il quale difinisce, divide, ricoglie e pone esempli; e la* forma del trattare [forma tractandi], *che è il processo del libro, diviso in libri e versi e prose, dove s'induce modo disputativo* [...] *La* cagione finale *di questo libro si mostra quando dice "et dedit eam;" imperciò che la sua finale intenzione è di disciplinare e producere l'animo dell'uomo a quella letizia la quale nella speranza della etterna beatitudine è cagionata.*[40]
>
> [Therefore, the prophet Jeremiah says something that fits Boethius perfectly in the words above mentioned: "He found out all the way of knowledge, and gave it." In these words are found the four main causes of this book [...] The *efficient cause* of this book is shown specifically in that demonstrative pronoun, "*hic*," that is, the author of this book, Boethius, who was a noble man of Rome, honored and respected in the Senate. The *material cause* of this book is shown, when it says "*omnem viam disciplinae*," for this book teaches that if anyone is in prosperity vile things should not be cherished, just as it consoles those who are bereft of worldly goods considered precious with the thought that goods are not equal to merits [...] The *formal cause* is touched when the text says "*adinvenit*," which in itself shows the perfect form tied together; which by consideration is double, that is the form of the argument [*forma tractatus*], which defines, divides, collects, and give examples; and the form of the exposition [*forma tractandi*], which is the process of the whole work, divided into books, and verses and proses, where the author argues by disputation [...] The *final cause* of this book is shown when Jeremiah says "*et dedit eam*;" for the final intention is to discipline the reader's soul and to bring it to that joy that is caused by the hope of eternal happiness.]

Alberto used a word-by-word translation for the sections in prose; as a consequence, those parts contain a high percentage of cultural loanwords (philosophical terms in particular). Conversely, poetry is characterized by a freer rendition where one Latin line is normally expanded into three vernacular lines; the most conspicuous expansions took place when Alberto had to provide more historical, literary, or philosophical details.[41] The

[40] Battaglia, *Il* Boezio, pp. 10–11, emphasis mine.
[41] Cesare Segre, *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento* (Turin, 1953), pp. 20–21.

content of the expansions is taken directly from Trevet's commentary,[42] but Alberto's tribute to the Dominican scholar is not merely philological: from a doctrinal point of view, in fact, he supports Trevet's practice of adapting the deep meaning to the language structure. Let us consider two cases.

While dealing with the pre-existence of the soul in 3m6.5 ("*Hic clausit membris animos celsa sede petitos*" ["He locked into limbs spirits brought down from their high abode"]),[43] Trevet believed that Boethius's interpretation of Plato was within the limits of orthodoxy, thus his explanation of the line is the following:

> *Unde quia materia in genere encium est infimum, illa que sunt in potencia materie producuntur ab ima sede, sed illa que non sunt in aliqua potencia materie sed solum in potencia facientis scilicet Dei qui est celsissimus dicuntur produci a celsa sede.*[44]
>
> [Hence, because matter occupies the lowest place in the hierarchy of being, those things which are potentially in matter are produced by the lowest seat (namely matter), but those things which are not potentially in matter but solely in the potency of God the creator who is the highest [being], are said to be produced by the highest seat.]

According to the English Dominican, therefore, souls descend not into bodies but into rationality. This is Alberto's standpoint in accepting Trevet's explanation:

> *L'anime solo dalle sue man belle*
> *Create, e sottoposte alla ragione,*
> *Ne' membri uman rinchiude, e poi le svelle.*[45]
>
> [The souls created solely by His good hands and made subservient to reason, He encloses in human bodies and then releases.]

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[42] Dario Brancato, "Appunti linguistici sul Boezio di Alberto della Piagentina," *Atti della Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti Classe di Lettere, Filosofia e Belle Arti* 76 (2000), pp. 133–38. Some manuscripts of *Il Boezio* carry an incomplete translation of passages from Trevet's commentary, such as London, British Library, Add. 27549. See Alessandra Favero, "*Padre celeste che 'l mondo governi*. Uno *specimen* del commento italiano al volgarizzamento di Alberto della Piagentina del *De consolatione philosophiae* di Boezio," in *"L'ornato parlare." Studi di filologia e letterature romanze per Furio Brugnolo*, ed. Gianfelice Peron (Padua, 2007), pp. 489–507.

[43] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 257.

[44] Silk typescript, p. 356; Nauta, "'*Magis sit Platonicus*,'" p. 186.

[45] Battaglia, *Il Boezio*, p. 99.

The second case deals with the problem of the light chariots that accompany the souls during their descent to and ascent from the earth in 3m9.18–21:

> Tu *causis animas paribus vitasque minores*
> *provehis et levibus sublimes curribus aptans*
> *in caelum terramque seris, quas lege benigna*
> *id te conversas reduci facis igne reverti.*
>
> [*You* then bring forth, with the same bases, lesser living souls / And giving them light chariots fitting their heavenly nature, / Broadcast them in the heavens and on earth, and by your bounteous law / Make them, turned towards you, with returning fire come back."][46]

According to Trevet, "by a 'light chariot' [Boethius] means the soul's immortal power, by means of which, when the body has been dissolved, the soul flies out from it."[47] The Italian translation reads:

> *Tu l'anime concedi in forma monda*
> *E le vite minori agli animali*
> *Con cagion pari, ch'a ciascun seconda,*
> *Dispognendo 'l vigor dell'immortali,*
> *Degne del cielo e a te le ritiri.*[48]
>
> [You give souls in pure forms and lesser lives to animals, with the same conditions fitting for each of them, putting the power of the [souls that are] immortal, worth of heaven; then You make them return to You.]

Alberto's hermeneutical approach leaves no room for doubt: he endorses Trevet's exegesis *in toto*, even using an almost crude transplantation of the same syntagm in his translation (*uigor anime immortalis* as *'l vigor dell'immortali* [the power of the souls (that are) immortal]).

Though still regarded as a primary translation, at a formal level, *Il Boezio* is greatly indebted to Dante as well: its prologue contains the earliest quotation from the *Convivio*, while references to the *Divine Comedy* are scattered throughout the text in at least 90 syntagms.[49] Alberto pays tribute to Dante by using *terza rima* and by making sure that the use of this metrical stanza corresponds to the Latin elegiac couplet (hexameter

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[46] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 273.

[47] Scott, "Translations," p. 75; Silk, "Extracts," in *Chaucer's* Boece *and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, ed. Minnis, p. 50: "*Leuem currum dicit uigorem anime immortalem per quem dissoluto corpore euolat.*"

[48] Battaglia, *Il Boezio*, p. 110.

[49] Brancato, "Appunti linguistici," pp. 138, 235–40.

and pentameter).[50] Albesano argues that Alberto della Piagentina engaged the *Consolatio* as a real "classic": his goal was to render into Florentine vernacular the uniqueness of the source text.[51] Moreover, the use of both Trevet and Dante is an indisputable sign of Alberto's ambitious project: the most current and up-to-date commentary to the *Consolatio* and the constant reference to Dante (a poet whose works shortly after his death already had achieved the status of classic) constitute the justification for a work that was meant to be consumed by a demanding lay readership. Furthermore, notaries in medieval Italy always have served as cultural mediators between Latin and vernacular culture, if one takes into consideration that the earliest documents written in the Italian vernacular come from notarial environments.

Likewise, as a practice, the constant reference to an almost self-sufficient vernacular tradition closely reminds us of Jean de Meun's *Li Livres de Confort de Philosophie*, a translation that is indeed a rhetorical *exercitatio* (with its recourse to a commentary, in this case William of Conches, to clarify and expand some passages), but also a work that mediates "the wisdom of the clerks (and the ancient wisdom of the *auctores*) to the vernacular laity."[52] Also, Jean's translation served as the model to a number of French, English, and, perhaps, Italian versions, in particular the anonymous one in Venetian vernacular contained in the manuscript Magliabechiano II.III.131 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.[53] This text, according to Giulio Bertoni, served as one of the sources for Alberto della Piagentina.[54] This raises the issue of the relationship of his translation with the other ones produced in Italy and makes us wonder whether the text worked also as an intralingual *exercitatio*; if Bertoni's suggestion is true, then Alberto's *Boezio* is also, like Chaucer's *Boece*, a response to the Latin and French linguistic discourses.[55] In turn, the Florentine notary's text stood as the basis for subsequent translations, as we shall see in the cases of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento Boethian vernacularizations.

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[50] Albesano, *"Consolatio Philosophiae" volgare*, p. 186.

[51] Ibid., pp. 192–93.

[52] Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 134.

[53] Other manuscripts are Verona, Bibliotheca Civica 212, and Genoa, Biblioteca delle Missioni Urbane 46. See Albesano, *"Consolatio Philosophiae" volgare*, pp. 47–48.

[54] Giulio Bertoni, "Intorno a due volgarizzamenti di Boezio," in his *Poeti e poesie del Medio Evo e del Rinascimento* (Modena, 1922), pp. 203–12.

[55] Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 142.

2. Boethius in the Quattrocento

In the previous section we saw how influential Trevet's commentary was in Trecento Italy and especially in Alberto della Piagentina's translation. Trevet's *Exposicio* accompanied many manuscript copies of the *Consolatio*, and the earlier humanists took advantage of its content.[56] For example, in their defense of Boethius and their debate about whether he was for or against the Muses (1p1), Albertino Mussato, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio Salutati relied on material that is found in the commentaries by either William of Conches or Trevet. In fact, the two make a distinction between *integrae* and *lacerae camenae*: the former, namely the *artes* and the *scientiae*, are Philosophy's Muses and preserve humans in the soundness and constancy of their mind; while the latter (those assisting Boethius in his bed), in contrast, are like prostitutes because they commingle with men not for love but for money; by the same token, poets do not write for the sake of knowledge but to win a prize.[57] However, the

[56] Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia, pp. 18–23. Carla Maria Monti, "*De laboribus Herculis*: l'*opus ingens* di una vita," in *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'Umanesimo*, ed. Teresa De Robertis, Giuliano Tanturli, and Stefano Zamponi (Florence, 2009), pp. 117–22.

[57] See William of Conches, *Glosae*, pp. 10–11: "*Camenae dicuntur quasi canentes amoenae quaelibet scientiae. Sed sunt aliae integrae, aliae lacerae. Integrae sunt philosophicae sententiae, quia in integritate rationis et constantia conseruant hominem. Lacerae dicuntur poeticae sententiae, id est scientiae fingendi et describendi metrice, quia lacerant corda hominum et incostantiam reddunt reducendo ad memoriam uel uoluptatem uel dolorem, non instruendo uel consolando*" [They are said Camenae as if 'chanting' each delightful science. But some of them are whole [*integrae*], some are torn [*lacerae*]. The whole ones are philosophical sentences, for they preserve humans in the wholeness and firmness of their reason. The torn ones are poetical sentences, that is the knowledge of finding and describing in verse, for they lacerate the human heart and return fickleness by bringing back to memory either pleasure or pain, not by teaching or consoling]; ibid., pp. 37–38: "*Poeticae Musae dicunt* MERETRICVLAE, *quia ut meretrices alliciunt hominem delectando, et parum uel nichil utilitatis conferentes, satis poenitentiae post saturitatem ingerunt, et ut meretrix non amore sed spe lucri se commiscet alicui, ita poetae non amore scientiae, sed ut aliquid laudis uel praemii extorqueant scribunt. Scenicae dicuntur quasi theatrales* [...] *Poeticae uero Musae scenicae, id est theatrales, dicuntur, quia ad hoc uersabatur tota poetarum intentio ut in theatris opera eorum recitarentur*" [They call the Muses of Poetry MERETRICULAE [tarts"], because just like prostitutes they draw men by seducing them, and, by bringing little or no benefit, they give a modicum of penance after satiety, and, just like a prostitute has intercourse not for love, but for hope of gain, in the same way poets write not for sake of knowledge, but to extort some praise or prize. They are said scenicae as they were theatrical [...] Indeed Poetry Muses are said *scenicae*, as if theatrical, because the effort of poets is entirely engaged in that, as if they recited their works in theatres]. Trevet, *Exposicio*, ed. Silk typescript, p. 16: "*Camene dicuntur Muse quas poete deas carminum fingebant et dicebantur Camene quasi canentes amene et designant quascumque artes uel sciencias, quia ad modum cantus oblectant animum. Arcium autem et scienciarum*

commentaries produced in Italy in the late 14th century, such as those by Pietro da Moglio and Giovanni Travesio, did not take full advantage of the philosophical armory of Trevet's *Exposicio* to elaborate their own materials; rather, they specialized in philological and grammatical content.[58] Unlike early humanists, Lorenzo Valla used his outstanding knowledge of Latin to direct a thorough critique on the *Consolatio.*

2.1 *Lorenzo Valla*

Whereas the main concern of 13th- and 14th-century commentators lay in restraining the heterodox Platonic content of the *Consolatio* within a Christian framework, the Roman philosopher and humanist Lorenzo Valla, conversely, questioned the moral content of Boethius's work in his dialogues *De voluptate* and *De libero arbitrio*. Valla's aim "was to show the linguistic basis of law, theology, philosophy, and in fact all intellectual activities, thus turning the study of language into a sharp-edged tool for exposing all kinds of errors and misunderstanding."[59] His project

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quedam sunt integre sicut artes et sciencie physice que in integritate racionis et constancia animi conseruant hominem. Quedam dicuntur lacere a lacerando quia lacerant cor hominis et a constancia detrahunt. De istis ergo Camenis loquens Boecius dicit ECCE LACERE CAMENE DICTANT MIHI SCRIBENDA *quia more poetico metrice intendebat describere miseriam suam*" [Muses are called "Camene," whom poets imagined as goddesses of poems and they were said "Camene" as they were chanting delightfully; they signify any art or science which entertains the soul in the manner of a song. However, some of the arts and sciences are whole, such as those physical arts and sciences that maintain humans in the wholeness and firmness of their soul. Some are said torn (from the verb "lacerare") because they tear the humans' heart and remove them from their firmness. Therefore, talking about these muses, Boethius says "*ECCE LACERE CAMENE DICTANT MIHI SCRIBENDA*" (1m1.3; *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 131: "See how the Muses grieftorn bid me write") because he had the intention of describing his miserable state in verse, like a poet]. Ibid., p. 35: "*Et sic querit hic* HAS SCENICAS MERETRICULAS. *Muse poetice dicuntur meretricule. Sicut enim meretrix commiscetur cuilibet non amore prolis sed lucri, sic poete scribebant de quolibet non amore sciencie sed laudis uel lucri* [...] *Vocat autem eas* SCENICAS *eo quod carmina poetica in scenis consueuerunt recitari*" [And he asks thus "Has scenicas meretriculas" (*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 135: "These theatrical tarts"). Poetry Muses are called *meretricule*. Just as a prostitute has intercourse with whomever not for the sake of children but of gain, in the same way poets wrote about anything not for the sake of knowledge, but for that of praise or gain [...] Furthermore, he calls them SCENICAS [theatrical"] for the reason that poems used to be recited on stage]. The problem is discussed (without mentioning William of Conches or Trevet) in Letizia Panizza, "Italian Humanists and Boethius: Was Philosophy for or against Poetry?" in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought: Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy in Memory of Charles B. Schmitt,* ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton (London, 1990), pp. 48–67. See also Nauta, " 'Magis sit Platonicus,' " p. 174.

[58] Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia, ibid., pp. 18–23.

[59] Lodi Nauta, "Lorenzo Valla and the Rise of Humanistic Dialectic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge, 2007), p. 195.

arose from the cultural debates in Quattrocento Rome, where humanists stressed the importance of philology and a profound knowledge of the Latin language.[60] Valla's criticism of dialectic in *De vero falsoque bono* anticipated those found in Books II and III of his *Repastinatio dialectice et philosophie* ("Reploughing of Dialectic and Philosophy," first version 1439). As Lodi Nauta points out,

> dialectic, Valla argues, is merely a species of confirmation or refutation, and as such merely a part of one of the five parts of rhetoric, invention. Compared to rhetoric, dialectic is an easy subject [...] The orator, on the other hand [...], has to clothe everything in persuasive arguments, since his task is not only to teach but also to please and to move.[61]

As a consequence, Valla systematically revised the content and methodology of the *Consolatio* in line with a general project of reforming Scholastic philosophy.

De vero falsoque bono (in particular the twelfth chapter of the third book) is an attack on the first four books of the *Consolatio* and on the concept of *summum bonum* outlined in 3p10 and 4p3. After having disparaged all the pleasures of life (including the beauty of nature, and the joy that a spouse and children can give), Boethius identifies God as the highest and perfect good, and, because that coincides with happiness, true happiness must be found in the highest God;[62] as a consequence, happy people are gods by participation.[63] Furthermore, because everything that exists, is one, and oneness is good, Boethius concludes that everything that exists is good, leaving the status of non-being to evil people:[64] therefore, only virtuous humans are happy and exist, while the evil ones simply do not

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[60] Mario Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente* (Rome, 1969), pp. 12–14.

[61] Nauta, "Lorenzo Valla," p. 202.

[62] *Consolatio*, 3p10.10: "*Confitendum est summum deum summi perfectique boni esse plenissimum; sed perfectum bonum veram esse beatitudinem constituimus: veram igitur beatitudinem in summo deo sitam esse necesse est*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 277: "We must admit that the most high God is full of the most high and perfect good; but we have decided that the perfect good is true happiness; therefore true happiness must reside in the most high god"].

[63] *Consolatio*, 3p10.25: "*Omnis igitur beatus deus. Sed natura quidem unus; participatione vero nihil prohibet esse quam plurimos*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 281: "Therefore every happy man is a god, though by nature God is one only; but nothing prevents there being as many as you like by participation"].

[64] Ibid., 4p3.14–15: "[*O*]*mne namque quod sit unum esse ipsumque unum bonum esse paulo ante didicisti; cui consequens est ut omne quod sit id etiam bonum esse videatur. Hoc igitur modo quicquid a bono deficit, esse desistit*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 335: "For you learned a little time ago that everything that is, is one, and that oneness itself is

exist. But Valla objects that Boethius's syllogism was false because, by including both virtue and happiness in the concept of good, he did not prove what perfect good is.[65] Valla argues that the difficulty rests in the semantic ambiguity of the term *bonum*, which indicates both an action (if it means virtue) and a quality (if it means happiness).[66] Boethius's linguistic mistake, observes Valla, can be explained by the fact that he was a more fervent lover of dialectics than of rhetoric ("*dialecticorum quam rhetoricorum amantior*").[67]

The dialogue *De libero arbitrio* attacks the fifth book of the *Consolatio*, in particular the solution to the problem of reconciling God's omnipotence/prescience with humans' predestination/free will.[68] Although composed in Naples, where Valla had moved in 1435 to be at the service of King Alfonso V of Aragon, *De libero arbitrio* (1439) was conceived at the same time that the Roman humanist was redacting his *De vero falsoque bono*.[69] Boethius, Valla argues, used the language of philosophy as the solution to the problem and to assert that humans were free, but he completely neglected the Christian message of revelation.

Using for the first time the axiom "*fidem si poteris rationemque coniunge*" [if possible, merge faith and reason], Boethius had solved the problem in 5p6: "Eternity is the whole, simultaneous and perfect possession of boundless life, which becomes clearer by comparison with temporal

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good; and from this it follows that everything, since it is, is seen also to be good. In this way, then, whatever falls from goodness, ceases to be"].

[65] Lorenzo Valla, *On Pleasure. De voluptate*, ed. and trans. A. Kent Hieatt and Maristella de Panizza Lorch (New York, 1977), p. 270: "[*Q*]*uia* [Boethius] *patronam philosophiam advocavit et ei propemodum maiorem honorem quam nostre religioni tribuit, illi cause non satisfecit nec quid sit verum bonum probavit (non enim virtus est summum bonum) nec malos semper miseros nec bonos semper esse felices*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 271: Because he [Boethius] took Philosophy as his mistress and paid her almost more honor than our religion, he did not solve that problem, or show what is the true good (for virtue is not the highest good), or prove that the evil are always unhappy and the good happy"].

[66] Ibidem: "*Nam 'bonum' (in hoc autem verbo erravit) tum 'virtutem' tum 'felicitatem' dicimus, sicut e contrario 'malum.' At virtus quidem et vitium actiones sunt, felicitas vero atque infelicitas qualitates, res etiam effectu ipso inter se longissime distantes*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 271: "For we define 'the good' (he erred in this word) sometimes as 'virtue,' sometimes as 'happiness'; and the contrary is true of 'evil.' But a virtue and a vice are actions, while happiness and unhappiness are qualities or properties, classes of things that are very far from each other even in their effects"].

[67] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 272. On the issue, see also Salvatore I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla, umanesimo, riforma e controriforma*, (*Studi e testi*) (Rome, 2002), pp. 217–19.

[68] Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, p. 181.

[69] Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano*, p. 175, excludes that the Neapolitan humanistic circle might have had an impact on Valla's idea in the composition of this dialogue.

things";[70] as a consequence, just as God is in a state of eternity, so is his knowledge, too, because it overrides time and, embracing the future and the past, considers them as if they were present,[71] hence the difference between *praevidentia* [prevision or foresight] and *providentia* [providence or looking out], which ultimately makes humans free. Valla rejects these concepts of eternity and divine intelligence as arbitrary and artificial: "But can I, who am rational and know nothing outside of time, aspire to the knowledge of intelligence and eternity? I suspect Boethius himself did not understand them, even if the things he said were true, which I do not believe."[72] Rather, he holds that God foreknows the actions of humans because he knows their will (*voluntas*).[73] His reasoning, however, precludes any freedom of will in humans. In order to resolve this problem, he first cites the authority of Saint Paul in Romans 9:11–12 and 11:33: the salvation of a person depends on God's *absconditum mysterium*, his will to save or damn him or her.[74] Then, he clarifies that God's decisions are not necessary: "He brings no necessity, and His hardening one and showing

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[70] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 423; *Consolatio* 5p6.4: "*Aeternitas igitur est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio, quod ex collatione temporalium clarius liquet*."

[71] *Consolatio* 5p6.15: "[*S*]*cientia quoque eius, omnem temporis supergressa motionem, in suae manet simplicitate praesentiae infinitaque praeteriti ac futuri spatia complectens, omnia, quasi iam gerantur, in sua simplici cognitione considerat*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 427: "[T]hen his knowledge too, surpassing all movement of time, is permanent in the simplicity of his present, and embracing all the infinite spaces of the future and the past, considers them in his simple act of knowledge as though they were now going on"].

[72] Lorenzo Valla, *Dialogue on Free Will*, trans. Charles E. Trinkaus, in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John H. Randall, Jr. (Chicago, 1948), p. 160. Latin text, *De libero arbitrio*, ed. Eugenio Garin, in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milan and Naples 1952), p. 530: "*At ego ad cognitionem intelligentiae et aeternitatis, qui rationalis sum et nihil extra tempus agnosco, aspirare qui possum? Haec ne Boethium quidem ipsum suspicor intellexisse, si modo vera sunt quae dixit, quod non credo*." See Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano*, p. 184–85.

[73] Valla, *De libero arbitrio*, p. 538: "[*D*]*asne nosse Deum nunc voluntatem tuam, vel melius quam tute ipse?* [...] *Des illud quoque necesse est, te non aliud acturum esse quam quod voluntas feret.* [...] *Quomodo ergo ille ignorare potest actionem, si novit voluntatem, qui est fons actionis?*" [*On Free Will*, p. 166: "[D]o you grant that God now knows your will even better than you yourself do? [...] It is also necessary that you grant that you will do nothing other than the will decides. [...] How then can He not know the action if He knows the will which is the source of the action?"]. Valla's idea of *voluntas* includes not only a spiritual faculty but also a complex of passions, even instincts; see Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano*, p. 186.

[74] Valla, *De libero arbitrio*, p. 554: "*Atque illud mihi diligenter adverte, non eodem modo dici liberum arbitrium impediri voluntate Dei, ut praescientia; nam voluntas habet antecedentem causam quae sita est apud sapientiam Dei*" [*On Free Will*, p. 176: "Carefully notice, however, free will is not said to be impeded in the same way by the will of God as by foreknowledge, for the will has an antecedent cause which is seated in the wisdom of God"].

another mercy does not deprive us of free will, since He does this most wisely and in full holiness."[75] Boethius, concludes Valla, tried to follow a rational path to explain salvation because he was too enamored with pagan philosophy (*vehementior admirator philosophiae fuit*).[76]

Valla's attack on the *Consolatio* tends to show the incompatibility of philosophy and theology: in particular, Valla criticizes the Jeromian and Augustinian approach to philosophy as being an epistemological tool to theology. Boethius, and eventually Thomas Aquinas, followed the same approach but discounted the ancient kerigmatic tradition of the *imitatio Apostolorum*.[77] In fact, Valla argues that Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church did not resort to philosophy in order to destroy heresy; rather, they fought philosophy.[78] In this respect, Valla's polemic follows in the footsteps of Peter Damian in defending theology against philosophy, but it also represents a turning point in general criticism of Scholasticism, between Ockham and the 16th-century Reformation.[79]

The sheer criticism of the *Consolatio* shows how the target of Valla's polemic was not only Boethius's work but, rather, Scholasticism as an epistemological method. What needs to be emphasized here is the attitude and disapproval that he had towards the founding text of the Scholastic authors: not only does Valla question the content of the *Consolatio* but he also condemns Boethius's methodology. On the one hand, Boethius was guilty of giving too much authority to dialectic, making it a separate discipline from rhetoric; on the other hand, he loved philosophy too strongly, to the point that it was put before faith in the resolution of theological problems. Valla's ideas on the new role of dialectic and free will found little echo in Italy, but they were instrumental among Northern humanists and proto- and early Reformers in the 16th century:[80] Despite Erasmus's

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[75] Valla, *On Free Will*, p. 177; *De libero arbitrio*, p. 556: "*Nunc vero nullam necessitatem affert, nec privat nos libertate arbitrii hunc indurans, illius miserans, cum sapientissime ac sanctissime hoc agat*." See Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano*, pp. 188–89.

[76] Valla, *De libero arbitrio*, p. 560.

[77] See Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, pp. 178–83.

[78] Ibid., pp. 180–81.

[79] Ibid., p. 203.

[80] Rodolphus Agricola, for example, wrote a manual on dialectic based on real language (*De inventione dialectica*, completed in 1479, published in 1515). However, in spite of the superficial similarities between him and Valla, Agricola makes dialectic "the core of the linguistic arts, allotting to rhetoric the modest task of decoration and to grammar the care of correct usage" (Nauta, "Lorenzo Valla," p. 205).

negative judgment on *De libero arbitrio*, Luther and Calvin praised Valla for his acuity and judiciousness.[81]

2.2 *Ficino and His Followers*

2.2.1. *Marsilio Ficino*

A different reading practice can be found in the second half of the 15th century in Florence, in the circle of Marsilio Ficino. An educator of Florentine leaders, as well as the correspondent to the most prominent intellectual figures of Europe, Ficino held his gatherings in various venues of Florence, such as the Careggi Medicean villa. During these gatherings, he preferred to teach youths when he had the chance and, "as a Socratic, philosophical friend, to try as best as he might to draw out of his associates the better part of their natures in conversation."[82] Ficino is best known for his *Theologia Platonica de immortalitate animorum* ([Platonic Theology, on the Immortality of Souls], composed between 1469 and 1474, first printed 1484), an 18-book treatise that attempts to harmonize Platonic and Christian theologies within an organic system. The custom of a *comparatio* (or *concordia*), that is, a comparison of Plato and Aristotle's philosophies, was never abandoned in Greek-speaking parts of the East during the Middle Ages, but in Italy the debate flared up again during the 1400s once these philosophers' texts became available again. In this view, Boethius was one of the best examples of philosophers who struggled to demonstrate that the teachings of Plato and Aristotle were not in disagreement. This was, for instance, the position of the Byzantine humanists who convened at the Council of Florence in the attempt to reconcile the Eastern and Western Churches, such as Georgius Gemistus Pletho (*c.*1355–*c.*1452/54) and Cardinal Basilios Bessarion (1403–72).[83] For example, Ficino borrowed from Pletho the idea of a *prisca theologia*, that is, the concept that there was a

[81] Charles E. Trinkaus, "Introduction to Lorenzo Valla's *On Free Will*," in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Cassirer, Kristeller, and Randall, p. 153; see also the bibliography included in Salvatore I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla, umanesimo e teologia* (Florence, 1972), pp. 451–54.

[82] Christopher S. Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Hankins, p. 83.

[83] On this subject, see John Monfasani, "Marsilio Ficino and the Plato-Aristotle Controversy," in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J. Allen and Valery Rees (Leiden, 2002), pp. 179–202; and Frederick Purnell Jr., *Jacopo Mazzoni and His Comparison of Plato and Aristotle* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), pp. 31–92.

line of continuity leading from Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, and Pythagoras to Plato and the Platonists.[84]

According to Ficino's pupil and biographer Giovanni Corsi, the lectures on Plato given by Pletho so enthused the ruler of Florence, Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, that he, "set ablaze with an extraordinary desire to recall to Italy as soon as possible the philosophy of Plato, as of ancient right,"[85] entrusted Ficino with the task of making Plato's works available in Latin. The Florentine philosopher started collecting as much material as possible that would allow him "to see Plato at closer quarters and speak face to face with him and all his family."[86] Corsi continues by specifying that, in collecting the materials for his project, Ficino "always had to hand all the Latin Platonists, namely Cicero, Macrobius, Apuleius, Boethius, St Augustine, Calcidius, and other likeminded authors."[87]

The type of documentary evidence in our possession shows that Ficino was concerned with extracting the Platonic content in Boethius rather than conducting a thorough commentary of his work.[88] The Florentine scholar owned at least one 14th-century complete manuscript of the *Consolatio*[89] and transcribed some *auctoritates* in his notebooks.[90] Both the

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[84] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Virginia Conant (New York, 1943), p. 15.

[85] Giovanni Corsi, "The Life of Marsilio Ficino," in *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Language Department of the School of Economic Science, 3 (London, 1981), p. 137; original Latin in Raymond Marcel, *Marsile Ficin (1433–1499)* (Paris, 1958), p. 681: "[*F*]*erunt* [Cosmus] *exarsisse hominem cupiditate incredibili Platonis philosophiam longo velut postliminio in Italia revocandi quamprimum*."

[86] Corsi, "The Life of Marsilio Ficino," p. 137. Latin, *Marsile Ficin*, p. 681: "*Platonem* [...] *eiusque familiam omnem propius videre e coram adloqui posset*."

[87] Corsi, "The Life of Marsilio Ficino," p. 137. Latin, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 681–82: "*Propterea latinos omnes platonicos, Ciceronem videlicet, Macrobium, Apuleium, Boetium, Augustinum, Calcidium et alios id genus numquam e manibus dimittere*."

[88] This is also the opinion of André Rochon, *La jeunesse de Laurent de Médicis (1449–1478)* (Paris, 1963), p. 602: "*Ficin, même s'il qualifie Boèce de* philosophus summus, *ne voit guère en lui qu'un disciple de Platon (*platonicus Boethius*)*" [Although Ficino defines Boethius as a major philosopher, he sees him only as a disciple of Plato].

[89] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 641; Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia, p. 147.

[90] For example three books from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana: 1) Riccardiana 581, extracts from Books 4 and 5, see Giovan Battista Alberti, "Marsilio Ficino e il codice Riccardiano 581," *Rinascimento* 10 (1970), p. 189; 2) Riccardiana 85 (3.m10), see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (electronic edition); and 3) Riccardiana 135 (extracts from Books 2–5), see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Marsilio Ficino and His Work after Five Hundred Years* (Florence, 1987), p. 84; see also Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (electronic edition avaialble at http://www.itergateway.org/iteritalicum).

complete *Consolatio* and the notebooks have almost no annotations, except for minimal spelling revisions.

Ficino, therefore, read as *Platonici* Boethius and the Latin authors whose Platonic content always had been acknowledged in the Middle Ages. For example, in a letter to Martin Uranius Prenninger, dated 12 June 1489, he provides a list of Platonic books:

> You further ask which books are considered Platonic by Latin readers. All the works of Dionysius the Areopagite are Platonic, as are many of Augustine's, Boethius's *Consolation*, Apuleius's *On Daemons*, Calcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus*, Macrobius's commentary on *The Dream of Scipio*, Avicebron's *Fountain of Life*, and Alfarabi's *On Causes*. Many works by Henry of Ghent, Avicenna and Scotus are also redolent of Plato. People also read Proclus's *Elements of Theology*, as far as it has been translated, his *Platonic Theology* and his book *On Providence and Fate*. Likewise, we have also translated parts of Hermias on the *Phaedrus* and Iamblichus's *On the Pythagorean Life*. In addition, there is the defense of Plato by Cardinal Bessarion of Nicaea, and certain contemplations of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa.[91]

The *Consolatio* is not quoted often in Ficino's enormous *oeuvre*, yet the passages to which he refers and their repercussions on his philosophical system deserve a study on their own. I will therefore provide a brief discussion of the most important themes found in his works *vis-à-vis* the passages from Boethius.

First, Ficino's main interests in the *Consolatio* seem concerned with epistemological and metaphysical issues. For example, he follows the beliefs of Platonists and uses Boethius's argument against the Stoics in 5m4, refuting Epicurus's theory that species are not innate in the mind and the mind is formed by external bodies:

> And the proof that the mind is the most effective agent is provided by Boethius in his argument against the Stoics to the effect that, over and beyond what the sense does, the mind formulates general rules which

[91] *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* 9.12, 8 volumes to date, trans. Language Department of the School of Economic Science (London, 1975–2009). Original Latin in Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia* (repr. Basel, 1576), p. 899: "*Interrogas qui rursus apud Latinos inveniantur Platonici. Libri Dionysii Aeropagitae omnia sunt Platonica, Augustini multa. Boethii* Consolatio*, Apulei* De daemonibus, *Calcidii commentarium in* Timeum, *Macrobi* Expositio in Somnium Scipionis, *Avicebron* De fonte vitae, *Alpharabius* De causis *et Herrici Gandavensis, Avicennae Scotique multa Platonem redolent. Leguntur etiam utcumque traducta elementa* Theologiae Proculi, *atque ipsa eius* Theologia, *et liber* De providentia simul atque fato. *Similiter et nos utcumque traduximus Hermiam* In Phaedrum et Iamblicum De Pythagora secta. *Extat insuper defensio Platonis a Bessarione Cardinali Neceno facta, quaedam speculationes Nicolai Caisii Cardinalis.*"

> transcend the nature of objects: it moves downwards in compounding and upwards in resolving, and by referring to itself uses the true to reject the false.[92]

Another structural feature of the *Consolatio* that captured Ficino's attention was its interweaving of prose and poetry. Music and its therapeutic use was important for his theory on love (as exemplified in his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, *De amore* [On Love]): passed down to humanity from Orpheus, whom Ficino regarded as one of the "ancient theologians," "the practice of music and the singing of hymns prepare the human soul to receive and then to act in consonance with the love that binds the universe."[93] In particular, Ficino expounds on the concurrent presence of verse and prose in a letter to Bartolomeo Fonzio, where one can appreciate his effort to balance Judaic, pagan, and Christian traditions:

> If you hear the celestial Plato you immediately recognize that his style, as Aristotle says, flows midway between prose and poetry. You recognize that Plato's language, as Quintilian says, rises far above the pedestrian and prosaic, so that our Plato seems inspired not by human genius but by a Delphic oracle [...] I might also mention that Moses, Job, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezekiel and almost all the other Hebrew prophets have given beauty to their prose with the rhythms of poetry. So did Mercurius, wisest of the Egyptians, and in Greece, Gorgias, Isocrates, Herodotus, Aristides and a great many others. Finally, of the Romans, Cicero in some passages, and Livy in many, followed the same practice; so did Apuleius, Saint Jerome and the great philosopher Boethius.[94]

Finally, in his unpublished vernacular treatise *Di dio et anima* (1458), Ficino mentions 3m9 in two cases: first, in defining some of God's attributes—"*Sicché Iddio* [...] *è essemplo, principio et fine d'ogni natura, verità vita e*

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[92] Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica* 11.3.2, 6 vols, ed. James Hankins, trans. Michael J.B. Allen (Cambridge, MA, 1999–2006). Latin: "*Signum quod mens sit maxime efficax, a Boetio contra Stoicos hinc accipitur, quod ultra illa quae facit sensus, ipsa praeter obiectorum naturam universales excogitat regulas, descendit componendo, ascendit et resolvendo, ac 'sese referens sibi / veris falsa redarguit'*" [*Consolatio* 5m4.24–25].

[93] Celenza, "The Revival," p. 89.

[94] *Letters*, 3.3. *Opera omnia*, p. 724: "*Sive coelestem Platonem audis, agnoscis protinus eius stylum, ut Aristoteles inquit, inter solutam orationem et carmen medium fluere. Agnoscis orationem Platonicam ut Quintilianus ait, multum supra prosam pedestremque orationem surgere, ut non humano ingenio Plato noster, sed Delphico quodam oraculo videatur instinctus.* [...] *Mitto quod Moses, Iob, Salomon, Esaias, Hieremias, Daniel, Ezechiel, aliique prophetae pene omnes apud Hebraeos, Mercurius quoque Aegyptiorum sapientissimus, similiter in Graecia Gorgias, Isocrates, Herodotus, Aristoteles, aliique permulti; delique inter Latinos interdum Tullius, frequenter Titus Livius, Apuleius, divus Hieronymus, Boetius philosophus summus, solutam orationem carminum numeris quibusdam exornaverunt.*"

via di qualunche cosa, possiede essere vita et intelligentia" [Just as God is example, beginning and end of each nature, truth life and way of everything, so He possesses being, life and intelligence];[95] second, a subject that he will develop in the third and 18th books of the *Platonic Theology*, that of the circular movement of the World Soul—"*la mente del mondo a sua similitudine e celesti globi in ispera converte et muove*" [The world's mind turns and moves circularly to its likeness the heavenly globes].[96]

2.2.2. *Lorenzo de' Medici*

It does not come as a surprise that 3m9, the Boethian meter with the densest Platonic content, borrowed from the *Timaeus*, became the object of study and scholarship in Ficino's circle. In addition, the poem also was read independently, in conjunction with three other hymns from the *Hermetica*: one from the *Asclepius*, a poem available throughout the Middle Ages in a Latin translation attributed to Apuleius,[97] and two from the first book, the *Poemandres*, which Ficino translated from Greek into Latin as *Pimander* and dedicated in 1463 to Cosimo de' Medici.[98] This small corpus[99] of four songs of hermetic content was intended for an intellectual context in which Hermes was "a convincing prophet for Quattrocento Christians," a *priscus theologus* whose interest in demonology was functional to prove God's greatness.[100]

Around 1473, Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–92), Cosimo the Elder's grandson and future leader of Florence, decided to translate into Italian *Orazioni* the four hymns (including the Boethian one), plus a version of Psalm 1, as a sign of public commitment towards Ficino and as a part of his "campaign of philosophical image-building."[101] Brian Copenhaver argues that

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[95] Marsilio Ficino, *Di dio et anima*, in *Supplementum Ficinianum*, 2, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller (Florence, 1937), p. 133; *Consolatio* 3m9.26–28: "*tu namque serenum, / tu requies tranquilla piis, te cernere finis, / principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus idem*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 275: To see *you* is their goal / And you, alone and same, / Are their beginning, driver, leader, pathway, end]. See Kristeller, *The Philosophy*, p. 61.

[96] Ibid., p. 137; 3.m9.15: "*Quae cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbem*" [*Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 273: "Soul thus divided has its motion gatheres / Into two circles"]. See Kristeller, *The Philosophy*, p. 384.

[97] Michael J.B. Allen, *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino: A Study on His Phaedrus Commentary, Its Sources and Genesis* (Berkeley, 1984), p. 207.

[98] Brian P. Copenhaver, "Lorenzo de' Medici, Marsilio Ficino and the Domesticated Hermes," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 9–13 giugno 1992)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence, 1994), p. 231.

[99] Copenhaver, "Lorenzo de' Medici," pp. 239–41.

[100] Ibid., pp. 229 and 232.

[101] Ibid., p. 256.

Lorenzo relied on Ficino's Latin version as well as an Italian vernacular rendering by Tommaso Benci for his translation of the two hymns from the *Pimander*.[102] The Italian *Pimander* (which would be printed in 1548) circulated in many manuscripts in the 15th and early 16th centuries: one of them (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1596)[103] is particularly important because it also contains Alberto della Piagentina's *Boezio*. I believe that this supplies a plausible explanation as to why there is no original Florentine translation of the *Consolatio* in the Quattrocento. Alberto's version is found also in another manuscript produced in the circle of Ficino (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXI.162) and dated 1478,[104] from which it is possible to infer that Florentine Platonists read the *Consolatio* both in Latin and the vernacular. Indeed, it is possible to draw parallels between Alberto's and Lorenzo's translations at least at a formal level,[105] while from the point of view of the contents, Lorenzo's translation is deeply imbued with Ficino's philosophy.

I will discuss Lorenzo's Platonic elaborations in his version of 3m9.13–21 (a description of the World Soul and of the descent of human souls). I also will analyze the target text expansions—signaled below by italics—that are modeled on Ficino's philosophy. Lines 13–14 of the original, "*Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta moventem / conectens animam per consona membra resolves*" [You, binding soul together in its threefold nature's midst, / Soul that moves all things, then divide it into harmonious parts],[106] are rendered as:

> *Per la tua providentia fai s'infonda*
> *l'anima in mezzo del gran corpo, donde*
> *conviene in tutti e membri si diffonda.*
> Ciò che si muove, non si muove altronde
> in sì bello animale*; e tre nature*
> *questa anima gentile in sé nasconde.*
>
> [By your providence, you cause the soul to infuse itself amid the great body, whence it spreads fittingly in all limbs. *That which moves does not move*

[102] Ibid., p. 244.
[103] Favero, "La tradizione," pp. 85–86.
[104] Ibid., pp. 77–78.
[105] Note: both translations expand the 28 lines of the original to almost 70 and use *Terza rima*; furthermore, they share a number of common terms.
[106] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 273.

> *otherwise in such a comely animal*; and this noble soul closes in itself three natures.][107]

The soul, for Ficino, is the source of movement, but it also controls the movement of any lower form.[108] In turn, he distinguishes three parts of the soul: 1) *mens* [mind]; 3) *ratio* [reason," that is, consciousness]; and 3) *idolum* [the lower forces of the soul, that is, "fantasy, sense perception, and nutritive power].[109] Accordingly, lines 15–17, "*quae cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes, / in semet reditura meat mentemque profundam / circuit et simili convertit imagine caelum*" [Soul thus divided has its motion gathered / Into two circles, moves to return into itself, and the Mind deep within / Encircles, and makes the heaven turn, in likeness to itself], become in the target text:

> Le due più degne, *più gentili e pure,*
> *da sé movendo, due gran cerchi fanno,*
> *in se medesme ritornando pure,*
> *e intorno alla profonda mente vanno;*
> l'altra va dritta, mossa dallo amore
> di far gli effecti, che da lei vita hanno.
> *E come muove sé questo motore,*
> *movendo el cielo, el suo moto simiglia*
> *come le membra in mezzo al pecto el core.*
>
> [*The two worthiest*, most gentle and pure, moving of themselves, trace two vast circles, returning perfectly into themselves and circle the deep mind; *the other runs straight, moved by the love of accomplishing the effects that have their life from it.* And as it moves itself this mover, moving the sky, its motion is like the heart in the chest displacing limbs.]

To explain the trajectory of the *idolum* "*va dritta*," Lorenzo borrows the metaphor of the sun from *Theologia Platonica* 13.2.18: "The Platonists compare our mind to a private sun, our reason to this sun's light, our idolum to a ray of this light, our nature to the ray's reflection or splendor, or (to put it more accurately) its shadow."[110]

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[107] All passages are quoted from Lorenzo de' Medici, *Rime spirituali. La rappresentazione di San Giovanni e Paulo*, ed. Bernard Toscani (Rome, 2000), pp. 6–7. Emphasis mine.

[108] Kristeller, *The Philosophy*, pp. 382–83.

[109] Ibid., p. 369; Rochon, *La jeunesse*, p. 607.

[110] "*Mentem nostram soli cuidam nostro, rationem solis huius lumini, idolum luminis huius radio, naturam radii reflexioni, id est splendori et, ut rectius loquar, umbrae Platonici comparant*."

Finally, Lorenzo expands on the neo-Platonic concept of *vehiculum* (introduced by Plotinus), which Ficino intends as "the little aethereal body received from the aether, the soul's immortal garment; it is round in its natural shape because of the [rotundity of] the aether's region, but it transforms itself into our [angular] human shape when it enters the human body, and restores itself when it departs from it."[111] Thus the translation of lines 19–21, "[...] *et levibus sublimes curribus aptans / in caelum terramque seris, quas lege benigna / ad te conversas reduci facis igne reverti*" [And giving them light chariots fitting their heavenly nature, / Broadcast them in the heavens and on earth, and by your bounteous law / Make them, turned towards you, with returning fire come back], is:

> *A questi* [*scil. animali*] *dà'lla tua bontà infinita*
> *curri leggier' di puro foco adorni,*
> quando la terra e 'l ciel gli chiama e 'nvita.
> E di poi, adempiuti i mortal' giorni,
> la tua benigna legge allor concede
> che il curro ciascun monti et a te torni.
>
> [To these humans your infinite goodness grants with light chariots adorned with pure fire, *when earth and heaven call and invite.* And further, having fulfilled the mortal days, Your benign law then concedes that everyone ride the chariot and return to You.]

The translation carefully avoids any reference to the Platonic theory—expressed in the *Timaeus*—that souls are sown in the heavens before their descent into human bodies. Rather, Lorenzo remains ambiguous on a theme that both fascinated and frightened Ficino. In fact, in *Theologia Platonica* 18.5.1, he strongly refuses to give credence to any theory that would admit that souls are created in heaven. Yet, he toys with the idea of providing an alternative conjecture to the official Catholic position that maintains that souls are created of nothing at the moment of their union with the body, and expounds on different Platonic theories, because "it is delightful to play poetically for a while with the ancients" ("*delectat tamen cum antiquis interdum poetice ludere*").[112]

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[111] *Theologia Platonica* 18.4.3. Latin: "[*A*]*ethereum scilicet corpusculum acceptum ab aethere, immortale animae indumentum, naturali quidem figura rotundum propter aetheris regionem, sed in humanam effigiem sese transferens quando corpus humanum ingreditur atque in priorem se restituens cum egreditur.*" See also Rochon, *La jeunesse*, p. 609.

[112] See James Hankins, "Ficino on *Reminiscentia* and the Transmigration of Souls," *Rinascimento* 45 (2005), 4.

2.2.3. *Francesco Cattani da Diacceto*

The complex problems related to 3.m9.13–21 remained the object of the exegetical effort in the intellectual community that surrounded Ficino insofar as it lent itself to further metaphysical speculation. As we have seen, the interest of Ficino and his translator Lorenzo de' Medici focused on the threefold nature of the soul and on its ethereal cover. The same concerns occupied the endeavors of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (1466–1522), Ficino's acknowledged pupil, who before 1506 wrote an *Expositio* on the above-mentioned lines in the form of a letter to Bernardo Rucellai.[113] The latter was a Florentine nobleman whose gardens (known as Orti Oricellari) were the locale where the leading cultural elite of the city (Machiavelli for one), along with others coming from other places, used to meet between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. As a prominent philosopher and, from 1502 on, a lecturer at the University of Florence,[114] Diacceto was a regular participant at these meetings, especially between 1500 and 1506, which must also be the years around which he composed his *Expositio*.[115] His main works include the two dialogues *De Pulchro* and *De Amore* (the latter published in an Italian version in 1561).

The *Expositio* addresses four issues in the Boethian lines: in what way the World Soul (which he calls *anima rerum*, "soul of things") stays in the middle and is threefold; how it moves itself and the heavens; of what kind the *vehicula* are; and what the sowing of souls is. In order to achieve this goal, Diacceto writes that "one has to explain not only Boethius's poem, but also Plato himself, and we should not overlook what sounds complex, but we must reflect on and discuss every single word."[116] The goal of the work, therefore, is to expound on Plato's *Timaeus* in order to interpret Boethius. Following Platonic doctrine, Diacceto defines the soul as something between the intelligible and the corporeal worlds (hence the reason

[113] The letter is published in Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1563), pp. 324–29. The title *Expositio*, albeit absent from the printed edition, appears in the manuscript versions of the work, such as Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 328, fols 117r–118v. All translations are my own.

[114] Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Francesco da Diacceto and Florentine Platonism in the Sixteenth Century," in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1969), pp. 297–98.

[115] Felix Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari: A Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought," in his *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 232.

[116] Diacceto, *Expositio*, p. 324: "*Non solum enim Boetii carmen, sed et Plato ipse est explanandus: nec intactum quicquam nobis de composito praetereundum est, sed singula verba pensitanda discutiendaque sunt.*"

why it stays in the middle and is threefold); then, similarly to Lorenzo de' Medici's translation, he elaborates on its motion, the aethereal bodies that surround it (the *vehicula*), and the dissemination of souls in the heavens or in earthly bodies; finally, the *Expositio* ends with a word-by-word explanation of the passage.

Diacceto's philosophical system is, of course, derivative from that of his teacher, but it renounces a grandiose search for an organic harmonization of Platonism and Christianity in favor of a thorough analysis of Plato and his followers, especially Plotinus.[117] In the specific case of the *Expositio*, the hermeneutical apparatus used by Diacceto includes a number of sources from Plato other than the *Timaeus*, such as, for example, the Phaedran metaphor (246A) of the winged chariot as the soul. As for his preferred exegetes of Plato, Plotinus, and other neo-Platonists (Iamblichus, Proclus) are his preferred sources: for example, Diacceto relies entirely on Plotinus's exegesis in the description of the souls' descent into human bodies.[118] Furthermore, Diacceto ventured into a systematic project (never realized) of a reconciliation between Plato and Aristotle based on the writings of the former—a strong reaction to Pico della Mirandola's opposite undertaking.[119] He relies on Aristotle too in his *Expositio*, albeit with the functional role of confirming what Plato or Plotinus had said.

We have noted varying attitudes of Italian humanists to the *Consolatio*. On the one hand, the critical reading of Valla focuses on Boethius taken as the first of the Scholastics. His attack, as we have seen, is directed towards Scholasticism and its approach to dialectic (a discipline that, in Valla's opinion, has been overrated by medieval thinkers) and theology. In contrast, Ficino and his followers sought every Platonic element in the text: but while the former relied on Boethian *auctoritates* to build his argument on the soul's immortality,[120] Lorenzo and Diacceto used this very argument as a hermeneutical tool to illustrate the Platonic content of the *Consolatio*. Furthermore, for Diacceto, the lines of 3m9 are just a pretext to develop his Platonic theory for the soul. As we shall see, none of these avenues—especially Valla's—found full establishment in Italy.

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[117] Kristeller, "Francesco Diacceto," p. 319.

[118] Diacceto, *Expositio*, p. 327: "*Caeterum de animorum descensu in corpora itidem et de fuga ad superos* [...] *tum multa apud alios, tum praesertim apud Plotinum legas*" [You may read the rest about the descent of the souls into bodies as well as their flight into heaven [...] sometimes in the other authors, sometimes and above all in Plotinus, above all].

[119] Ibid., p. 320.

[120] Ficino's personal copies of the *Consolatio* are without a commentary, which in itself suggests that he perhaps did not trust the exegetical tradition up to his time.

3. Anselmo Tanzo and the *Consolatio* Among the Augustinians

3.1 *Some Early Editions and Some Commentaries*

The very refined scholarship conducted on the *Consolatio* in the second half of the 15th century did not yield a full-scale commentary. Instead, the first Florentine edition, published by the Juntine press in 1507, came with a prefatory letter by its editor, the Cistercian, Niccolò Cresci, who lamented the poor status of the text, disfigured by centuries of negligence.[121] Cresci also remarks that printers had handed down to readers' editions with a commentary falsely attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas.[122] This *Commentum*, whose authorship has puzzled ancient and contemporary scholars alike, probably was composed in Germany and, albeit derivative of Trevet's *Exposicio*, completely superseded it in print;[123] it also was the commentary available in most editions of Boethius published in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries.[124] Already in the 15th century, there were humanists who had serious doubts about the authenticity of the *Commentum*, such as Brabantian humanist and printer Josse Bade (or Badius Ascentius, 1462–1535), who, in another commentary on the *Consolatio* (first published in 1498), refuted the attribution of the *Commentum* to Thomas Aquinas.[125] To help understand why a Thomistic commentary was still so

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[121] Boethius, *De philosophiae consolatione* (Florence, 1507), fol. Aiir: "*Sed erat hic liber adeo saeculorum incuria iam depravatus ut nullus sui autoris nitor, nullusque prope cultus agnosceretur. Qui cum superioribus annis restitutionem sui posceret, multo pluribus vulneribus affectus est*" [But this book was already so disfigured by the negligence of the centuries, that one would recognize no elegance of its author and almost no beauty. And while it demanded to be restituted to (the beauty) of previous years, it was affected by many, many wounds].

[122] Ibidem: "*Nanque mutilus, inversus, et a se plurimum mutatus prodiit ab impressoribus in manus hominum cum commentariis quae falso divo Thommae Aquinati ascribuntur*" [Indeed it proceeded mutilated, upset, and changed from what it was from the printers into the hands of readers with a commentary that is falsely attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas].

[123] Nigel Palmer, "The German Boethius Translation Printed in 1473 in Its Historical Context," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nauta and Hoenen, pp. 287–302. The name of the commentator, henceforth the Pseudo-Thomas, is still unknown, although many hypotheses—all proved unsatisfactory—have been made on his identity. For example the online edition of the *Commentum*, ed. Roberto Busa and Enrique Alarcón (http://www.corpustomisticum.org/xbco.html), still bears the name of William Wheatley. All quotations from the *Commentum* are taken from there.

[124] See Appendix II.

[125] Courcelle, *La Consolation*, p. 322: "*Non tamen continuo* [*i.e., haec commentaria*] *sancti Thomae crediderim, cum neque phrasim eius redoleant neque facunditatem illam mirabilem, quae in ceteris doctrinis eius est, assequantur neque tempora congruant. Nam Alani opuscula, quem pauculos annos post sanctum Thomam obiisse tradunt earum rerum periti,*

popular in Italy, it may be useful to consider that it appears primarily in the long tradition of Boethian editions printed in Venice, beginning with the 1491–92 *Opera Omnia*. The Venetian printing industry served, among others, the University of Padua,[126] an institution with a strong and long-standing practice of Aristotelian teaching.[127] The other printed tradition of the *Consolatio* stems from Cresci's 1507 edition. Let us return to his letter. After his attack on the corruption of the Boethian text, the Cistercian explains: "Having been asked to edit Boethius's book and bring it back to its original integrity, I did it happily because the subject treated is definitely suitable to a religious man."[128] This statement is crucial for the understanding of another type of reading of the *Consolatio*, strictly connected with the mendicant orders who, according to Albesano, were responsible for spreading the content of Boethius's work in translations directed to an unlettered lay public or to the confreres who could not read Latin well.[129] A common trait in these translations is the hagiographical contours surrounding the life of Boethius: his *Vitae*, in fact, emphasize his sanctity and martyrdom; in some cases, such as in the anonymous Venetian version found in Verona, Biblioteca Civica 212, the text is expanded to fit, for example, the Ten Commandments.[130]

The translation by Augustinian Lateran Canon Anselmo Tanzo (second half of 15th century–after 1525), the first Italian translation of the *Consolatio* to appear in print (in 1520), can be interpreted within this framework. The sparse information on Tanzo tells us that he was the nephew of the founder of the Santa Maria Bianca degli Angeli convent in Casoretto, Milan, where he spent most of his life, and that he was still alive in 1525.[131]

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nonnumquam allegant" [However, I will not believe anymore that this commentary is by Saint Thomas, as it is not redolent neither of his diction, it does not follow that wonderful eloquence that belongs to him in other sciences, and it is not fitting with his time. In fact, it sometimes refers to Alanus's works, whom the experts of those matters say to be dead a few years after Saint Thomas's death].

[126] Brian Richardson, *Print Culture and Renaissance Italy. The Editor and the Vernacular Text* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 28.

[127] See at least Luca Bianchi, *Studi sull'aristotelismo del Rinascimento* (Padua, 2003); and Luca Bianchi, "Continuity and Change in the Aristotelian Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Hankins, pp. 49–71.

[128] Boethius, *De philosophiae*, fol Aiiv: "*Rogatus itaque ut ipsum Boetii librum emendarem, ac pristinae integritati quoad possem restituerem, id eo libentius feci quod materia, de qua agebatur, ea profecto est quae religiosum virum maxime deceat.*"

[129] Albesano, *"Consolatio Philosophiae" volgare*, p. 190.

[130] Ibid., p. 66; other examples are discussed on pp. 124–29.

[131] Celso De Rosinis, *Lyceum Lateranense illustrium scriptorum Sacri Apostolici Ordinis Clericorum Canonicorum Regularium Salvatoris Lateranensis elogia*, 2 vols (Cesena, 1649), 1:34.

It is possible, however, to reconstruct the intellectual life of the Augustinian community along with that of the Casoretto brotherhood.

3.2 *The Augustinian Intellectual Communities*

Augustinian friars are found at the University of Paris as early as 1259,[132] while in 1293 there is record of the first study in Paris. The curriculum of the Augustinians included the logical works of Boethius in the first three years of studies,[133] before proceeding to study Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and the Bible. Their approach was Thomistic in essence, but it also maintained the pre-eminence of will over intellect and the good over the true. "*Amor et gaudium*" was their motto as the essence of beatitude.[134] It was for this reason that the *Consolatio* held a particularly important place in the Augustinian curriculum, as did the works of Late Patristic authors. In fact, Augustinian libraries included, in addition to the Bible, the works of medieval theologians and philosophers, as well as all the works of Aristotle (in Latin), and Platonic and neo-Platonic writers, including Augustine, of course, and Boethius.[135] For example, it was an Augustinian, Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, who donated a copy of Augustine's *Confessions* to Petrarch. The holdings in the Augustinian libraries increased through the incorporation of books bequeathed by brethren or benefactors.[136]

The Lateran Canons (originally a branch of the Regular Canons known as the Congregation of Santa Maria di Fregionaia) were born from a splinter of the observance movement within the Augustinians. They derived their name from the fact that, in 1439, Pope Eugene IV handed over to them the maintenance of the Lateran Basilica in Rome. In 1503, the Lateran Canons also took charge of the basilica of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia,[137] where the shrines of Augustine and Boethius are located.[138] It was not by chance, therefore, that a Lateran Canon would decide to translate the *Consolatio*.

The convent of Santa Maria Bianca in Casoretto (a quarter in Milan) was founded in 1405 by Pietro Tanzo, Anselmo's uncle. During that century,

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[132] David Gutierrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages 1256–1356* (Villanova, PA, 1983), pp. 132–33.
[133] Ibid., p. 141.
[134] Ibid., pp. 150–51.
[135] Ibid., p. 161.
[136] Ibid., p. 143.
[137] De Rosinis, *Lyceum Lateranense*, 2:411.
[138] See Harold Samuel Stone, *St Augustine's Bones: A Microhistory* (Amherst, MA, 2002).

the library became, by donations and legacies, the second largest one of the congregation and a dynamic cultural center linked to the humanistic circle in Milan.[139] For example, the humanist Teodoro Piatti bequeathed his books to the library of S. Maria Bianca in 1471; in 1483, Canon Silvestro Prandoni in his will donated his books to his confreres of Casoretto.[140]

3.3 *Di consolatione philosophica volgare*

The title of Tanzo's translation of Boethius's final work is *Di consolatione philosophica* and was first published in 1520, followed by three later editions: one printed in 1527, "*porgata di molti errori*," and two others (1531 and 1581) modeled on the 1527 edition. There are also two manuscripts of the translation, one held in Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, H 34,[141] and the other in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 964.[142] The two manuscripts predate the *editio princeps* and were written by the same hand. It is also possible to establish the chronology of the two manuscripts. We know that the Trivulziana manuscript is older than the Ashburnham manuscript because, in the latter (as well as the printed tradition) Tanzo refers to the Italian Wars of 1494–1515 in the introduction, dedicated to his brother Giovan Iacobo: "[*L*]*a nostra già del universo mondo degna imperatrice Italia hora gravemente oppressa e molto concolcata da gli strani—che in un canto regnano Francesi, nell'altro Spagnuoli, e nell'altro Tedeschi, onde infiniti sono i habitanti d'essa isconciamente trattati, tribolati, angostiati, et oppressi*" [Our Italy, once rightfully empress of the whole world, is now gravely trampled and greatly violated by the foreigner to the point that the French rule over one part, Spaniards over another, Germans yet another, and numberless of her inhabitants are shamelessly treated, tormented, afflicted, and oppressed].[143] This helps us to determine the time around which Tanzo wrote his translation: given the absence of a reference to the Italian Wars in the first redaction of his version, it is likely that he composed it before 1494. If this is true, then the Milanese father did not undertake his work on the occasion of the war, drawing a parallel between the state of Italy between Quattro and

[139] Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coverto e ferrato. Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan, 2002), pp. 70–71.

[140] Ibid., pp. 503–04 and 533–34.

[141] Giulio Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Turin, 1884), p. 431, who gives a different shelf number to the MS.

[142] Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*.

[143] Anselmo Tanzo, *Di consolatione philosophica volgare* (Milan, 1520), fol. A2r.

Cinquecento and that of the country during Boethius's times; rather, he did it as a rhetorical *exercitatio*.

3.4 *Lectio meditativa*

The kind of reading Tanzo recommends is meditative. The *Consolatio*, in his words, is a book in which a reader can find plenty of useful precepts. However,

> *Le quali cose, tutto che belle siano e dilettevoli ad intendere e sapere, sono però sottili e profunde, e tanto più quanto più si trapassa e varca il mezzo, et avicinasi al fine dell'opra. Sì che bisogna non in fretta, né senza gusto trascorrendo leggerla, ma con maturitade, consideratione, et intendimento. Peroché, sì come un dilettevole, saporoso e dilicato cibo, quanto meglio si mastica e ben rivolge per bocca et a poco a poco se ingiottisce, via più diletto e sapore ci rende e maggiore e migliore nudrimento ci dà, così il presente volume, quanto piu a bellaggio si leggerà, ben rivolgendo e le sue degne ragioni e nobili sentenze ben considerando, e non una sola fiata, ma molte e molte leggendolo, e quasi di continuo tenendolo fra mani, cotanto più se ne harà piacere, gusto, consolatione et utile frutto all'animo, quanto d'alcun altro libro che legger si poss*i.[144]
>
> [All these concepts, although beautiful and delightful to understand and know, are however subtle and deep, even more when you pass the middle of the work and go further towards the end. Thus one needs to read it not hastily or leafing through without enthusiasm, but in a mature, considerate and mindful way. Indeed, the way a delightful, tasty and delicate food the better is chewed, ruminated in our mouths and swallowed little by little, it gives more delight and flavor and greater and better nourishment, so this present volume, the more with ease you will read this volume, ruminating on its worthy reasoning and appreciating its noble sentences (and reading it not only once, but many more times, and keeping it in your hands almost all the time), the more pleasure, taste, consolation and useful reward for the soul you will get, more than any other book that you may read.]

These words are reminiscent of the Augustinian teaching of *lectio meditativa*: "When you pray to God with psalms, meditate in your heart what you speak with your voice."[145] The meditative reading of the *Consolatio* was an established practice in the Augustinian communities. Indeed, Petrarch (an author who, as mentioned above, was familiar with Augustinian reading practices) claims in a famous passage from one of his *Familiares* addressed to Boccaccio (1359) that a slow, repeated reading is the fundamental

[144] Tanzo, *Di consolatione*, fols A7r.
[145] Gutierrez, *The Augustinians 1357–1517*, p. 105.

custom to ascertain truth: "I have read Virgil, Horace, Boethius,[146] Cicero, not once, but a thousand times, not hastily but in repose, and I have pondered them with all the powers of my mind. I ate in the morning what I would digest in the evening; I swallowed as a boy what I would ruminate as a man."[147]

3.5 *Translation Techniques*

In declaring his translation techniques, the Milanese Canon declares that he rendered his source text "*non deviando né dipartendomi dalle sue sentenze, dal modo, né dalle parole, quelle che si sono con gratia potuto volgarmente dire: dichiarandole però et illustrandole, ove mi è paruto il bisogno*"[148] [Without deviating or departing from the original's sentences, style, or words (those that I could gracefully say in the vernacular), explaining and illustrating them whenever I deemed it necessary]. What he means here is that he complies with the medieval custom of integrating parts from the commentary into his target text. Tanzo does not mention the name of his commentator, but a textual comparison unveils the Pseudo-Thomas. For example, he borrows from the *Commentum* the entire anecdote of Socrates's death: in fact, he translates 1p3.6 ("*Eodemque superstite praeceptor eius Socrates iniustae victoriam mortis me astante promeruit?*" [And in this day, was I not beside his teacher Socrates when he won the prize of a martyr's death?])[149] as

> *Et ancho vivendo esso Platone il suo maestro Socrate per amore di me Philosophia non fu egli morto ottinendo in mia presenza vittoria dell'ingiusta morte? Peroché, conoscendo egli per le mie philosophice ragioni essere in cielo un solo Iddio creatore e governatore de tutte le cose, riprendea gl'huomini e dicea essere pazzia adorare gli idoli, ma che uno Iddio in cielo si dovea adorare. Il perché fu da Anneto duca delli Atheniensi constretto bere il veleno in nome di quello solo iddio, et havendo beuto non gli fece nocimento alcuno. E dopo lo constrinse bere in nome di diversi altri dei, et havendo Socrate beuto subito morse.*[150]

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[146] The translation has, erroneously, "Livy."

[147] Francesco Petrarca, *Letters* (Bloomington and London, 1966), pp. 182–83. Original Latin in Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi, vol. 4, ed. Umberto Bosco (Florence, 1942), p. 106: "*Legi apud Virgilium, apud Flaccum, apud Severinum, apud Tullium; nec semel legi sed milies, nec cucurri sed incubui et totis ingeniis nisibus immoratus sum; mane comedi quod sero digererem, hausi puer quod senior ruminarem.*"

[148] Tanzo, *Di consolatione*, fols A2v–A3r.

[149] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 141–43.

[150] Tanzo, *Di consolatione*, fol. B1r. Pseudo-Thomas, *Commentum*: "*Nota quod ante tempus Platonis multi sapientes persecuti fuerunt a vulgaribus, et tempore Platonis Socrates magister*

> [And while Plato himself was still alive, wasn't his teacher Socrates killed for sake of me, Philosophy, and won in my presence victory for an unjust death? Indeed, as Socrates knew through my philosophical teachings that in heavens there is only one God, creator and governor of all the things, he reprimanded the people and told them that it was madness to adore idols, but instead that the one God in heaven should be adored. For this reason, he was forced by Annetus, "Duke" of the Athenians, to drink the poison in the name of that only god; Socrates drank the poison and it did not harm him. Later, Annetus forced him to drink in the name of several other gods; after doing so, Socrates died immediately.]

Tanzo's practice clashes with his claim not to have followed a modern printed edition, but "*uno antichissimo codice, iscritto a mano*" [a most ancient, handwritten codex],[151] which rules out the option that he used a codex with the Pseudo-Thomas commentary: in fact, the printed tradition of the *Commentum* (first edition: 1473) predates its manuscripts.[152] Furthermore, the introduction also incorporates passages from Alberto della Piagentina's *Prolago*, while at the end of the work (fols M7r–M9r) the translator added an "*Expositione di ciascuna parte della donna, cioè Philosophia*" [Description of each part of the woman, that is, Philosophy] which translates Trevet's commentary to 1p1 in its entirety. It is probable that Tanzo might have worked using one codex of the *Consolatio*: the "*antichissimo codice*" helped him to establish the correct reading, while the ones with Alberto's translation and Trevet's commentary,[153] along with the printed *Commentum*, could have been used to solve translating and exegetical doubts.

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ejus interiit propter suam sapientiam. Nam ipse cognovit sua sapientia esse unum Deum: alios autem colentes plures deos redarguit: quod percipiens dux Atheniensium nomine Anetus coegit ipsum bibere venenum in nomine unius Dei, et nihil sibi nocuit. Postea coegit ipsum bibere venenum in nomine plurium deorum, et interiit" [Note that before Plato's time many philosophers were persecuted by ignorant men, and at Plato's time, his teacher Socrates died because of his wisdom. Indeed he knew through his wisdom that there is only one God: furthermore he reprimanded those people who adored several gods. Having heard that, a "Duke" of the Athenians named Anetus forced Socrates to drink the poison in the name of that only god; Socrates drank the poison and it did not harm him. Later, Anetus forced him to drink in the name of several other gods, and Socrates died immediately].

[151] Tanzo, *Di consolatione*, fol. A3r. This sentence appears in the printed editions but not in the manuscripts.

[152] Nigel Palmer, "Latin and Vernacular in the Northern European Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in *Boethius, His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), p. 399.

[153] Perhaps even a manuscript with Alberto's text accompanied by a vernacularized version of Trevet's *Exposicio*, such as London, British Library, Add. 27549 described by Favero, "*Padre celeste.*"

This brief analysis shows that Tanzo, just like Niccolò Cresci, was sensitive to the correctness of the text he was translating in the wake of the humanistic habit; his exegetical armor, however, shows a conceptual grid similar to that used almost two centuries earlier: in fact, Tanzo continues to use it in his introduction to the four Aristotelian causes, and the same language is used by 13th- and 14th-century commentators. In this respect, the doctrinal typology of this reader overlaps with that of the meditative one.

One last note on the language of the translation: in the printed editions, Tanzo remarks that his work is "*non in sola lingua napolitana, né tosca, né lombarda, ma mista, et in commune e domestico parlare*"[154] [not in Neapolitan, nor Tuscan, nor Lombard language only, but in a mixed, common and domestic idiom], that is, a linguistic mélange (later theorized as *lingua italiana* by Vicenza-born Giangiorgio Trissino) with an archaizing base of the vernacular of Dante and Petrarch, but with major contributions from other vernaculars."[155] Evidently, the echoes of the Cinquecento language debates on the Italian vernacular (the *Questione della lingua*) must have convinced him to add this small comment. As we shall see in the next section, the aesthetic component will be crucial in the reception of the vernacularized Boethius.

4. Boethius at Court: Domenichi, Varchi, Bartoli

4.1 *Patronage and Intellectuals in Renaissance Italy*

The fourth and last case studied here introduces a new element that no Italian translator had faced thus far: patronage.[156] In the three competing versions published between 1550 and 1552 by Lodovico Domenichi, Benedetto Varchi, and Cosimo Bartoli, respectively,[157] it was indeed Emperor Charles V's patronage, by the mediation of Cosimo I de' Medici, duke of

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[154] Tanzo, *Di consolatione*, fol. A2v.

[155] Brian Richardson, "The *Cinquecento*. Prose," *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge, 1996), p. 183.

[156] This section is based in part on my article "Benedetto Varchi traduttore di Boezio," in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Rome, 2007), pp. 95–165.

[157] Boethius, *De' conforti filosofici*, trans. Lodovico Domenichi (Florence, 1550); Boethius, *Della consolazione della filosofia*, trans. Benedetto Varchi (Florence, 1551); and Boethius, *Della consolatione de la filosofia*, trans. Cosimo Bartoli (Florence, 1551 [i.e., 1552]). On Domenichi, see Enrico Garavelli, "Lodovico Domenichi. Notizie dagli archivi," *Bollettino storico piacentino* 96 (2001), pp. 177–208; on Varchi, see at least Salvatore Lo Re, *Politica e cultura nella Firenze cosimiana. Studi su Benedetto Varchi* (Manziana, Italy, 2008); and on

Florence (1519–74; not to be confused with Cosimo the Elder mentioned above, Section 2.3.1), that solicited a new Florentine translation of the *Consolatio*, the first after Alberto della Piagentina's version. The duke's patronage, in turn, dictated the translators' way of proceeding in their works. Finally, patronage played a crucial role in implicitly determining the winner of the poetic *tenzone*. This shifts the field of the reception of Boethius to a new place: the court, the center of Italian intellectual life in the Renaissance. The cultural politics of many 16th-century Italian *signori* saw with increasing interest the potential benefits that the academies, scholarly circles alternative to the official learning institutions such as the universities, could potentially return.[158] A century earlier, learned groups might have been sponsored by rulers or aristocrats, but cultural activities still could be carried out with a certain freedom and independence. Faint signs of patronage can be seen in Diacceto's *Expositio*, triggered by a request from his powerful host, Bernardo Rucellai. By the second decade of the 16th century, the political institutions of the Italian regional states, tightened around their rulers, began to interfere with cultural artifacts; as a consequence, intellectual groups became more and more engulfed by the constraints set by their patrons.

Cosimo de' Medici wisely had understood the importance of the Florentine vernacular: in 1542, in fact, he transformed the Accademia degli Umidi, a circle of poets and scholars who, rather jovially, discussed vernacular poetry, into the government-funded Accademia Fiorentina.[159] The group of the Umidi, whose gatherings had started the previous year, revolved around such polymaths as Giovan Battista Gelli, Pierfrancesco Giambullari, and Cosimo Bartoli and was characterized by a stubborn attachment to the Platonizing Florentine tradition with esoteric overtones.[160] In order to give the Accademia Fiorentina an international breadth, Cosimo appointed new members connected with the University of Pisa (attended by people from various parts of Europe), and he recalled to Florence such expatriates as Benedetto Varchi, who had been forced to flee from Tuscany because of his affiliation with the anti-Medicean party

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Bartoli, see Judith Bryce *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath* (Geneva, 1983).

[158] See Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1450–1600," in her *Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 116–48.

[159] See Michel Plaisance, *L'Accademia e il suo Principe. Cultura e politica a Firenze al tempo di Cosimo I e di Francesco de' Medici / L'Académie et le Prince. Culture et politique à Florence au temps de Côme Ier et de François de Médicis* (Manziana, Italy, 2004), p. 79ff.

[160] Lo Re, *Politica*, pp. 302–03.

led by Filippo Strozzi. Before moving back to Florence in 1543, Varchi had spent more than five years in Padua and Bologna, where he solidified the philosophical bases he had acquired in Florence with Diacceto and other students of Ficino with the lecturers on the teachings of Aristotle in the two universities.[161] In particular, the years in Padua at the Accademia degli Infiammati (established in 1540) were instrumental in Varchi's philosophical training. One of the mandates of the Infiammati was to take a direct approach to the text of Aristotle's *Rhetoric, Poetics*, and *Ethics*. The Infiammati's teaching method was suspicious of the scholars that had produced new commentaries and translations of Aristotle in the last century, guilty, in Varchi's opinion, of being ostentatious and completely missing the point.[162] The cultural project of the Infiammati was to make all the major philosophical and literary works available in Italian and, as a consequence, produce a systematic translation of all the major philosophical works: one of these products, for example, is Varchi's vernacular commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[163]

4.2 *Language Debates at the Accademia Fiorentina*

The Infiammati and the Umidi shared the same vision of the importance of the vernacular: this can be appreciated in one of the items in the cultural agenda of Cosimo, who mandated for the Accademia Fiorentina a program of lectures on the Italian classics (Petrarch and Dante in particular), as well as translations of literary and philosophical classical texts into Tuscan. These works then would be printed by the duke's official *stampatore*, Lorenzo Torrentino.

One of the points of divergence of the Infiammati and the Umidi was the type of language to be used in translations and lectures. In fact, on the one hand, the former gave preference to a classicizing model based on the dialogue *Le prose della volgar lingua* (1525) by Venetian cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547). This work prescribed that two 14th-century authors, Petrarch (for the poetry) and Boccaccio (for the prose), be the only two models to imitate, discarding all the Florentine literary production after the *Decameron* (1348). Some of the Umidi, on the other hand, believed that the only possible option rested in an uninterrupted Florentine

[161] Cesare Vasoli, "Benedetto Varchi e i filosofi," in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. Bramanti, pp. 403–07.

[162] Lo Re, *Politica*, p. 221; on Aristotelianism, see above, n. 127.

[163] Lo Re, *Politica*, pp. 224–29.

tradition that linked Dante to the contemporary writers, convinced as they were that their vernacular had descended directly from Hebrew, which attributed to them the nickname of Aramei ("Aramaeans").[164] Their approach, albeit practical because it was attached to a natural language, was popular in Florence only; meanwhile, Bembo's model was already successful in other regions of Italy and mirrored the twofold scheme built by Quattrocento humanists on the style of Vergil and Cicero, and it also had the advantage of choosing two authors from the "golden age" of Italian literature, that is, the Trecento. Varchi stood in the middle of these controversies: although a self-professed Bembista, he recognized that the canon proposed by the Venetian cardinal would be too difficult to apply in reality because it was limited to two authors only. He was therefore open to the option of including elements of spoken Florentine in his ideal vernacular. His justification for this was that the differences between Trecento and Cinquecento Florentine had to be explained as a difference in the register of the writers, rather than as a natural evolution of the language. Varchi then applied his theories when he published his edition of Bembo's *Prose* in 1548/49: in fact, he slightly altered the text in order to accept some forms not contemplated by Bembo and to even out some of his rules that sounded too strict.[165]

4.3 *The 1549 Competition*

The controversy described above explains why Cosimo, when Charles V requested a vernacular version of the *Consolatio*, decided to appoint to the task three intellectuals corresponding to the three different positions in the Florentine debate on language. On one side were Bembo's followers: Lodovico Domenichi, a native of Piacenza and a linguistic consultant for Torrentino, whose experience in translation had already been remarkable; and Benedetto Varchi. On the other side was Cosimo Bartoli, an exponent of the theories of the Aramei. The three translations were carried out by the end of 1549;[166] Varchi's and Domenichi's left for Brussels, where

[164] Plaisance, *L'Accademia*, p. 79.

[165] Antonio Sorella, "Varchi e Bembo," in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. Bramanti, pp. 380–81.

[166] For Bartoli and Domenichi we have the dates on the dedicatory letters to Cosimo: 5 May and 6 November; Varchi's translation was certainly ready on 18 October (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 1175, fol. 3). I have been able to retrieve some archival documents from the *Medici Archive Project* database (http://www.medici.org).

the imperial court was, by the end of the same year;[167] however, there is no proof that Bartoli's rendering was even sent to the emperor. The reason why Charles V requested an Italian translation of the *Consolatio* is unknown; another question deserving further investigation is why the emperor would be interested in Boethius at all. At that time, he was at the peak of his rule: a famous portrait by Titian, *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* (1548), depicts a man who was transfigured in a mythical image that "celebrated what seemed to be his infallible power to unite the empire."[168] The Hapsburg had initially solicited a translation by Varchi, as a summary of a letter dated 1 March 1549 shows:

> *Con l'altra di esso Mons.r* [*Bernardo de' Medici*] *delli VIII dice che S. M.tà* [*Charles V*] *li haveva domandata la traduttione in lingua toscana di Boetio de Consolatione, et non l'havendo, desidera che V. Ex.a* [*Cosimo I*] *gliela mandi s'ella è qua, o la faccia tradurre dal Varchi o da altri inanzi che esca a S. M.tà.*[169]
>
> [With the other letter of the 8th [of February?] Monsignor [Bernardo de' Medici, ambassador to Florence at the imperial court] says that His Majesty [Charles V] had requested from you the translation into the Tuscan language of Boethius's *Consolation*. As he has not received it yet, he wishes that Your Excellency [Cosimo I] send it to him if it is ready, or that you have the book translated by Varchi or someone else before His Majesty mentions it.]

Cosimo's entourage, however, convinced the duke to extend the request for a translation to Domenichi and to send his *Boezio* to the emperor before Varchi's version.[170] As mentioned above, there is no reference to Bartoli in the official correspondence. If proven true, the failure to consider Bartoli's translation as fit to be sent to the emperor provides yet another detail to the argument that the duke's only choice in restoring the

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[167] Apparently, Domenichi translated the text twice, as a first redaction sent to Charles V was damaged along the way (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 1170a, fol. 580). The accident is mentioned also in Domenichi's dedicatory letter (*De' conforti*, p. 11).

[168] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993), p. 113. At the battle of Mühlberg (24 April 1547), Charles V defeated the Schmalkaldic League of Protestant princes.

[169] Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 12, fol. 325.

[170] See, for example, the letter (23 May 1549) from Lelio Torelli to Cosimo's *segretario* Lorenzo Pagni: "*Ho visto per la vostra quanto piace al Duca N. S.re di mandare la tradutione del Domenichi et successivam.te quella del Varchi senza stamparle et tutto sta bene*" [I've seen in your letter how Our Master the Duke likes the idea of sending Domenichi's translation and eventually that by Varchi without printing them, and all is well]. (Mediceo del Principato 1176b, insert 5, fol. 674).

city's vernacular to its past splendor was to embrace Pietro Bembo's cause (that is, the dominant poetics outside of Tuscany), while in Florence he still could give credit to the Aramei by asking Bartoli to translate the *Consolatio*.[171] Another sign of the pre-eminence of Varchi's translation within the intellectual system can be appreciated in the physical appearance of the printed books: the frontispiece of Varchi's translation is inscribed in the official Accademia Fiorentina impresa, an allegory of the Arno river,[172] while the translations by Domenichi and Bartoli only bear the Medicis's coat of arms.

4.4 *Translation Techniques*

A cursory glance at the three texts reveals an explicit reference to the language used by the translators. Domenichi claims that his translation is conducted in the "*lingua commune a tutta Italia*" [language that is common to all of Italy],[173] a variety that, although respectful of Bembo's norm, still shows traces of Trissino's *lingua italiana*,[174] as seen in Tanzo's translation. Varchi writes that he transposed the *Consolatio* "*dal favellare romano nel fiorentino idioma* [...], *traslatando (sì come spressamente imposto mi fu) le prose in parlare sciolto e le varie maniere di versi in diverse varietà di rime*"[175] [From the Roman language into the Florentine idiom [...] translating (as I was specifically requested) the proses into prose and the various meters into different rhyme forms]. This statement gives us yet another hint of how patronage interfered with the production of the text: Cosimo indeed dictated even the way of translating the poems of the *Consolatio*, to the point that Varchi had to provide an alternate translation of 1m5 to avoid blank verse.[176] Also, in recounting with which challenge he was faced, the Florentine intellectual cannot refrain from casting a polemic dart at his opponents (possibly the Aramei):

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[171] In 1550, Cosimo struck up a committee with Varchi and two Aramei, Giambullari and Carlo Lenzoni, to write a grammar of Florentine. The committee failed its task, but it is interesting that each of its members wrote his own grammatical treatise. Sorella, "Varchi e Bembo," pp. 380–81.

[172] See Domenico Zanrè, *Cultural Non-Conformity in Early Modern Florence* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 30.

[173] Domenichi, *De' conforti*, p. 5.

[174] Cosimo himself, however, praised the "*buono stile toscano*" [good Tuscan style] found in Domenichi's translation (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 13, fol. 74, 19 October 1549).

[175] Varchi, *Della consolazione*, p. 4.

[176] See Dario Brancato, "'O facitor de gli stellanti chiostri:' un'inedita traduzione di Benedetto Varchi di *De consol. philosophiae*, lib. I m. 5," *Lettere italiane* 55 (2003), 257–66.

> *Pure mi consola, che quello, che non ho potuto fare io, né saputo, haranno per avventura fatto o faranno molti altri, de' quali alcuno per commessione vostra, et molti di loro spontana volontà si sono a volgarizzare la medesima opera messi; il che non si dee credere, che fatto havessero, se forti a tanto peso, et più degl'altri gagliardi non si fussono sentiti.*[177]
>
> [It consoles me that many others will do what I was unable to do or did not know how to do, among them some who will do so upon your request, and others who will begin to translate the same work without your commission. Which, I believe, they would not do if they didn't feel themselves to be stronger than the others.]

Bartoli, for his part, insists on the purity of natural Florentine against the impropriety and artificiality of Varchi and Domenichi's vernacular (even vernaculars): "*Nella quale fatica V.E. potrà considerare la purità del parlare nostro proprio et naturale, non mescolato con altre lingue, molto differente invero da quello che per alcuni hoggidì si usa non essendo loro proprio o naturale, anzi con altre lingue mescolato*"[178] [Your Excellency will be able to consider the purity of our own, natural idiom, not mixed with other languages, very different indeed from the one some nowadays use as it is not their own and natural idiom, and furthermore mixed with other languages].

Modern scholarship agrees that Varchi produced a better rendering than the texts produced by his two other opponents: Umberto Pirotti, for example, argues that Varchi knew Latin better than Domenichi or Bartoli did;[179] for Judith Bryce, Varchi's text "has a lyrical quality likely to appeal to contemporary taste," while Domenichi's is "stolidly literal."[180] One can elaborate on Bryce's argument by observing the translation and hermeneutical techniques of the three intellectuals. Let us pause on Bartoli's original dedicatory letter to Cosimo: apart from the obligatory words on the utility of the *Consolatio* as a moral work, present in all the other translations, he deems Boethius important more for his translations of Aristotle than for the *Consolatio* (which he terms an "*operetta*," that is, a small work of lesser importance). Then, Bartoli insists on using blank verse, against the duke's advice, justifying it to express the concepts of the original in a more faithful fashion.[181] Finally, he concludes: "[*F*]*accendo io professione non di farci*

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[177] Varchi, *Della consolazione*, pp. 4–5.

[178] Bartoli, *Della consolatione*, pp. 4–5.

[179] Umberto Pirotti, *Benedetto Varchi e la cultura del suo tempo* (Florence, 1971), p. 283.

[180] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, p. 175.

[181] Bartoli, *Della consolatione*, pp. 10–11: "[*S*]*e io non mi sono sottoposto nella traduzzione de' versi ad alcuno legame di rime, usatosi per lo più dalla maggiore parte de' poeti fiorentini,*

per al presente sopra uno comento o una espositione, aggiugnendoci molte cose del mio, ma di tradurlo quanto più fedelmente si poteva"[182] [Promising that for the time being I am not going to write a commentary or give a lecture on it by adding many things of my own, but that I translated it as faithfully as I could]. The words *comento* and *espositione* should not be interpreted in their literal sense as lectures on the *Consolatio*, but instead must refer to the common practice used until that time of incorporating elements of a commentary in the target text to facilitate the interpretation of the original (see above, Section 1.2). This is the exact opposite of Varchi's praxis: in fact, not only does he treat the text as a doctrinal one but also he tries to take full advantage of the Pseudo-Thomas's commentary in order to provide a better rendering of the text.[183]

4.5 *Hermeneutical Principles*

In order to illustrate the hermeneutical principles of the three intellectuals, I will probe the translation of 3m11.15–16: "*Quod si Platonis musa personat verum / Quod quisque discit immemor recordatur*" [If Plato's mise

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conoscerà dico che io lo ho fatto per potere meglio et più propriamente esprimere i concetti di questo autore" [If in my translation of the poems I was not constrained by any sequence or rhymes, as it was in the tradition of most Florentine poets, I say that you will find out that I have done so in order to express the concepts of this author in a better, more accurate way].

[182] Ibidem.

[183] Varchi used the Pseudo-Thomas's authority in other lectures, such as in his "Lezione nona sopra il primo canto del *Paradiso*," in *Opere*, vol. 2 (Trieste, 1859), p. 402 (emphasis mine): "[*D*]*isse il non men santo che dotto Boezio Severino in quel suo d'oro e veramente dottissimo e santissimo libro della* Consolazione della Filosofia*, quando cantò: 'O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, / Terrarum coelique sator, qui tempus ab aevo / Ire jubes, stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri'* [3.m9.1–3]. *Il qual luogo interpretando S. Tommaso, allega quel passo del Vangelo di S. Giovanni che dice: 'qui illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum,' e lo espone*, 'non che Dio illumini tutti gli uomini che vengono in questo mondo, ma che tutti quegli che sono illuminati, sono illuminati da lui'" [Boethius Severinus, a man no less saint than learned, said in his golden, and truly most learned and holy book *The Consolation of Philosophy*, when he sang: (3.m9.1–3; *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 271: "O You who in perpetual order govern the universe, / Creator of heaven and earth, who bid time ever move, / And resting still, grant motion to all else"). Saint Thomas interprets that passage with a quotation from Saint John's Gospel [1: 9] that says 'That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world,' which he explains as, 'Not that God enlightens all men who come to this world, but all those who are enlightened, are enlightened by him]. The last sentence is a translation from the *Commentum*: "*Non quod omnes simul illuminentur: sed omnes qui illuminantur, a Deo illuminantur*" [Not that everyone is enlightened: but those who are enlightened, are enlightened by God"].

rings true, / What each man learns, forgetful he recalls"][184] and how the target texts dealt with the heterodoxical Platonic doctrine of reminiscence. While Bartoli completely omits the lines, Domenichi translates in an extremely literal fashion:

> *Ben fur saggi et lodati*
> *I detti di Platon, ch'ognun ch'impara*
> *La memoria rischiara.*[185]
>
> [Very wise and praised were Plato's words—everyone who learns enlightens his memory.]

Varchi provides a critical reading of Pseudo-Thomas, who, in his commentary, summarizes Plato's doctrine, but then warns not to follow it, because knowledge can be acquired through imagination or teaching.[186] Not surprisingly, Varchi uses the commentary while discounting the Scholastic interpretation and translates:

> *Et se l'alta et preclara*
> *Musa del gran Platone il ver dicea,*
> *quanto ciascuno appara*
> *è sol membrar quel che nel Ciel sapea,*
> *ma poscia il vel mortal tolto gl'havea.*[187]
>
> [And if the high and most famous Muse of the great Plato said the truth, what one learns is only remembering what one used to know when he was in heaven, [a knowledge] that afterward the mortal veil had taken away.]

This example shows how comfortable Varchi was with using the double register of Platonism and Aristotelianism.[188]

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[184] *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 297.

[185] Domenichi, *De' conforti*, p. 131.

[186] *Commentum*: "*Notandum, quod Platoni imponitur quod voluerit animas omnia scivisse antequam conjungerentur corporibus, sed adjunctae corporibus omnia tradidisse oblivioni, sed per studium et exercitium sapientiam recuperasse: ergo voluit quod scire non est aliud nisi quoddam antiquorum reminisci: ad quam intentionem videtur hic loqui philosophia. Sed non est dicendum quod scire fiat per reminiscentiam; sed scientia de novo acquiritur per inventionem vel doctrinam*" [It has to be noted that Plato is deceived when he wanted to believe that souls knew everything before they were joined to their bodies, but that once they were attached to their bodies, they forgot everything, although they were able to recuperate their knowledge through study and exercise: in consequence he wanted to believe that to know is nothing but to remember something from ancient times: which is the Philosophy's intention here. But one must not say that knowledge takes place by reminiscence, rather, it is acquired from the beginning through invention or teaching].

[187] Varchi, *Della consolazione*, p. 105.

[188] See Cesare Vasoli, "Varchi e i filosofi," *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, pp. 403–34. The link to a Platonic interpretation of the *Consolatio* becomes stronger if one considers that

The three vernacular versions of the *Consolatio* produced at the court of Cosimo de' Medici share some common traits: first, they all resort to the Latin commentary at least to straighten out the complex syntax of the original; second, they conceal the exegetical procedures of the four Aristotelian causes clearly stated in the introductions of Alberto della Piagentina and Anselmo Tanzo; and third, they all belong at a formal level to the intralingual tradition of vernacular translations of Boethius. Nevertheless, there have been 18 editions of Varchi's version (the last one from 1932), two of Domenichi's, and only one of Bartoli's. To explain such an enduring success of Varchi, one must understand what captured the readership not only at the time of the publication of his translation but also in the following centuries. In the 1550s, Varchi received explicit support from his patronage (from the emperor himself to some of his fellow academicians) but also virulent, scoffing criticism from the Aramei.[189] It was the duke's cultural investment in Bembo's linguistic model that marked Varchi's victory in the poetic competition. In the following centuries, cultural institutions regarded his translation as part of the dominant poetics. In fact, in 1691, the Accademia della Crusca, the Florentine institution inspired by Varchi's linguistic theories and responsible for publishing the first dictionary of the Italian language in 1612, included his translation in the canon of authors for the third edition of its *Vocabolario*. For centuries, until the late

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Varchi transcribed part of Diacceto's lecture on 3m9 in his own printed copy of the translation (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 47).

[189] In a sonnet by Alfonso de' Pazzi, the author asks Varchi to give him his Boezio to cover his windows: "*I' ho un telajaccio, e vienne il verno, / Il vorrei, Varchi, di fogli impannare, / Perché la tela non so conficcare, / E me ne manca assai più d'un quinterno; / E se 'l falso dal vero io ben discerno, / E' te ne debbe non pochi avanzare: / Or se mi vuoi di parte accomodare, / Vorrei Boezio, o di Dante l'Inferno. / Che l'un tradotto e l'altro comentato / Hai tenuti nov'anni già passati, / Nè di fuor dargli ancor sei consigliato. / Così i tuoi chiari versi disprezzati / Lume vedranno, io sarotti obbligato, / Lor per sei mesi ne saran pregiati / E quest'altri togati / Il lume aranno degli scritti tuoi / Sereno e chiaro nelli tempi suoi*" [I have a large window, and the winter comes. I would like, Varchi, to cover it with sheets because I do not know how to hammer the canvas in, and I am missing more than the five sheets of a quinternion. And if I can properly discern the true from the false, I must assume that you have several spares. Now, if you want to do me a favour, I would like Boethius or Dante's *Inferno* because you translated one and you commented on the other and you haven't decided to reprint them. So your famous lines, until now disregarded, will see the light of day and I shall be much obliged to you, they will be honoured for six months, and these other academicians will have the serene, bright light of your writings at the right time]. *Il terzo libro de l'opere burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, di M. Gio. della Casa, dell'Aretino, de' Bronzini, del Franzesi, di Lorenzo de' Medici, del Galileo, del Ruspoli, del Bertini, del Firenzuola, del Lasca, del Pazzi, e di altri autori* (Florence [i.e., Naples], 1723), pp. 335–36.

1800s, Varchi's *Boezio* was the most current translation of the *Consolatio* available in Italy.[190]

Epilogue

The four cases studied here allow us to draw some general conclusions on the reception of the *Consolatio* in Italy between the 1300s and the 1500s and to provide an answer to the questions posited in the introduction.

First, the interaction between two traditions of readers, religious and lay, became more complicated in the 15th century. Until Valla, in fact, one can witness a circular transmission of culture: Trevet's "high" religious scholarship is absorbed in the "high" lay vernacular of Alberto della Piagentina, while at the other end of the spectrum stand the moralizing vernacularizations, linked more to the Romance tradition than to higher expressions of culture. After Valla, there are a number of constraints that operate in the reception of the text: a) the attempt to reform dialectic and theology led to Valla's criticism of the very methodology initiated by Boethius; b) readers had an increasingly philological attitude towards the *Consolatio* (the late 14th-century commentaries and glosses became, one century later, the statements found in Tanzo's translation and Cresci's edition, that is, a preoccupation with the correctedness of the text); and c) the Platonic revival in the 1400s prompted a new interpretation of some sections of the *Consolatio*. It is true that William of Conches and Trevet had already dealt with the Platonic content in Boethius, but they had a limited hermeneutical apparatus, which included Calcidius's translation of the *Timaeus* only. Ficino and Diacceto, conversely, had access to an incomparably wider number of Platonic exegetes, which helped Lorenzo de' Medici to provide a much more refined translation. So, d) the language and stylistic constraints set by patronage forced the translators to adhere to the dominant poetics. This is the case of the three versions by Domenichi, Varchi, and Bartoli.

Then, the analysis of the hermeneutical principles shows that the conceptual grid to interpret the text remained essentially scholastic in Italy well beyond the Renaissance. This is the reason behind the success of Trevet's Pseudo-Thomas commentaries and the lack of new full-fledged commentaries on the *Consolatio* in 16th-century Italy. Within this framework,

[190] A 1657 version published in Palermo by the Jesuit Tomaso Tamburino did not enjoy the same success.

the evidence gathered from Valla's and Ficino's works are to be considered attempts to provide readers of Boethius with an alternate interpretative scheme. Only Ficino's exegesis, however, would be incorporated—albeit not as decisively as in Lorenzo's rendering of 3m9—in Varchi's translation, while one would have to cross the Alps to find discussions originated by Valla's criticism in Erasmus and the Reformers.

Finally, the text was still very much read after 1450. The lack of new printed editions after 1540 is probably to be interpreted as a saturation of the book market, the presence of editions coming from other countries, and the concurring appearance of vernacular translations. The *Consolatio* continued to be a source for Italian poets and philosophers well beyond the first half of the 16th century: for example, references to the text are found in Torquato Tasso and Giordano Bruno.[191]

[191] See, for example, Tasso's dialogue *Il messaggiero*, where the author is visited by an angel resembling Lady Philosophy; for Giordano Bruno, see *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, ed. Eugenio Canone, pp. 378–79; William Thomas Fontaine, *Fortune, Matter, and Providence: Anicius Severinus Boethius and Giordano Bruno* (Scotlandville, 1939); and Black and Pomaro, *La* Consolazione della filosofia, p. 29.

Appendix I

A checklist of all the manuscripts containing all Italian translations of the *Consolatio* between 1300 and 1550:[192]

I. *Alberto della Piagentina (fl. 1332; see Favero, "La tradizione manoscritta")*

a) *Complete text*

1. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A.398
2. Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana 147
3. Florence, BML, Pluteo LXXVI.65
4. Florence, BML, Pluteo LXXVI.71
5. Florence, BML, Pluteo LXXVI.76
6. Florence, BML, Pluteo XC sup. 125 (Gaddi)
7. Florence, BML, Ashburnham 536 (see Section 1.2)
8. Florence, BML, Gaddi rel. 30
9. Florence, BML, Gaddi rel. 96
10. Florence, BML, Mediceo Palatino 44
11. Florence, BNC, Fondo Nazionale II.II.23
12. Florence, BNC, Baldovinetti 146
13. Florence, BNC, Baldovinetti 147
14. Florence, BNC, Conventi Soppressi, F.5.202
15. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.65
16. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.66
17. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.162
18. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.165
19. Florence, BNC, Palatino 382
20. Florence, BNC, Palatino 383
21. Florence, BNC, Palatino 384
22. Florence, BNC, Panciatichiano 54

[192] For purposes of completeness, the checklist also includes translations that are not covered in this chapter. For translations by the same author, the list follows chronological order. I have used the following abbreviations: BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BC = Biblioteca Civica; BL = British Library; BML = Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France; BNC = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale; BNM = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; BNN = Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli; BNU = Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria; and Riccardiana = Biblioteca Riccardiana.

23. Florence, Riccardiana 1523
24. Florence, Riccardiana 1546
25. Florence, Riccardiana 1547
26. Florence, Riccardiana 1596
27. Florence, Riccardiana 1618
28. London, BL, Add. 27549
29. London, BL, Add. 31829
30. Paris, BNF, Ital. 439
31. Paris, BNF, Ital. 904
32. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati I.VI.21
33. Venice, BNM, It. II.5 (4935)
34. Venice, BNM, It. II.88 (4880)
35. Venice, BNM, It. II.98 (4948)
36. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare CCCCLVII (300)
37. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare CCCCLX (313)

b) *Extracts*

1. Florence, BNC, Fondo Nazionale II.II.67
2. Florence, BNC, Fondo Nazionale II.III.199
3. Florence, BNC, Palatino 315
4. Florence, Riccardiana 1036
5. Paris, BNF, Ital. 2024
6. Turin, BNU, N.I.33
7. Vatican City, BAV, Capponiano 262
8. Vatican City, BAV, Urbinate Lat. 676

II. *Grazia di Meo di Grazia da Siena (fl. 1343; see Albesano, "Consolatio philosophiae" volgare, p. 82)*

1. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 157
2. Florence, BML, Pluteo 78.23
3. Florence, BML, Ashburnham 512
4. Florence, BML, Rediano 91
5. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano II.I.71
6. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.145
7. Florence, BNC, Palatino 509
8. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 20

III. *Fra' Giovanni da Foligno (fl. 1386; see ibid., pp. 68–69)*

1. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano XXI.68
2. Florence, BNC, Conventi Soppressi, Angeli, F.5.201
3. Florence, Riccardiana, 2772
4. Florence, Riccardiana, 1545
5. Paris, BNF, Ital. 906
6. Paris, BNF, Ital. 2024
7. Turin, BNU, N.I.33

IV. *Giandino da Carmignano (end of 13th century; see ibid., pp. 49–50)*

1. Florence, BML, Pluteo 23 dxt. 11

V. *Lorenzo de' Medici (see Toscani, ed., Rime spirituali, pp. XXIII–XXXVII)*

1. Florence, BML, Pluteo XLI.25
2. Florence, BML, Acquisti e doni 264
3. Florence, BML, Rediano 129
4. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano, VII.684
5. Florence, BNC, Palatino 208
6. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional 3085
7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, Ital. 251
8. Naples, BNN, XIII.D.2
9. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 479
10. Vatican City, BAV, Vaticano Latino 3219
11. Vatican City, BAV, Barberiniano Latino 3945
12. Venice, BNM, Ital. IX.243 (6592)

VI. *Anselmo Tanzo (end of 15th century-beginning of 16th century; see above, Section 3.3)*

1. Florence, BML, Ashburnham 964
2. Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, H 34

VII. *Lodovico Domenichi (1549)*

1. Florence, BNC, Conventi Soppressi (Monte Oliveto), B.4.203

VIII. *Benedetto Varchi (1549; see Brancato, 136–42)*

1. Florence, BML, Mediceo Palatino 46
2. Florence, BML, Mediceo Palatino 113
3. Florence, BNC, Fondo Nazionale II.VIII.134
4. Florence, Riccardiana, 2834

IX. *Different anonymous translations*

1. Verona, Biblioteca Civica 212 (beginning of 14th century; see Albesano, p. 47)
2. Florence, BNC, Magliabechiano II.III.131 (beginning of 14th century; see ibid., pp. 47–48)
3. Florence, Riccardiana, 1609 (14th century; see ibid., p. 46)
4. Genoa, Biblioteca delle Missioni Urbane 46 (14th century; see ibid., p. 48–49)
5. Florence, BNC, Fondo Nazionale II.III.199 (end of 14th century; see ibid., pp. 46–47)

6a. Florence, Riccardiana, 1540 (end of 14th-beginning of 15th century; see ibid., p. 47)
6b. Vatican City, BAV, Reginense Latino 1971 (different redaction of 6a)

7. Florence, BNC, Palatino 510 (beginning of 15th century; see ibid.; ibid.)

8a. Florence, BNC, Palatino 655 (15th century; see ibid. p. 47)
8b. Florence, BNC, Conventi Soppressi, G.II.1338
8c. Venice, BNM, Classe II, cod. IV

9. Naples, BNN, V.H.57 (1480s; see ibid., pp. 50–52)

Appendix II

Checklist of all the editions of the *Consolatio* printed in Italy until 1552.[193]

I. *Opera omnia (all with Pseudo-Thomas's Commentum)*

1. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1491–92
2. Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1497/98–1499
3. Venice: mandato et expensis Luceantoni de Giunta, 1523

II. *Single editions*

a) *Independent editions with no commentary*

1. [Savigliano]: Johannes Glim, [1471 or 1474]
2. Savona: Johannes Bonus, 1474
3. Pinerolo: Jacobus Rubeus, 1479

b) *"Juntine tradition" (without commentary, based on 1507 Giunta edition)*

1. Florence: opera et impensa Philippi Giuntae, 1507
2. Florence: sumptibus Philippi de Giunta Florentini, 1513
3. Venice: per Gregorium de Gregoriis, 1516
4. [Toscolano]: Alexander Paganinus, [1521?]
5. Florence: per haeredes Philippi Iuntae, 1521
6. Venice: per Melchiorrem Sessam et Petrum de Ravanis socios, 1522

c) *With Pseudo-Thomas's Commentum*

1. Venice: [Bonetus Locatellus] for Octavianus Scotus, 1489
2. Venice: [Bonetus Locatellus] for Octavianus Scutus, 1498
3. Venice: Otinus de Luna Papiensis, 1499
4. Venice: per Bernardinum [Guerralda] Vercellensem, 1504

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[193] I compiled this checklist using the online versions of the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc) and *Edit16. Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it) and personally verifyed the accuracy of the information.

d) *With Pseudo Thomas's and Badius Ascensius's commentaries*

1. [Milan: Leonardus Pachel,] for Johannes Jacobus and brothers de Legnano, [after 1500]
2. Venice: diligenti cura sumptibusque haeredum Octaviani Scoti, 1524

III. *Translations*

a) *Lorenzo de' Medici (see Toscani, pp. X–XI)*

1. *La Rapresentatione di San Giovanni et Paulo, composta pel Magnifico Laurentio de Medici*, Florence, Francesco Bonaccorsi, [*c.*1492]
2. *Poesie volgari nuovamente stampate di Lorenzo de' Medici*, Venice: in casa de' figliuoli di Aldo, 1554

b) *Anselmo Tanzo*

1. Milan: per Augustino de Vicomercato a instantia de meser Bernardino Tanzo, 1520
2. Venice: per Giovanantonio et fratelli da Sabio, 1527
3. Venice: per Marchio Sessa, 1531

c) *Lodovico Domenichi*

1. Florence: appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550

d) *Benedetto Varchi*

1. Florence: [Lorenzo Torrentino], 1551

e) *Cosimo Bartoli*

1. Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551 [i.e., 1552]

MAKING THE *CONSOLATIO* IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

Ian Johnson

Apart from the scriptural authors and Church Fathers, few medieval *auctores* were as pervasively canonical in either the Latin or vernacular traditions as Boethius, and no Englishing of Boethius was more successful in its circulation than John Walton's 1410 verse translation of *De consolatione philosophiae* [*Consolatio*], which is extant in more than 20 manuscripts and was much more popular in the later Middle Ages than Geoffrey Chaucer's prose *Boece*, rendered in the first half of the 1380s.[1] Any such Boethian translation has to be understood by modern scholars and critics for what, by medieval criteria, it dutifully had to be: an interpretative exposition, of an academic nature properly, drawing on the expectations and the resources of educational culture and an extraordinarily powerful and richly learned Boethian commentary tradition.

What, then, were such medieval academic translations meant to look like, and what were they meant to do? One particularly serviceable

[1] This essay draws on and revises passages from an earlier study centering on Walton: "Placing Walton's Boethius," in *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the "Consolatio Philosophiae,"* ed. Lodi Nauta and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Leiden, 1997), pp. 217–42. For Walton, see *Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae Translated by John Walton Canon of Oseney*, ed. Mark Science, EETS o.s. 170 (London, 1927). Basic information about Walton and his work is contained in Science's introduction to his edition, pp. vii–xxi, xlii–l. Science's introduction shows that Walton knew and used Chaucer's *Boece* (pp. li–lviii). For the Vulgate *Consolation* I have consulted Tim Machan's edition in *Sources of the Boece*, ed. with the assistance of A.J. Minnis, (Chaucer Library) (Athens, GA, 2005). For modern editions of *De consolatione philosophiae*, see *Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973) (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*); and *Boethius: The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. V.E. Watts (Harmondsworth, 1969). For Chaucer's *Boece* I mainly refer in this chapter to Geoffrey Chaucer, *Chaucer's Boece: A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.3.21, ff. 9r–18or*, ed. Tim William Machan, (Middle English Texts) 38 (Heidelberg, 2008). For the edition of Chaucer's *Boece* by Ralph Hanna III and Traugott Lawler, and the edition of *Troilus and Criseyde* by Stephen A. Barney, see *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford, 1987), pp. 395–469, pp. 471–585. The standard study of Chaucer's *Boece* as a translation is Tim William Machan, *Techniques of Translation: Chaucer's Boece* (Norman, OK, 1985). For studies of medieval Boethian translation traditions, see *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1987); and *Chaucer's Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1993), esp. A.J. Minnis and Tim William Machan, "The *Boece* as Late-Medieval Translation," pp. 167–88.

historically and ideologically valid general criterion by which medieval academic translations may be understood and assessed is the common medieval conception that "translation is the exposition of meaning/teaching through/by another language" ("*translatio est expositio sententie per aliam linguam*," as John of Genoa's *Catholicon*, the most-used contemporary dictionary, put it).[2] To render the *sententia* is not necessarily to follow the words, or even the literal sense, but the import/teaching/*profundior intelligentia* of the text in question. The *sentence* may be drawn out through recourse to commentaries or by an expressing of the significance, or by elucidation of the argument, rather than by reproducing the strictly literalistic or word-for-word meaning. The agility and suppleness with which a translator may negotiate the words, meanings, and suggestibilities of the original, of commentary materials, and of the texts of earlier translators of the same material are a testimony to the richness and flexibility not only of the *Consolatio* tradition but also of late-medieval English translation culture. For it cannot be repeated often enough: most Middle English literature was translation of one kind or another.[3] And indubitably, Boethian translation held a special place at the commanding heights of literary culture.

Chaucer's *Boece*: Sources and Their Treatment

With regard to the dating of Chaucer's *Boece*, there is strong evidence for believing that it was written by 1385, because Thomas Usk borrowed from

[2] John of Genoa, *Catholicon*, s.v. *glossa* (Venice, 1483), unfol. For further discussions considering medieval translation theory and commentary tradition, see Roger Ellis, "The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter, 1982), 18–46; Rita Copeland, "The Fortunes of "non verbum pro verbo": Or, Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian," *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages: Papers Read at a conference held 20–23 August 1987 at the University of Wales Conference Centre, Gregynog Hall*, ed. Roger Ellis, ass. Jocelyn Price, Stephen Medcalf, and Peter Meredith (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 15–35; and, in the same volume, J.D. Burnley, "Late Medieval English Translation: Types and Reflections," pp. 37–53, Tim William Machan, "Chaucer as Translator," pp. 55–67, and Ian Johnson, "Prologue and Practice: Middle English Lives of Christ," pp. 69–85. See also the subsequent volumes in the *Medieval Translator* series. See, too, Ian Johnson, "The Late-Medieval Theory and Practice of Translation with Special Reference to Some Middle English Lives of Christ" (Ph.D. diss., Bristol, 1990), esp. pp. 70–87, 275–85, 334–97, 406–10. Rita Copeland's *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991) is a standard study which continues to further our understanding of the ideologies and practices of medieval translation.

[3] Johnson, "The Late-Medieval Theory and Practice of Translation," p. 1; Johnson, "Prologue and Practice," p. 69.

the work in his *Testament of Love*: Usk's most recent editor maintains that this was the date by which *The Testament* must have been composed.[4] Ten manuscripts of the *Boece* survive, as well as the early editions of Caxton and Thynne.[5] The textual tradition is divisible into an alpha and a beta branch. But which should an editor choose as the basis for constructing an edited text? In their fine and illuminating edition in the *Riverside Chaucer*, Ralph Hanna and Traugott Lawler opt for the more sophisticated and smoother-reading alpha branch, whereas Tim Machan, in his rather different but excellent and fascinating edition, prefers the beta branch because "its rougher texts show less evidence of scribal sophistication."[6] In other words, beta is, for Machan, more authorial because in this tradition scribes had not been let loose on the text with their tidying proclivities to the same extent that clearly is the case with the alpha branch. Hanna and Lawler accordingly go for the manuscript commonly abbreviated as C^1 (Cambridge University Library Ii.1.38, fols 1r–69r) as their editorial basis, whereas Machan follows C^2 (Cambridge University Library Ii.3.21, fols 9r–180v). Chaucer's translation is, so it would appear, unfinished, lacking, as it does, a prologue, yet at the same time preserving " 'alternate translations' [...] neither of which is based specifically on the Latin or French, wherein the differences between the two are stylistic, not semantic."[7]

The most important source of Chaucer's *Boece* was the Vulgate Boethius. Chaucer also drew on Jean de Meun's French version and the greatest Boethius commentary of the Middle Ages, that of the Dominican Nicholas Trevet (*c.*1300), which survives in more than 100 manuscripts. In addition to this, Latin glosses in the tradition originating with Remigius of Auxerre (the so-called "Remigian tradition") were used, although these were by no means as influential in shaping the *Boece* overall as Trevet or Jean.[8] As shall be seen in textual analyses below, it is not easy to say that either Trevet or Jean was the more influential. Things are different, however, with Walton, who seems more readily to have cleaved to Trevet, especially for his provision of moralizing and more "spiritual" fare.[9]

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[4] Machan, ed., *Chaucer's Boece*, Introduction, pp. xi–xii; Thomas Usk, *Testament of Love*, ed. Gary W. Shawver, based on the edition of John F. Leyerle (Toronto, 2002), Introduction, pp. 28–29.

[5] Machan, ed., *Chaucer's Boece*, Introduction, pp. xx–xxiii.

[6] Ibid., Introduction, p. xxxvi. Both the Machan and the Hanna-Lawler editions are very useful; some may find the explanatory notes in the latter particularly helpful.

[7] Minnis and Machan, "The *Boece* as Late-Medieval Translation," pp. 183–4.

[8] Minnis, "Chaucer's *Boece* and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius," p. 84.

[9] Ibid., p. 93, where Minnis is, in the case of Chaucer, in accord with this.

Tim Machan, who has in recent years edited not only the *Boece* but has also, as far as is possible (given the incomplete but nevertheless telling evidence from surviving manuscripts), edited Chaucer's French and Latin sources,[10] concludes that we have to think anew about defining and theorizing the nature of sources in the case of such learned commentary-translation. In fact, he goes so far as to declare that the manner in which Chaucer executed his translation in effect gave being to a uniquely contingent composite source that, in itself, never existed in any one codicological or textual locus or manifestation:

> In effect, Chaucer himself created this source through the act of translation, by taking a passage's lexicon, for example, from Latin, its syntax from French, and its clarifying expressions from Trevet and Remigius. His movement from source to source is entirely individualistic, reflecting, presumably, not only the quality of his source texts at any one point but also his larger understanding of what might be called the larger *Consolatio* tradition. It is a movement that is therefore in no way predictable from meter to prose and that renders simplistic the dismissal of the translation as the work of an unaccomplished Latinist.[11]

In other words, any editor or critic of the *Boece* is in the awkwardly paradoxical situation not only of having to examine Chaucer's English text to try to see what he did to his sources but also, as part and parcel of the same enterprise, of having to examine the Latin sources through the filter of the English rendering with a view to ascertaining what the sources were and in what textual modalities they were utilized. For all the hermeneutic discomfort this Hall of Boethian Mirrors might involve, the approach advocated by Machan does carry us closer to an appreciation of what translators like Chaucer and Walton (and other Boethian translators such as Robert Henryson and the composer of the *Boke of Coumfort of Bois* [see below]) were up to, and also what they *thought* they were up to.

Little wonder, given the confusingly semi-(in)tangible character of this kind of translating, that there has been a measure of disagreement about the sources Chaucer used. When it comes to the learned Latin commentary tradition, though Hanna and Lawler accept that Trevet is certainly an important source, they also argue in the introduction to their edition that Chaucer turned a few times to the commentary of William of Conches.[12] A.J. Minnis disagrees, preferring to attribute to the Remigian tradition the

[10] Tim Machan's *Sources of the Boece* contains an edition of Jean's translation.
[11] Machan, ed., *Chaucer's Boece*, Introduction, p. xviii.
[12] *Boece*, in *Riverside Chaucer*, p. 1004.

short glosses that Hanna and Lawler deem to have come from William (even though such glosses may, of course, have originated with the Remigian tradition).[13] Minnis is by no means convinced that Chaucer would have sifted out from William only short Remigian glosses and made no use of William's more substantial glosses, and he rejects outright the idea that Chaucer used William of Conches at all.[14] Neither is he convinced that Chaucer made use of a copy of Jean containing Latin commentary. The most important reason for this is that Chaucer, so it would appear, used a version of Jean from the *a* branch of the textual tradition of *Li Livres*, as constructed by V.L. Dedeck-Héry, a branch lacking in such glosses. All the surviving manuscripts of Jean containing such Latin glosses are, so it would seem, from the *b* branch.[15]

Turning now to the question of how to characterize the ways in which Chaucer treats his sources and (re)makes his own *Consolatio*, we should bear in mind that Machan labels Chaucer's source use as "in no way predictable." He is certainly right. From the very beginning it is hard to discern patterns of source preference as Geoffrey moves from one source to another or redistributes their lexical and semantic content, variously merging, separating, and modulating them in changing quantities and variegated semantic color-mixes. Take the first prosa of the first book, and the famous passage in which Philosophy appears to a wretched Boethius:

> *Hyr clothes weeren maked of riht delye thredes and subtil craft of perdurable matere; the whiche clothes she hadde woven with hyr owne handes, as I knewh wel after by hyrself declarynge and shewynge to me the beaute; the whiche clothes a dirknesse of a forletyn and a despised elde hadde dusked and derked, as it is wont to dyrken besmokede ymages. In the nethereste hem or bordure of thise clothes, men redden ywoven in a Grekyssh "P," that syngnifieth the lyf actyf; and aboven that lettre in the heyeste bordure a Grekyssh "T," that singnifieth the lyf contemplatyf.* (ll.12–19)

This renders the following from the Vulgate Boethius:

> *Vestes errant tenuissimus filis subtili artificio, indissolubili materia perfecte quas, uti post eadem prodente cognovi, suis manibus ipsa texuerat. Quarum speciem, veluti fumosas ymagines solet, caligo quedam neglecte vetustatis*

[13] Alastair Minnis, "Nicholas Trevet and Chaucer's *Boece*," in *Chaucer's Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, ed. Minnis, pp. 83–166 (pp. 89–90); Machan, ed., *Sources*, Introduction, p. 10.

[14] Minnis, "Nicholas Trevet and Chaucer's *Boece*," pp. 89–90.

[15] Ibid., p. 91.

> *obduxerat. Harum in extremo margine Π Grecum, in suppremo margine Θ, legebatur intextum.* (ll.11–15)

Minnis has brought to our attention[16] a quick succession of items of source use here, wherein, it strikes me, different sources seem to be utilized without pattern. The first item (according to an earlier observation made by Mark Gleason and picked up by Minnis),[17] shows Chaucer using Trevet over and above the Vulgate Boethius, for "shewynge" derives from Trevet's "*PRODENTE id est reuelante*" [BY EMERGING, that is, by showing]. The next example, "*and derked, as it is wont to dyrken besmokede ymages*," is possibly influenced by a mixture of Jean's "*occurcie, si comme elle seult occurcir les ymages enfumees*" and Trevet's "*OBDUXERAT id est obfuscauerat VELUTI SOLET FUMOSAS YMAGINES. Ymagines enim, quantumcumque sint pulcre, si stent in fumo, obfuscatur earum pulcritudo*" [COVERED, that is darkened, AS, FOR EXAMPLE, IS THE CASE WITH SMOKED-OVER MASKS. For masks, however beautiful they may be, if they stand in smoke, their beauty will be darkened].[18] Next, it seems to be the turn of the Remigian tradition, whose gloss "*MARGINE id est fine*" may well have influenced Chaucer's introduction of the word *bordure* for *margine* in his doublet, "*hem or bordure*."[19]

Finally, and most intriguingly, there are the questions of how and why Greek "P" and "T" replaced *theta* and *pi*,[20] and how the Vulgate Boethius's *practica* and *theorica* were transformed in translation to the "active life" and "contemplative life," respectively. At this point we turn to Jean, whom Chaucer clearly followed: "*une letre grezeche, tele* [*P*] *qui senefioit la vie active, et pardesus ou plus haut oule une autre letre, tele* [*T*] *qui senefioit la vie contemplative*" (pp. 27, l.18–28, l.19). First, and of lesser importance, Jean does not actually use Greek characters, according to Machan's edited text. The second issue, concerning the active and contemplative lives, is weightier: such a rendering would move the *Consolatio* away from the philosophical and towards the theological and a more overt Christianization—and perhaps even a possible coloring compatible with a contemporary affective piety or devotionalism. Minnis points out that Trevet

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[16] Ibid., p. 95.

[17] Ibid., p. 95, and also Mark Gleason, "Clearing the Fields: Towards a Reassessment of Chaucer's Use of Trevet in the *Boece*," in *The Medieval Boethius*, ed. Minnis, pp. 89–105 (pp. 97–98).

[18] Here, I have used the complete but unfinalized edition of Nicholas Trevet's commentary on the *Consolatio*, which Professor Edmund Taite Silk, formerly of Yale University, was still working on at the time of his death. I am grateful to have had access to this.

[19] As noted by Machan, ed., *Sources*, p. 273.

[20] Ibid., p. 95.

"glosses *pi* as *practica* and *theta* as *theorica*," and does not identify any input at this point from the Dominican regarding the two lives.[21] Jean, it would appear, is thus the sole influence for this substantial redirecting of the *verba* of the original. Or is he? If we look a little further on in Trevet, in his glosses on the next few words of this meter, we find the following:

> *Primo enim debet homo sufficienter instructus esse in practicis, ut postea ascendendo uacet contemplatiuis. Sciencie enim practice ordinantur ad contemplatiuas tamquam ad ultimum finem. Hanc enim contemplacionem posuerunt philosophi esse felicitatem.*
>
> [For a man ought at first to be instructed sufficiently in practical learning, so that in subsequently ascending there is opportunity for matters contemplative. For the practical sciences are subordinated to things contemplative as their final cause. Philosophers have therefore maintained contemplation to be happiness.]

So, a notion of discrimination between a practical life and an ascent to the contemplative is countenanced by Trevet here. Moreover, it is linked to a notion of happiness, "*felicitatem*." At this point it is salutary to remind ourselves of the central seriousness of the key Boethian association of happiness and contemplation that runs through Trevet's "take" on the *Consolatio*; for at the opening of his glosses on 3m12, for instance, Trevet is keen to highlight this pairing in the context of the *summum bonum*/God, Who, after all, is the cause and objective of the soul's ascent: "*Postquam ostendit Philosophya que sit uera beatitudo et in quo situ quia in Deo, hic exortatur ad perseuerandum in contemplatione et desiderio istius beatitudinis*" [After Philosophy has shown what true happiness is, and wherein, inasmuch as it is in God, it resides, to this end she exhorts (Boethius/us) to persevere in the contemplation and desire of this happiness].[22]

It would of course be an exaggeration to claim the *Consolatio* or *Boece* as devotional or "mystical" works, but they undoubtedly do partake of a transcendental, "piety-friendly," and hopeful spirituality in which the soaring soul is able to leave the body behind and rise high in the knowledge

[21] Ibid., pp. 95–96.

[22] For a transcription by A.B. Scott of Trevet's glosses on the Orpheus meter, see Robert Henryson, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. Denton Fox (Oxford, 1981), pp. 384–91, here p. 384. For the purposes of discussing 3m12 in this essay, I use Scott's more accessible modern transcription in preference to Silk's edition, and I use capitals for Trevet's citation of the Boethian text and lower case for his glosses.

and direct awareness and beholding of God.[23] Thus, in 4m1 of *Boece*, Chaucer depicts the soul ascending towards knowledge of the Deity with "*swifte fetheres that surmounten the heyhte of hevene*" (l.1). In this meter we see Chaucer at work as an academic translator of the most agile kind, remarkably subtle and suggestible in the way he negotiates his sources with extraordinary theological and verbal delicacy. Such delicacy can only be appreciated if based on an appropriately historicized understanding of the discursive repertoire of medieval academic translation and of how this repertoire could be articulated in actual translation practice, in this case with regard to lines 16–18, in which the soul, having transcended the heavens, is made perfect in the redoubtable light of God (below is Chaucer's rendering, preceded by the Vulgate Boethius and Jean's translation):

> Vulgate *Consolatio*
> *Polum relinquat extimum*
> *Dorsaque velocis premat etheris*
> *Compos verendi luminis*.[24]
>
> Jean de Meun, *Li Livres de confort de philosophie*
> [...] *elle delaissera la derrenier point du ciel et marchera seur le dos du firmament isnel et verra la redoubtable clarté*.[25]
>
> Chaucer, *Boece*
> [...] *he schal forleten the laste point of the hevene, and he schal pressen and wenden on the bak of the swifte firmament, and he schal be makid parfit of the worschipful lyght or dredefulle clerenesse of God*.[26] (ll.23–28)

For Chaucer singularly, the soul is now *made perfect* in divine illumination. Moreover, unlike the Vulgate Boethius and Jean (but following

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[23] The discussion of the following passage of 4m1 reuses and revises materials from my article, "The Ascending Soul and the Virtue of Hope: The Spiritual Temper of Chaucer's *Boece* and *Retraccioun*s," *English* 88.3 (2007), 245–61, especially pp. 246–49.

[24] See the text of Vulgate *Consolatio* in Machan, ed., *Sources of the Boece*, 4m1.16–18. Further references to the Vulgate *Consolatio* are to this edition and will be given after the quotations in the text.

[25] See the text of Jean de Meun's *Li Livres de confort de philosophie* in Machan, ed., *Sources of the Boece*, 4m1.8–10. Further references to are to this edition and will be given after the quotations in the text.

[26] Machan's edition does not contain the words *dredefulle clerenesse*: for discussion of this passage I am quoting Hanna-Lawler. If Machan is correct, then the worst that could be said about the implications of this for my following comments is that they are comments on a rendering produced deliberately by someone who saw fit intelligently and informedly to *in-eche* such an *expositio sententie* as part and parcel of a living and developing *Consolatio* tradition.

Trevet's gloss, "*LUMINIS id est dei*"),[27] he identifies the light as that "*of God*," for the original reads merely "*luminis*" [of the light], which Jean de Meun renders as "*clarté*," without any mention of the divinity. With regard to the line "*Compos verendi luminis*," and in particular the word *Compos*, its more usual senses of "mastering" or "sharing in" are rejected by Chaucer, who prefers "*makid parfit of*," presumably because he is not easy with either the potentially impious notion of a human soul mastering God, or the inappropriate idea of the soul taking, rather too actively, a share of God's light. Instead he is theologically decorous, depicting the soul, in wording that would be at home in a treatise of devotion or contemplation, as passively made perfect by redoubtable divine illumination. The preposition "of" accordingly accommodates not only the instrumental sense "by" but also the participatory sense "in," suggesting not only that the soul is perfected *by* the light of God, i.e., its sake being fulfilled and completed, but also that it is perfected *in* this light, i.e., in being subsumed in the divinity.

The doublet "*the worschipful lyght or dredefulle clerenesse of God*" (for "*verendi luminis*") is a hermeneutically and theologically tactful choice. The first noun, *lyght*, denotes light-shedding illumination (with which any contemporary Platonizing Augustinian would be happy). The latter, *clerenesse*, emphasizes the clarification in the mind/soul of that which was previously unclear or confusing. The first noun, *lyght*, invokes (albeit somewhat metaphorically) the primary *sense perception* of sight, whereas the second, *clerenesse*, denotes a *quality* of clarity to be discerned. That which was dark is resolved by illuminating "*lyght*"; that which was unclear or confusing is resolved by clarifying "*clerenesse*." The two, although twinned in divinity, are not quite the same thing, and Chaucer shows semantic as well as philosophical particularity here; for by covering their conceptual range, he produces a more eloquently precise and thematically rich portrayal of the soul's transformation in God.

He shows similar theological sensitivity, in this passage, with the pair of adjectives attached to the nouns, *worschipful* and *dredefulle*. First, they have mutually reinforcing endings "-ful" and "-fulle," which reflect the plenitude in the divinity of the attributes they designate. These two accommodate, between them, the range of senses, "to be feared/respected/revered/honored," in the Latin word they service: *verendi*. In

[27] See Trevet's gloss in Machan, ed., *Sources of the Boece*, p. 293. Further references to Trevet's commentary with regard to Chaucer's treatment of this *metrum* are to this book and will be given after the quotations in the text.

worschipful, not just mere honor or respect are designated but also an unmistakable association with Christian divine worship and a genuine attraction of the soul to God. At the more daunting end of the spectrum, *dredefulle* summons up all-too-familiar discourses of the Terror of the Lord and the fear of the Almighty Judge Who sees all. This devout balance, of the love (i.e., the movement towards) and dread of God, is a commonplace of medieval religious culture. Together, its opposing poles inform Christian reverence (as Boethius's word *verendi* and Chaucer's rendering thereof suggest). Chaucer's contemporary, the *Cloud* author, in his "Pistle of Preier," defines such reverence in a manner complementing Chaucer's hermeneutic choices: "*For whi reuerence is not elles bot drede and loue medelid togeders*."[28] Indeed, consultation of Edmund Silk's edition of Trevet reveals a gloss which seems to have influenced Chaucer's "reverentializing" treatment of his source: "*COMPOS VERENDI id est reuerendi*." And that by which dread and love are "medelid togeders" also has a parallel in Chaucer's treatment of the soul rising to the divine; for dread and love are "*medelid togeders wiþ a staf of certain hope*."[29] This staff of hope, by which "*þou maist sekirliche climbe into the hiȝe mount of perfeccioun, þat is to sey, þe parfite loue of God, þof al þis beginnyng be inparfite*,"[30] stirs together love and dread, which would otherwise fly apart, with the consequence that the human soul would have no reverential route by which to approach the divinity. There is a Boethian analogue to such hope in the yearning heavenward of the soul; or, as Trevet put it (see above)—"*in Deo*, [...] *in contemplatione et desiderio istius beatitudinis*," or, again, to cite the commonplace medieval definition of the Theological Virtue and emotion of hope, "*firma expectatio futurae beatitudinis*" [the steadfast expectation of future happiness]. Chaucer inscribes the same *firma expectatio* into this passage not only thematically but also by his very syntax, doing so by a cumulative, stage-marking use of the governing verb *schal*, which is in the very tense of hope itself, the future: "*he schal forleten* [...], *and he schal pressen* [...], *and he schal be makid parfite*." The soul *shall* leave the last point of heaven, then it *shall* move onto the back of the firmament, and finally it *shall* be perfected in the light of God. The triply declared *schal* binds together the stages of a single providential process. Even in the grammar and syntax of his translation practice, Chaucer shows an

[28] "A Pistle of Preier," in *The Cloud of Unknowing and Related Treatises*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson (Salzburg, 1982), 102.33–34.

[29] Ibid., 102.34.

[30] Ibid., 102.19–21.

acute theological sense. In terms of style alone, this passage requires comment. The words "*and he schal be makid parfit of the worschipful lyght or dredefulle clerenesse of God*" could, indeed, be straight out of a devotional or contemplative treatise. Chaucer, a supremely careful translator and a virtuoso practitioner of a vast range of styles throughout his *oeuvre*, endows this passage with stylistic affiliations not so evident in the Vulgate Boethius itself. His treatment of this passage, in which the issue of the soul's access to the divine is so central, is a gauge of his attitude to Boethius as a 14th-century mainstream English Christian. His translation reveals theological tact and a diligent spiritual temper. Although Walton is a far better verse translator than Chaucer is in the *Troilus* when it comes to the knotty topic of human free will and God's foreknowledge,[31] he does not, in this particular passage of 4m4, manifest the kind of ruminative subtlety that his more famous predecessor achieved in his prose rendering (though we must also acknowledge here that it was easier for Chaucer to translate with semantic richness in prose than for Walton to do the same in prosodically constraining stanzas).

Walton's Boethius

The Boethius translation of John Walton, canon of Osney, dedicated to Elisabeth Berkeley, daughter of Sir Thomas Berkeley, fourth Lord Berkeley, and wife of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, is first and foremost a translation in the tradition of academic commentary on the *Consolatio*. Unsurprisingly, as with Chaucer's *Boece*, it draws on the most important work of later medieval exegesis on the *Consolatio*, the commentary of Nicholas Trevet.[32] Walton's text also draws freely and plenteously on words and phrases of Chaucer's earlier prose rendition, and this has led in the past to ill-informed and anachronistic charges of plagiarism.[33] As we

[31] See Ian Johnson, "*This Brigous Questioun*: Translating Free Will and Predestination in Walton's *Boethius* and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Carmina Philosophiae* 3 (1994) [published 1996], 1–21.

[32] For demonstrations of Walton's use of the commentary of Trevet and his use of exegetical methodology, see A.J. Minnis, "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford 1981), pp. 312–61, esp. pp. 343–47, 350–51; Rita Copeland, "Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation in the Middle Ages," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 9 (1987), 41–75, esp. pp. 57–62, 66–75; and I.R. Johnson, "Walton's Sapient Orpheus," in *The Medieval Boethius*, ed. Minnis, pp. 139–68, esp. pp. 144–54, 165–8.

[33] For instance, as in Science's introduction to his edition of Walton, pp. liii–lviii.

shall see below, an assessment of Walton's management of the pragmatic working relationships among his three main sources—i.e., the Latin Vulgate original, Chaucer's *Boece*, and Trevet's glosses—reveals that it would be misleading in significant respects to regard the *Boece* as the foundational text or prime source for Walton's work, for all of Walton's verbal appropriation of Chaucer's text. The truth is that Walton may often deploy Chaucer's words, but, as far as the evidence we have indicates, he tends to do so as sanctioned by the import of Trevet's commentary.[34] Chaucer's *Boece* thus is not a new beginning with originary force: it effaces neither the Latin original nor Trevet as far as Walton is concerned; for time and time again he uses Trevet against Chaucer. It would therefore also be misleading to conceive of Walton's text as being at two textual removes from Boethius, as if he were utilizing Trevet's hermeneutical mediation through Chaucer. On the contrary: there is no necessary normative sequence, Walton to Chaucer to Trevet to Boethius. Although it would be accurate to say that Chaucer does provide a generally reliable shortcut to Trevet, it does not therefore follow that Walton had to use Chaucer as a means of access to the most potent Boethius commentary of the age.

The *Boece* and Trevet's glosses therefore constitute simultaneous, not sequential, textual circumstances for Walton. Where they differ, however, is in their status and function, for the adjudication of *sentence* comes, as far as appears to be the case, from Trevet and from rumination of the Latin original and not so much from the *Boece*, which seems to be in a position of supplementation to Trevet. For Walton, with his text of Trevet in front of him alongside the Vulgate Boethius and the *Boece*, Chaucer's work is less a prime repository of Boethian *sentence*, and more a second-string one of *verba*. This should not be too surprising when one considers a parallel situation in Chaucer's *Boece*, which frequently reaches beyond

[34] See Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, pp. 142–50, for an important discussion of Chaucer's and Walton's Boethian source-use, and the theoretical implications thereof, especially as regards the conception of displacement by the vernacular text/commentary of the Latin original. Minnis and Machan ("The *Boece* as Late-Medieval Translation" p. 185, n. 76), however, responded in some measure to this, pointing out that "the dominance of the Latin text of the *Consolatio* should of course always be recognized. Chaucer constantly deferred to the 'original' when making his translation, [...] the fundamental *auctoritas* remained with Boethius. This was the very value and significance of the English translation (as seen in Chaucer's day), and Chaucer had no wish to sever it." For further discussion of displacement with regard to Boethian and other medieval translating, see Ian Johnson, "Placing Walton's Boethius" and, by the same author, "Hellish Complexity in Henryson's *Orpheus*," in *Scottish Texts: European Contexts*, ed. Ian Johnson and Nicola Royan, Special Issue of *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 38.4 (2002), 412–19.

Jean de Meun into the Latin materials in order to provide a closer version of the original. At the same time, however, the two English versions are not universally comparable; for, as we already have seen, Chaucer often does precisely the opposite and opts for Jean instead of Trevet. This preference for a vernacular source goes to show, all the more, just how flexible the Boethian tradition could be—even though any given vernacular rendering by Jean may have its roots in a Latin source that the French translator consulted.

Before discussion of the mechanics of Walton's treatment of his sources, it would be helpful to get an idea of the range of ways in which Walton conceived of his role as a Boethian translator, laboring to meet the demands of wisdom and eloquence in the service not only of his distinguished female patron but also as a pious worker under the omniscient eye of his Christian God.

First of all, we shall see how, most unusually, this issue of Walton's self-conceit as a Boethian translator is intimately bound up with two intriguing sets of versified signatory acrostics: the first set in the 1525 edition; the other set at the beginning and end of his rendering of the *Consolatio* itself.[35] The discovery of acrostic anagrams, in which Walton signs his name into the very fabric of his translating, appears to confirm his authorship; but there is more to these acrostics than the mere identifiability, for the benefit of modern scholars of a medieval English writer. The acrostic anagrams woven into the first (NWLOTA) and penultimate (WTALVN) stanzas of his rendering of the Vulgate Boethius text are, as shall be discussed later, self-naming as well as self-concealing in an intrinsically Boethian way; and in them Walton gives away quite a bit about his agenda:

Allas I wrecche þat whilom was in welthe
And lusty songes vsed for to write
Now am I set in sorowes and vnselthe.

[35] The following discussion of acrostics reuses and revises materials from my article "Authorial Self-Identification in the Acrostics of Walton's Boethius and the Question of John Bonejohn," *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 15 (for 2006; published 2007), 1–12. See also Ian Johnson, "New Evidence for the Authorship of Walton's Boethius," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 43 (1996), 19–21. For discussion of authorial signatures, and their manifestations as anagrams and acrostics, see Erik S. Kooper, "Signature and Art and the Art of the Signature," in *Court and Poet: Selected Proceedings of the International Courtly Literature Society* (*Liverpool 1980*), ed. Glyn S. Burgess, with the assistance of A.D. Deyermond, W.H. Jackson, A.D. Mills, and P.T. Ricketts (Liverpool, 1981), pp. 223–32; and Laurence de Looze, "Signing Off in the Middle Ages: Medieval Textuality and Strategies of Authorial Self-Naming," in *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternak (Madison, WI, 1991), pp. 162–78.

Wiþ mournyng now my merþe I most respite;
Lo rendyng muses techiþ me to endite,
Of wo wiþ wepyng weteþ þay my face.
Thus hath my disese distroyed al my delyte
And broght my blisse and my bone cheefe all bace. (stanza 32)

Wiþstonde þou vice and ȝif þe to vertue;
To rightwys hope þou lifte vp þi corage;
And for þy nedes if þou wilt pursue,
Lo humble prayer send on thi message
Vp to þi god; hit fayleth not his wage.
Ne doute þe noght þou schalt be sped full sone,
For he refuseth neuere a lowely bone. (stanza 1001)

So, more than being just rather good evidence that Walton wrote Walton's Boethius, these acrostics also can be probed for their significance in our critical understanding of this very important Middle English work. It is odd that in each of these two acutely signatory stanzas a highly aware translator imposes the word *bone* onto the text when it is by no means necessitated by the Vulgate Boethius or Trevet. The last two lines of Stanza 32 (the first of 1m1), "*Thus hath my disese distroyed al my delyte / And broght my blisse and my bone cheefe all bace*," are the lament of a hapless Boethius-persona in the midst of his unenlightened woes. "[*B*]*one cheefe*," "good fortune," the opposite of "*mischeefe*," is written as two words, thereby heightening each element. According to the MED *bonchef* commonly means "good luck" or "happiness," and such a meaning is certainly present here. Inasmuch as Walton is a translator of considerable lexical wit and hermeneutic suggestibility, it can also be suspected that he was aware of the semantic possibilities of playing with *bone* and *cheefe*. *Bone* carries connotations of "good" and "the Good." The word *chef*, in the MED, numbers among its senses "outcome of events" but, more commonly, "chief," "sovereign or dominant power," and "the most important or principal part or factor." In this Boethian text, it is by no means fanciful to see "*bone cheefe*" as a calque of "*summum bonum*." For the Boethius-persona's "*bone cheefe*" to be "all bace" is thus a philosophically telling oxymoron: a degradation and misplacing of the Greatest Good (commonly identified also as God in the Boethian tradition). The truest and highest meaning and nature of *bone cheefe* as *summum bonum* may have been forgotten by the benighted Boethius *persona*, but it is available to the alert reader who is able to see through the tell-tale calque to the *summum bonum* beyond. This is sophisticated Boethian lexical wit on the part of Walton.

Then, at the close of the work, the end of stanza 1001 reads "*Ne doute þe noght þou schalt be sped full sone, / For he refuseth neuere a lowely bone*." *Bone* here means "prayer," not to be refused by the Almighty, though it also carries a sense, perhaps, of a request to be granted by favor of a patron. In Walton's case, this patron was Elisabeth Berkeley, daughter of Sir Thomas Berkeley, fourth Lord Berkeley, and wife of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Perhaps Walton is tipping her the wink here, i.e., "God refuses no humble request, so you shouldn't either, should you?" Be that as it may, how does this later *bone* sit more generally with its counterpart at the beginning of the translation stint? The *bone* of stanza 1001 (MED *bon*) is a prayer to God, which advertises confidently and hopefully that God will never spurn a humble petition. Whereas the first *bone* is stuck in the powerless earthly lowness of a sunken good/happiness (and an unnaturally mislocated *summum bonum*), the closing *bone* rises from earth through the powerful lowliness of irrefusably humble prayer and is, we are confidently told, going to be acceded to by God, the source and occasion of "*bone cheefe*" without peer. The trajectory from the opening *bone* to the closing one re-enacts the (somewhat Christianized) progress of the soul from earthly misery to acceptance by God. Put fancifully, this trajectory is the dynamic of the entire *sententia* of the Waltonian Boethius. Walton signs himself *literally* (i.e., in letters) and devotionally into his work, into the span of devout labor between the two acrostics. His name is a locus of petition for grace in the text—and God never refuses humble petitions: Walton's "wage" will not be withheld. Although Walton is translating the source here, this stanza is profoundly self-referring. Indeed, in the next, and final, stanza of the whole work, the last three lines seem to define God's understanding of human conduct in expository terms relevant not just to the Boethius-persona and the Boethian reader/hearer but also to Walton the Boethian translator:

> *Sith all þi werkes ben open and expresse*
> *Vnto þe presence of þe iuge on hye*
> *Þat all þing doth beholde plenerlye*. (stanza 1002)

The words *open and expresse*, terms common enough in the working parlance of medieval translation, invoke a perfect divine hermeneutics of moral and spiritual translatability, whereby God infallibly interprets the text of human conduct, its *matere* and *entent*. Likewise, Walton's hidden name is perfectly known to a gracious God, even if the human readership cannot see it (and they certainly cannot hear it). And, however insufficient or *derk* the Canon of Osney's own frail rendering might turn out to

be in the eyes of its human readership, God will nevertheless be able to see through to the true *entent* informing it, and judge accordingly.

A further important context for these two acrostic stanzas has recently been given greater sharpness by Brian Donaghey, Irma Taavitseinen, and Erik Miller.[36] Their article offers the appealing prospect that in the early printed edition of Walton's Boethius the acrostic dedicatory verses, which contain Walton's and Elisabeth Berkeley's names, are authorial. They argue compellingly that the 1525 Tavistock edition of Walton's Boethius (STC no. 3200), published by the Benedictine monk Thomas Richard, used Copenhagen Royal Library, Thott 304 as a copy text. Not only is there close textual correspondence between the two but also it is highly evident that Thott was marked up as Richard's copy text.[37] Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks the beginning and the ending of the work to be found in the 1525 edition and is therefore without the dedicatory verses which contain the acrostics ELISABET BERKELEY and IOHANNES WALTWNEM. Ian Doyle has gone so far, however, as to suggest that Thott was a presentation copy for Elisabeth Berkeley, in which case we may conceive of these verses as being authorial (and even if this was not the copy, it may be related to it).[38] The dedicatory verses, then, may be read more confidently for what they can tell us about Walton's self-conception as a pious Boethian translator with particular circumstances of patronage. This of course can also be interpreted in the light of the rest of the work and, of course, those signatory acrostic stanzas at the beginning and end of the translation.

Being named and being subject to the grace of God are both part of the same thing (see the discussion of the *Book of Coumfort*, below); so names and grace, in this Boethian text, are conditions or signs of each other. Something comparable is the case with the self-naming in Walton's Boethius. Let it not, furthermore, be forgotten that Walton sees his translating as a service to his Christian God:

> *So þat in schenschip and confusioun*
> *Of all þis foule worldly wrecchydnesse,*
> *He helpe me in þis occupacioun.*
> *In honour of þat sofferayn blisfulnesse* [...] (stanza 9)

Awareness of this apparent fact is helpful for a fuller reading of both Walton's acrostic anagrammatic stanzas and (below) the acrostic dedicatory verses:

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[36] "Walton's Boethius: From Manuscript to Print," *English Studies* 80 (1999), 398–407.
[37] Donaghey et al., "Walton's Boethius," pp. 406–07.
[38] Ibid., p. 407.

Collectis insequentibus cuius libet linee primis litteris / non solum Translatoris sed & transferri procurantis / nomina cum cognominibus / inuestigare poteris

[You may trace, from following and putting together the first letters of each line, the name and surname of not only the translator but also the procurer of the translation]

NOMEN Transferri procurantis.
Euer more exalted be thou lord on hy
Lawly wyche of thy benygnyte
In flesshe and blodde aperyng wyllyngly
So pyteously were peyned on the tre
And sufferest / that greuous was to the
Be bledde wyth al thy blodde for mannes sake
Euer more exalted be thy maieste
Thyn hert blodde / oure raunson woldest þ^{u} make.
COGNOMEN.
Blyseful lorde I pray the hertely
Er I depart of thys mortalyte
Reskewe me fro my perylous enemy
Kepyng me fro hys cursed cruelte
Eternally to set my thought in the
Lust of synnes fully to forsake
Endles god wyche art bothe one & iii
Ynto thy cure for euer I me betake.
NOMEN Translatoris.
I yelde yow thankes lady Sapience
Of that thys worke ys to an ende ybrought
Haue ye the worshippe & the recompence
And I no dele / I haue deserued nought
None other lust desyre I in my thought
Ne nought coueyt I but your Influence
Eternally / so that I may be brought
Souereyn lady into your presence.
COGNOMEN Translatoris.
Wyth al my hert to do your reuerence
And seruyse / suche as of me may be wrought
Lawly vnder youre obedyence
To plesen yow yf I suffysed ought
Wyth al my hert / as euer I haue besoght
No thyng coueyt I of youre excellence
Eternally but that I may be brought
My souereyn lady in to your presence.[39]

[39] These verses are to be found in Science's introduction to his edition of Walton, pp. xliii–vliv.

These highly crafted verses subtly modulate petitionary convention in a self-consciously Christian-Boethian manner entirely in keeping with the closing injunctions concerning prayer towards the close of *Consolatio* 5p6:

> *To triste in god it is no þing in veyne,*
> *And prayers if þey rightwisly be led,*
> *Byleue it well, þey may not ben vnsped.*
> [...] *And for þy nedes if þou wilt pursue,*
> *Lo humble prayer send on thi message*
> *Vp to þi god; hit fayleth not his wage.* (stanzas 1000–01)

The ELISABET BERKELEY stanzas accordingly address not Elisabeth but Christ. They invoke her in the highest possible company rather than brazenly address her directly and ask for mere earthly favor. The second, BERKELEY, stanza asks for its speaker to be rescued from the devil and advertises a commitment of the soul to the care of Christ. This prayer, insofar as it is specially marked with Elisabeth's name, might conceivably have been designed by Walton to appeal to her as her own "personalizable" text to be used and re-used afterwards for her devotions. The first of the two IOHANNES WALTWNEM stanzas then edges nearer to addressing Elisabeth Berkeley by giving thanks and the credit for the work to the authoritative feminine figure of Lady Sapience. Lady Sapience is a flattering possibility as a hyperbolic designation for Elisabeth Berkeley. More important, in Lady Sapience, ideas converge which are key to our understanding of what Walton is endeavoring to do. As *Sapientia*, that is, Wisdom, she is a force with origins in God. Indeed, the second person of the Trinity, the subject of the first two stanzas, is, in medieval (and later) theological tradition, identified as the Wisdom proceeding from God the Father. So, Lady Sapience has a special connection with the second person of the Trinity, proceeding from the first two stanzas. It is significant too that in like vein, in his preface to Books IV and V, Walton waxes petitionary about the relationship between wisdom and God as governing principles for his work:

> *To þe þat art þe welle of sapience,*
> *All-myghti lord, þis labour I comyt*[.] (stanza 582)

Lady Sapience is also, of course, reminiscent of Lady Philosophy, but she is necessarily greater, for *Sapientia* is anterior to the (mere) discipline of Philosophy, being its governing source and rationale.

In the WALTWNEM stanza there is a palpable, eloquent commitment by the supplicating speaker to Lady Sapience. Interestingly, given that this is

dedicatory or petitionary discourse, there is on the part of the supplicant a noticeable avoidance of asking for favor or appearing venal. He covets not her excellence for himself ("*No thyng coueyt I of youre excellence*"; stanza 4, l.6) but only her influence (stanza 3, l.6) and to be in her "*presence*," the latter signaling his social status as that of attendant and his epistemological status as object. Also, a key mercenary term is conspicuous for its absence or suppression from these verses. The final two stanzas have eight "*-ought*" rhymes, and time and time again the reader suspects that *bought* must be about to be used, but this never happens. The unuttered *bought* presumably suggests this petitioner's lack of venality. In a similar vein, *recompense*, in the third line of the third stanza, is offered somewhat unexpectedly to Sapience herself: normally in petitionary verses, payment goes in the other direction. Here, however, because any success that the work has is due to Sapience, the offering-back is made humbly, a suitably Boethian twist on the redressing of all good to divine Wisdom.

This highly rhetoricized and markedly "eloquent" paratextual commitment to Sapience fulfils par excellence the Ciceronian-Boethian desideratum of *sapientia et eloquentia*. These verses are not merely eloquent words containing wise matter, which is normally the way in which texts follow this ideal. Here, the verses *are* eloquence specifically addressed to, and governed by, *Sapientia*.[40] This aim of deploying eloquence under Christian wisdom is, of course, a central concern of the whole project, as the *Prefacio Translatoris* clearly advertizes:[41]

> [...] *to god I praye.*
> *So help me wiþ hys inspiracioun*
> *Þat is of wisdom boþe lok and keye* [...] (stanza 2)

These dedicatory verses and Walton's prefaces harmonize with each other in a highly particular Christian reconciliation of wisdom and eloquence. But how do they partner the two acrostic stanzas at either end of Walton's translation?

In Boethian discourse, a human name is a thing of transience, associated with fleeting fame and vain attachment to reputation and earthly

[40] A further measure of Walton's considerable artifice is exemplified in the manner in which the last three lines of stanza 4 closely rework the final three lines of the preceding IOHANNES stanza.

[41] For further discussion of this in Walton, see generally Johnson, "Walton's Sapient Orpheus."

honor. It is suitably Boethian, then, that in the devotional dedicatory verses this author's name is committed to the Divine and to *Sapientia*. It is also suitably and subtly Boethian that, in the stanzas at the beginning and end of the translation, Walton's name is deconstructed into its constituent letters and scattered and concealed in the Boethian text itself, where it now neither may be heard nor seen by humans, but known only by God beyond the realm of fortune. Perhaps this is an *in bono* moralizingly self-effacing inverse corollary of the Boethius-persona's loss of self-knowledge and his lost ability to articulate his true self. In their mode of earthly existence, the anagrams are (unless spotted) an unuttered presence in the text. These signatures, however, are subject to being utterable beyond human textuality through grace in heaven.

So how does the pious Boethian translator go about his duties? As well as redressing everything to the Almighty, he has to do justice to the superabundance of meaning in authoritative works by drawing them out by an effort of *expositio sententiae per aliam linguam*, in the manner of John of Genoa's definition of *translation* in the *Catholicon*. Thus Walton expresses a fervent hope that he will be able to "*kepe þe sentence in his trewe entent*" (*Prefacio Translatoris*, stanza 3), thereby translating properly.

Walton commences his *Prefacio* by itemizing four necessaries of proper translating, "*cunnyng* [...] *wit* / [...] l*angage and* [...] *eloquence*" (stanza 1)—know-how/skill/understanding, intelligence, linguistic capacity (be it in the translator or the rude vernacular), and, finally, eloquence—thereby recalling the commonplace *sapientia et eloquentia*, a hallowed formula since Cicero, a formula even applied to St Jerome as a translator of the Bible. The Saint was deemed, again in the *Catholicon* (s.v. *interpres*), to have translated eloquently and to have produced, as part and parcel of the same operation, a version truer of *sentence*. If the literary qualities of the Bible required eloquence of the faithful translator, it should be no surprise, then, that a high-status prosimetric work of authority such as the *Consolatio* should attract verse renderings attempting to reflect the eloquence of the original. Therefore, the following reconsideration of significant passages from a key part of *Consolatio* 3m12 will focus on Walton's use of sources and the exercise of the wit of the *rhetor* in the service of *expositio sententiae per aliam linguam*.[42]

[42] The following discussion of Walton's treatment of this meter reuses and adapts the analysis in Johnson, "Walton's Sapient Orpheus," pp. 144–53, and "Placing Walton's Boethius," pp. 224–28.

The opening lines of 3m12, the famous Orpheus Meter,

> *Felix qui potuit boni*
> *Fontem visere lucidum,*
> *Felix qui potuit gravis*
> *Terre solvere vincula.* (ll.1–4)

are rendered by Walton thus:

> *Full blisfull is þat man þat may beholde*
> *Þe brighte welle of verrey blisfulnesse,*
> *And wel is hym þat may hymself vnfolde*
> *Fro bondes of þis worldly wrecchidnesse.* (stanza 1)

On the warrant of Trevet's glosses, which equate the good, "*boni*," with God ("*LUCIDUM FONTEM BONI, id est Deum*"), and God with happiness ("[...] *ostendit Philosophya que sit uera beatitudo et in quo situ quia in Deo*"), Walton renders *boni* as "*of blisfulnesse*."[43] There is no precedent for this in Chaucer's *Boece*. The repetition of "blissful(ness)," and the added emphatic *Full*, the first word of the first line, which is additional to the source (and interacts with the "ful" of *blisfulnesse*), implies a certain plenitude appropriate to drinking at a well, especially as that well is associated with God, the ultimate and infinite *fons et origo*. The attribute of being blissful is contingent on the form/idea of *blisfulnesse*, an abstract noun Platonically appropriate as a designation for God. Not for nothing does Walton, in the preface to the third and fourth books, invoke God as the "*welle of sapience*" (stanza 582).

The Latin *visere*, "to see," becomes in English the more devotional or contemplative *beholde*, a verb commonly used in spiritual literature to express the soul gazing towards the Godhead, and one suitable to the *sentence* of this *metrum* which teaches that the soul should ever look towards the deity and shun earthly temptations. This opening rendering also produces a tautology redolent with gnomic wisdom: "*very blissful is that man who beholds the well of very blissfulness*." The unfolding of the truth that this tautology asserts is then illustrated by an *exemplum*, the story of Orpheus. The meter teaches that true happiness consists in looking up at the *summum bonum* and averting the gaze from the allegorical hell of earthly wretchedness wherein a degraded humanity cleaves foolishly to things of the world and the flesh.

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[43] Here I am using A.B. Scott's transcription of Trevet's glosses on the Orpheus meter in Henryson, *Poems*, ed. Fox, pp. 384–91 (at p. 384).

The second *Felix* of this *metrum* is rendered not "*happy*" but "*wel*." This departure connotes a sense of healthiness appropriate to the remedial role of Philosophy and her medical cures. It also has a sense of fortunateness, and this time not a false fortunateness under the fickle rule of fortune, but a well-disposedness born of divine providence.[44] Having equated happiness and goodness/the Good in rendering *boni* as "*of verrey blisfulnesse*," it is consistent for Walton to do the converse and affiliate *wel* translationally with *Felix* the second time round. Exchanging the notions of happiness and the Good/goodness across the lexical surface of the vernacular text rhetorically enacts the very *sentence* of the original and Trevet's commentary, both of which repeatedly emphasize that happiness and the Good/goodness are indeed the same. Additionally, the homophony of *welle* and *wel* echoes the *Felix* [...] /*Felix* construction, and befits the fusion of concepts which the pairing renders. This, then, is highly ruminative rhetorical wit with considerable exegetical purchase. Only intricate meditation by Walton on the Latin original and the commentary could have produced such detail of intertextual reworking.

The translating of the third and fourth lines operates in much the same way, inviting further comment on the rhetorical manipulation of text and gloss. "*Gravis / Terre* [...] *vincula*"—in Chaucer, literally enough, "*bondes of the hevy erthe*" (ed. Machan, l.2)—is, in Walton, extrapolated to "*Fro bondes of þis worldly wrecchidnesse*," a moralizing clarification motivated by Trevet's gloss "*UINCULA, id est affectiones GRAUIS TERRE, que scilicet sua grauitate homines per affectum sibi uinculatos deorsum trahit*" [CHAINS/BONDS, that is, the affections OF THE HEAVY EARTH that clearly by its heaviness drags men below chained to it by affection/passion/emotion," p. 384]. The word *wrecchidnes* is indeed well chosen, for it carries a sententially Boethian trio of interlinking senses, the *sinfulness* and the *unhappiness* of the soul being estranged from the Good, and the *degradation* that this involves.

Having established that "*bondes*" imprison the sunken *affectus*, it is intriguing to see, later in the meter, continued self-conscious expository play on "*bondes*." The lines of the original, in which the Lord of the Underworld, having been moved by Orpheus's measures, puts a condition on

[44] One wonders if the lack of a literal translation of *boni* from the first line has been in some way mopped up by this English adverbialization: indeed a similar thing is done with the adjective *gravis* [heavy"], which is in the same line of the original, and which is left over until appended as an English noun to the wretched Orpheus in the next sentence: "The poet Orpheus *wiþ heuynesse*."

the return of Eurydice, that he should not turn back his gaze while still in Tartarus,

> *Set lex dona coherceat,*
> *Nec, dum Tartara liquerit,*
> *Fas sit lumina flectere* [...] (ll.44–46)

become in Chaucer:

> *But we wol putte a lawe in this and covenaunt in the yifte, that is to seyn that tyl he be owt of helle, yif he looke behynde hym, that his wyf shal comen ayein unto us*. (ll.29–30)

But in Walton, this passage reads:

> *Bot with a lawe þis gift wil I restreyne,*
> *Þat vnto he thise bondes haue forsake,*
> *If he beholde vpon hys wyf ageyne,*
> *Hys wyf fro hym eftsone will we take*. (stanza 8)

Here, *bondes* translates *Tartara*, thereby following Trevet in having the same interpretation as earlier given to those chains of heavy earth. Trevet's gloss at this point is: "*DUM, id est donec LIQUERIT, id est relinquerit, TARTARA, id est donec affectus abstractus fuerit a terrenis*" [WHILE, that is, as long as HE QUITS, that is relinquishes, TARTARUS, that is as long as his affections are taken away from earthly cleavings/attachments," p. 391]. *Forsake*, which covers the concept of leaving hell in "*liquerit*," reflects the gloss's concern with the withdrawing of the *affectus* from the things of this world. *Forsake* has an appropriately renunciatory ring, reflecting Trevet's *relinquerit*. Thus, Walton's Radamanthus speaks with the sententious spin of commentary tradition.

The same exegetic *inventio* obtains in continued lexical play in Walton's Englishing of:

> *Heu, noctis prope termiinos* [*sic*]
> *Orpheus Euridicem suam*
> *Vidit, perdidit, occidit*. (ll.49–51)

> *When he was neygh out of þe bondes blake,*
> *He turned hym and Erudice he saw.*
> *Allas he lost and left his wyf behynde*. (stanzas 8–9)

Terminos, glossatorily rendered by Chaucer, "*termis of the nyht* (*that is to seyn, at the laste bowndes of helle*)" (ll.33–34), is punningly translated by Walton as "*bondes*." In fact, the entire line, "*When he was neygh out of þe bondes blake*," makes as much sense if applied to chains as to borders. This

could not be said of the Latin text or of Chaucer's translation of this line. This punning technique of Walton's, in which felicitous lexical exchanges reflect the interrelating of words and concepts in the glosses, is accomplished with a dexterity designed to appeal to an early 15th-century taste for fine writing. But Walton's eloquent play is not here merely a matter of eloquence and artifice; it has high hermeneutic seriousness of purpose.

The overt *conclusio* at the end of the *metrum* continues, after its own fashion of eloquence, to make the same glossatory associations:

> *Vos hec fabula respicit*
> *Quicumque in supernum diem*
> *Mentem ducere queritis.*
> *Nam qui Tartarium in specus*
> *Victus lumina flexerit,*
> *Quicquid precipuum trahit*
> *Perdit, dum videt inferos.* (ll.52–58)

> *This fable lo to ȝow perteyneth right*;
> *For ye þat wolde liften vp youre mynde*
> *Into þe hyhe blisfull souereyn light,*
> *If ye eftsones turne doun youre sight*
> *Into þis foule wrecched erthely dell,*
> *Lo all þat evire youre labour haþ yow dight*
> *Ye loose it when ye loken into hell.* (stanza 9)

The words *supernum diem* have now become "*hyhe blisfull souereyn light*." Though *sovereyn* (62) is available in Chaucer, *blisfull*, more interestingly, represents a gloss upon a gloss, for in Trevet's commentary we find "*IN SUPERUM* [*sic*] *DIEM, id est in superna bona*" (p. 391). Trevet, as was seen earlier, freely glosses the Good/goodness as happiness, and Walton follows this. This rendering by Walton is produced in much same way as that which saw the word *boni*, at the start of the *metrum*, sparking off a sequence ending at "*of verrey bisfulnesse*." Whereas the earlier sequence went from the good via the deity to blissfulness, the later one proceeds commutatively from divine light via the Good/goodness to the blissful. Moreover, echoing and confirming the exegetical/lexical maneuverings of the first stanza, the words *blisful* and *wrecchid* are foregroundingly rendered in the final stanza in syntactically parallel but semantically oppositional lines; for "*in supernum diem* / [...] *Tartarium in specus*" becomes:

> *Into þe hyhe blisfull souereyn light*, [...]
> *Into þis foule wrecched erthely dell.*

The use of *þis*, echoing "*þis worldly wrecchinesse*" of the beginning of the poem, situates writer and reader alike in the hellishly worldly here and

now; and the closing injunction, which is in the third person in the original, is shifted into a similarly immediate second person address. This reangling of voice seems to find some motivation in Trevet, whose gloss at this point stresses the text's assertion that this fable applies to "you" ("*uos*"): "*Unde communiter homines alloquendo dicit* HEC FABULA RESPICIT UOS, *scilicet quia ad uestram informationem est inducta*" [Hence, addressing men in general, he says THIS FABLE APPLIES TO YOU, that is to say, it is brought in for your instruction," p. 391]. Walton proceeds to show, in the *Prefacio* to the whole work, that he is indeed applying this particular moral; for, having just disparaged the un-Boethian affective excesses of *Troilus*, he self-advertisingly beseeches the grace of the Almighty to aid his literary endeavors:

> [...] *pray þat god of hys benignite*
> *My spirit enspire wiþ hys influence;*
> *So þat in schenschip and confusioun*
> *Of all þis foule worldly wrecchydnesse,*
> *He helpe me in þis occupacioun.*
> *In honour of þat sofferayn blisfulnesse* [...] (stanzas 8–9)

Walton's gaze is fixed on sovereign blissfulness, i.e., God/the Good, and he correspondingly shuns "*worldly wrecchydnesse*." This is displayed in language taken from his rendering of the Orpheus Meter. By so doing, he personally enacts the Boethian *sentence* of 3m12 while inscribing it into his work.

This same dynamic of spiritual ascent towards the light of a true Christian God, for all the theologically awkward late-antique Platonism and intermittent pagan matter of the *Consolatio*, certainly governs the way Walton makes translational choices from his sources. A fascinating case in point is how different he is from Chaucer in rendering a slightly longer but nevertheless comparable passage of 4m1, as analyzed above.

> *Vulgate Consolatio*
> *Atque ubi iam exhausti fuerit satis,*
> *Polum relinquat extimum*
> *Dorsaque velocis premat etheris*
> *Compos verendi luminis.* (ll.15–18)

> Chaucer, *Boece*
> *And whanne he hath idoon there inowh, he shal forletyn the laste hevene and he shal pressen and wyndyn on the bak of the swifte firmament, and he shal ben makid parfit of the worschipful lyht of God.* (ed. Machan, ll.12–15)

Walton
And wel he wot þat goddes ben þei noght.
The hyest heuen he leueth hym behynde
Til þat he haue araysed vp his þoght[45]
A-none to hym þat auctour is of kynde.
This worthy light he putteþ in hys mynde [...] (stanza 595)

Quite clearly, Walton is, like Chaucer, enhancing the Christianity-friendly aspects of his sources. Walton simplifies his chief source much more than Chaucer does: on this occasion he does not match his predecessor's delicate negotiation of lexical and theological textures. The first line of Walton, "*And wel he wot þat goddes ben þei noght*," rather than literally rendering the Vulgate Boethius, reflects Trevet's "*ATQUE UBI id est postquam SATIS FUERIT EXHAUSTI id est contemplacionis quasi diceret postquam mens sufficienter contemplata est stellas percipiendo quod nulla earum Deus est*" [AND THEN when, that is after, IT IS SATISFIED with what it has taken up, that is, of contemplation, as if to say after the mind has contemplated the stars sufficiently, perceiving that none of them is God].[46] "*The hyest heuen he leueth hym behynde*" follows on from Trevet's "*RELINQUAT POLUM EXTIMUM id est ultra celum*." Chaucer's brilliant translational play with "*Compos verendi luminis*" is met here with the rather flat but theologically apposite extrapolatory identification of the light as "*hym þat auctour is of kynde*." Notions of participation and reverent love commixed with dread, so inventively exploited by Chaucer, simply do not appear here. Instead, the ascending soul prosaically "puts" the worthy light in its mind, having raised up its thought(s).

We must not, however, be misled into thinking that Chaucer was always the better translator. On the contrary: on one occasion when both Geoffrey and the Canon of Osney were laboring in stanzaic form on the same passage of the *Consolatio*, it would appear that Walton did the better job, both as a Boethian translator in the academic tradition and as a verse *rhetor*. For it is intriguing that the famous monologue of Troilus, which explores divine prescience, human free will, and predestination in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book IV, as translated from 5p3 of the *Consolatio*, has at times less clarity and elegance than John Walton's exposition of the same

[45] Here I have emended Science's clearly erroneous *poght* to *þoght*.

[46] For discussion of this meter I refer to Silk's edition of Trevet. See also a few lines earlier in Trevet's gloss, "*Sensus est quod mens sua inuestigacione non tantum inuenit quod stelle planetarum non sunt dii* [...]" [The meaning is that by its probing the mind not only discovers that the planetary stars are not gods (...)"].

passage.[47] Chaucer tends to be convoluted in syntax and not, therefore, as clear as we might wish. He lacks directness and repeats words or ideas when they are not necessary to the elucidation of the development of the argument. In contrast, Walton shows quite a firm control of line, rhyme, and rhythm, especially with regard to the couplet, in order to highlight key progressions in the argument, and he is better at bringing out parallels, antitheses, and emphases. Walton also seems better at constructing the line to structure his argument, perhaps using it as an approximate meter-bound equivalent to the commentator's *divisio textus*.[48]

The Boke of Coumfort of Bois and Later Examples of the *Consolatio*'s Influence

There was another Middle English version of the *Consolatio* (albeit only Book I) that turned to Chaucer's *Boece* as a chief source, *The Boke of Coumfort of Bois*.[49] After the manner of the learned Latin *accessus*, the prologue to this fascinating anonymous translation firmly locates authority in the original *auctor*, and expounds a repertoire of positive meanings attaching to each of Boethius's many names.[50] It is also notably explicit about the nature and status of the *auctor*, the necessity for God's grace in the production of the work, and the desirability of correction of the work by others. These are features it shares with Walton's paratexts:

> *For als meche as eche aboke oweth worthily to be hadde in prose, chargede and loved aftur the worthinesse of his auttour, and the profite of the mater tretid thereinne, therefore, as anemptes the boke of coumfort the wheche with lowly subieccioun of myself to coreccioun of alle wiser, principaly for ese of myself and thenne for othere goode frendes, I take in purpos to telle the menynge of hit in Engelische*.[51]

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[47] See Johnson, "*This Brigous Questioun*."

[48] For definition, illustration, and discussion of *divisio textus*, see *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary-Tradition*, ed. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, assisted by David Wallace (Oxford, 1988), pp. 4, 322, 376–77.

[49] "*The Boke of Coumfort of Bois* [Bodleian Library, Oxford Manuscript AUCT.F.3.5]: A Transcription with an Introduction," ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, MI, 2006), pp. 223–79. This is a re-edition of "The Boke of Coumfort of Bois," ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., Jason Edward Streed, and William H. Watts, *Carmina Philosophiae* 2 (1993), 55–104.

[50] "*The Boke of Coumfort of Bois*," pp. 226–27.

[51] Ibid., p. 226.

The worth of the person who wrote the work and the utility of its matter are the two reasons for translating. The translator also conceives that the Almighty will upraise him to accommodate the "*entent of the auttour* [...] *be grace*."[52]

What is particularly notable about this translation is the way in which it seems to use Chaucer's *Boece* as its verbal base layer, even though it builds into the *Boece* what are presumably Latin-derived materials from commentary tradition. As Machan points out, "quotations from the *Boece* function as lemmata to which expansions and explanations are keyed; these have presumably been taken from some commentary source, though their precise origin has yet to be identified."[53] From the very beginning, the distinctive character of this work is evident, starting as it does with quotation from Chaucer, which then moves off into a gloss on Boethius's historical circumstances as the victim of the grim king Theodoric:

> *Allas I seke wepynge am constraynede to begynne verse of sorewful mater that summe tyme was in florisshand stodie likyngly makynde delitable ditees. Be halde thaise musis that meryly synges, that were poetrie gladness whanne I was in my welthy stody, now haire remembraunce reves my herte and distractis fro stedfastnes, wetynge the vesage wt veray teres of me desolate wrecche. And al if theodorik has ferdid my bodily comforthis that thay schulde not felawschipe me in place of my disese.*[54]

With regard to another important aspect of this work, Elisabeth Dutton recently has commented that its maker was willing to turn exposition to a more devotional end than in the original. She observes how in the passage on Philosophy's attire, *The Boke of Coumfort*'s translator *in-eches* a distinction between the active and contemplative lives similar to Chaucer (as discussed above, pp. XXX–XXX), and, especially, how at

> the moment of transition from active to contemplative the compiler of *BoC* abandons his otherwise unvarying tone of exposition and turns to a devotional exhortation: 'Go thanne heyer on the ledder, and thenke how thou kanne love God.' The diction here becomes emotive, and when the author writes of being 'absorte and ravyscht in his love' he sounds as mystical as any medieval visionary writer.

So, it is clear that *The Boke of Coumfort* is another creative extension of the *Consolatio* tradition, for it repurposes Chaucer's words, brings further

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[52] Ibid., p. 226.
[53] Machan, ed., *Chaucer's Boece*, Introduction, p. xiii.
[54] "*The Boke of Coumfort of Bois*," pp. 230–31.

Latin commentary materials into expository vernacular play, and to a significant extent reslants the Boethian text devotionally. All the while, however, we cannot forget, from the prologue and the strong personal and textual revalorizing of the original Latin *auctor*, that *The Boke of Coumfort*, for all its vernacularity, is first and foremost another *Consolatio*.

Thomas Usk's prose *Testament of Love*, written by 1385, contains the earliest extant use of Chaucer's *Boece*. Usk (a tragic figure, who, like Boethius, was persecuted and put cruelly to an unjust judicial death) also uses the Vulgate Latin text in his dense, oblique, and intriguing work which owes much to the *Consolatio* for its overall design as well as for a significant amount of its text. In the *Testament*, the female figure of Love appears to an imprisoned and wretched Usk, who is also suffering all the more from the absence of a Lady Margaret (real or symbolic or both?). There is a good deal of philosophizing in this work on the Boethian (or para-Boethian) exposition of issues of fortune, fame and riches, free will and grace. The following example from 2p5 gives a good idea of how Usk treats his Boethian materials:

> Vulgate Boethius
> *Ex quibus omnibus nichil horum que tu in tuis computas bonis tuum esse bonum liquide monstratur. Quibus si nichil inest appetende pulcritudinis, quid est quod vel amissis doleas vel leteris retentis? Quod si natura pulcra sunt, quid id tua refert? Nam hec per se a tuis quoque opibus sequestrata placuissent. Neque enim iccirco sunt presiosa quia in tuas venere divisias, set quoniam preciosa videbantur, tuis ea diviciis annumerare maluisti.* (Machan, ed., *Sources*, ll.39–45)
>
> Chaucer, *Boece*
> *So that by alle thyse foreside thinges it is cleerly yshewyd that never oon of thilke thinges that thow acountedest for thine goodes nas nat thi good. In the whyche thinges, yif ther be no beaute to be desired, why sholdesthow ben sory yif thow leese hem, or why sholdesthow rejoysen the to holden hem? For yif they ben fayre of hyr owne kynde, what aperteneth that to the? For also wel sholden they han ben fayre by hemselve, thowgh they weeryn departed fram alle thyne rychesses. Forwhy fayre ne presyous ne weeren they nat for that they comen amonge thy rychesses; but for that they semeden fayre and presyous, therfor thow haddyst levere rekne hem amonges thy rychesses.* (ed. Machan, ll.55–63)
>
> Usk, *Testament*
> *Thilke goodnesse and fairnesse be proper to tho thinges hemselfe. Than, if they be nat thyne, sorrow nat whan they wende, ne glad the nat in pompe and in pride whan thou hem hast, for their bountie and their beautes cometh out of their owne kynde and nat of thyne owne person. As faire ben they in their not*

> *having as whan thou haste hem. They be nat faire, for thou haste hem, but thou haste geten hem for the fairnesse of themselfe.*[55]

Usk renders Boethius more freely than Chaucer does, which is what one might expect of an enterprise which is not in essence a version of the *Consolatio*. Usk also simplifies his sources and is more concise; Chaucer's opening sentence is (justifiably) longer and more complicated (like the original text). Usk, in contrast, cuts through the indirection and logical sequencing of clauses in the Vulgate Boethius and in Chaucer, and he focuses with immense clarity on the moral import in one short main clause that declares the informing principle: goodness and beauty are proper to things. The same concern to moralize clearly also informs the addition "*pompe and pride*," which is not in Chaucer. Chaucer's relatively diffuse articulation of the source's concern with accounting and riches is re-articulated with curt recourse to simpler, yet morally and logically valid, notions of *having* and *getting*. (It has to be said, as a rider, that Usk's *Testament* does not always give an impression of terseness.)

Although he was often rather free in his handling of the *Consolatio*, Usk is faithful to the overall philosophy and values of Boethius. The same cannot quite be said of the brilliantly ludic and, one might say, ostensibly anti-Boethian *Kingis Quair*, which goes pointedly against the grain of the *Consolatio* and its tradition with knowing charm.[56] Imprisoned by the English from 1407 to 1424, James I of Scotland shared with Usk the experience of loss of liberty. He too (if he was indeed the author of the *Kingis Quair*)[57] resorted to the *Consolatio* in turning his preoccupations into literary form. But he played the *Consolatio* rather faster and looser. For all that this poetic prisoner laments his situation in this earthly realm of Fortune, it is ultimately to love and to Fortune herself that he turns, in his dream, by climbing onto her wheel and thereafter moving towards happier times: "*thankit be Fortunys exiltree / And quhele, that thus so wele has quhirlit me*."[58] In this inventively daring untranscendent unmaking of the *Consolatio*, a happy sublunary human outcome is projected with arresting panache.

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[55] Usk, *Testament of Love*, ed. Shawver, p. 95, ll.70–76.

[56] James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*, ed. John Norton-Smith (Oxford, 1971).

[57] For a recent re-acknowledgment of doubt about James I's authorship, see Julia Boffey, "*The Kingis Quair* and the other Poems of Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden B. 24," in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 63–74 (p. 67).

[58] James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*, ed. Norton-Smith, ll.1322–23.

James was by no means alone as a Scot who knew how to be brilliantly inventive with the *Consolatio*. In addressing 3m12, Robert Henryson produced, in his *Orpheus and Eurydice*, a superb remaking of the tradition of the *Consolatio*.[59] This poem consists of *narratio* and *moralitas*, the latter being dominated by a condensed *recitatio* of Trevet's commentary, which also casts a subtle influence on the telling of the story and not on the *moralitas* only. We join Orpheus after his harp has sent Cerberus to sleep and induced slumber in the Furies, who cease turning Ixion's wheel. At the sound of the Orphic music, the relieved Ixion, no longer in rotary torment, "*out of the quhele can crepe / And stall away*" (ll.272–73). The unhappy Tantalus, who in his earthly life chopped up his son and fed him to the gods because he was too miserly to provide them with normal fare, is the next to be helped. For his punishment he is immersed in "*a wonder grisely flude*" (l.275), from which he is cruelly prevented from slaking his perpetual thirst. To make things worse, an apple dangles in front of him; but each time the famished victim reaches out, the fruit evades his grasp. Whereas Boethius accords only two lines to "*the gay hostelare*" (l.520), as Henryson calls him in the *moralitas*,

> Et longa siti perditus
> *Spernit flumina Tantalus* (ll.36–37)

the Scottish poet devotes two stanzas to him:

> *Syne come he till a wonder grisely flude,*
> *Droubly and depe, that rathly doun can ryn,*
> *Quhare Tantalus nakit full thristy stude,*
> *And yit the water yede abone his chyn;*
> *Thouch he gapit, thare wald na drop cum in;*
> *Quhen he dulkit, the water wald descend;*
> *Thus gat he noucht his thrist to slake no mend.*
> *Before his face ane apill hang also,*
> *Fast at his mouth, apon a tolter threde;*
> *Quhen he gapit, it rokkit to and fro,*
> *And fled as it refusit hym to fede.*
> *Than Orpheus had reuth of his grete nede;*

[59] *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. D. Fox (Oxford, 1981), pp. 132–53. References in the main text of this essay are cited from this edition. The following discussion of Henryson's treatment of this meter reuses and revises materials from my article, "Hellish Complexity in Henryson's *Orpheus*," in *Scottish Texts: European Contexts*, ed. Ian Johnson and Nicola Royan, Special Issue of *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 38.4 (2002), 412–19. In discussing Trevet's glosses on this meter, I refer again to Scott's transcription in Fox's edition of Henryson.

> *Tuke out his harp and fast on it can clink;*
> *The water stude, and Tantalus gat drink.* (ll.275–88)

These extended lines are evidently based on Trevet:

> [...] *dicitur habere aquam usque mentum, et poma ante os suum pendencia, et tamen fame et siti deficere, quia cum uult pomum uel aquam carpere, statim fugiunt.* (p. 389)

Henryson adds to Trevet a more elaborated dramatic narrative, with appropriately uncomfortable details of the process of the torment. In Boethius and Trevet, the extraordinary effects of the harping are not linked to any compassionate desire on Orpheus's part to alleviate the torments of the inhabitants of the Underworld. The Scottish poet, however, introduces the theme of Orpheus's "*reuth*," the pity befitting a chivalrous king in the romance tradition of *Sir Orfeo*.

The final line, "*The water stude, and Tantalus gat drink*," departs significantly from what both Boethius and Trevet say at this point in the *metrum*. They make no mention of the water standing, nor of Tantalus getting drink. On the contrary, the Tantalus of the Latin text and gloss rejects/ignores the waters: "*spernit flumina*." So where does Henryson's line come from? Denton Fox points out in his notes, "[p]erhaps [this is] derived from Boethius's remark that Orpheus made the rivers (on earth) stand still: *amnes stare coegerat* (l.9)" (p. 405). Henryson's still waters do run fittingly deep, then, into the original source, the Vulgate Boethius. This demonstrates that Trevet's exegetical mediation has not, in effect, displaced the text it proposes to serve. Moreover, what Fox does not see at this juncture of the text is that the very same sentence of the original that generated this addition conceivably suggested to Henryson (or at the very least colored) the next "addition," the immediately subsequent transitional passage, in which Orpheus, traversing wild moorland, is protected from savage thorns by his assuaging harp:

> *Syne our a mure wyth thornis thik and scharp,*
> *Weping allone, a wilsum way he went,*
> *And had noucht bene throu suffrage of his harp,*
> *Wyth scharp pikis he had bene schorne and schent*; [...] (ll.289–92)

This is influenced by the lines from that earlier part of the Boethian meter in which Orpheus not only stills the streams but also moves the woods:

> [...] *flebilibus motis* [*sic*]
> *Silvas currere mobiles,*
> *Amnes stare coegerat*, [...] (ll.7–9)

The woods and streams are governed in the original by the same verb, *coegerat*. In this parallel construction, they partner each other as Orphic miracles. In the same vein, the marvelously arrested waters, applied in a novel way to Tantalus, presage the immediately subsequent complement of harp-driven mobile greenery, presumably dodging to make way for the grieving poet.

There is more to the interpretative logic of this choice than lexical suggestibility and play alone, for there is a commentary-implicated significance, in terms of *expositio sententiae*, to the thorny wilderness and its rubbery shrubbery. Although Henryson goes back past Trevet to the original, and is flexible enough to take a suggestion from a different part of the *narratio* and apply it at a point later in the story, he does so, it seems, for intelligent exegetical reasons in which the commentary of Trevet is implicated (but cannot thereby be deemed to be displacing Boethius). The interpolated moorland is described as "*wilsum*," which can mean "lonely" and "wild." The choice of *wilsum* can be linked with Trevet, who glosses the associated *silvas* from that earlier, suggestible, part of the Boethian meter as "*siluestres homines*" (p. 386), i.e., wild/salvage/savage men (a brutish humanity in a state of nature governed only by *affecciones* and untouched by wisdom and eloquence), or as Trevet puts it a little earlier in his exposition: "*Iste autem Orpheus per suauitatem cythare, id est elloquentie, homines brutales et siluestres reduxit ad normam rationis. Propter quod dictus est bruta et siluas mouere sicut infra exponetur*" [This Orpheus, however, by the sweetness of his lyre/harp, that is, of his eloquence, led brutish and savage men back to right reason. On account of which it is said that he moved the brutes and the woods, just as is to be expounded below," p. 385]. This gloss could conceivably have influenced Henryson's word-choice, *wilsum*, perhaps motivating in some degree the introduction of this episode, with its specifically wild setting, for the exercise of his harp's powers. However, it also fits in with the vein of romance, which Henryson brings into his poem. That this word-choice is no mere fanciful association is confirmed in Henryson's *moralitas*, which explicitly equates thorns (or rather, briars) with the loss of control of the *affeccioun*s. The wretched soul is pictured here as caught on the briars of the flesh and worldly distractions: "*tedirit on this warldis breris,/Quhile on the flesch, quhile on this warldis wrak*" (ll.456–57). These "*breris*" characterize the fallen condition of the *affectus* in this world, its fleshly attachments and its "*wrak*." Intriguingly, *wrak* is glossed by Fox as "worldly possessions" and also as "rubbish"—a soundly Boethian pairing of senses showing Henryson's brilliant lexical tact; for possessions are only gifts of fortune,

of no real value, and no better than rubbish. The reader, presented with the *moralitas*, cannot now help but look back at those earlier thorns of the *narratio* as moralized thorns bearing similar significance.

Such allusive interplay and networked threads of discriminating suggestibility are a testimony to the possibilities of invention in Henryson's use of Latin texts and the commentary tradition. John Walton uses comparable invention in his earlier Trevet-influenced rendering of Boethius.[60] Walton and Henryson exemplify the sensibility and wit of the late-medieval vernacular translator as rhetor-exegete. Both join Chaucer as impressive makers of the tradition of vernacular Boethian academic commentary-translation.

[60] See Johnson, "Walton's Sapient Orpheus," passim.

THE ENDURING LEGACY OF BOETHIAN HARMONY

Mark T. Rimple

Concord, consonance, harmony, symphony: in music, each word carries a distinct shade of meaning, but in poetic usage in Modern English, for instance, these words are somewhat interchangeable, each suggesting a sense of rightness and agreement. Furthermore, the musical definition of harmony, while somewhat indebted to the figurative definition, does not require a cause beyond acoustics; its technical definition is narrowly confined to simultaneous intervals acting in tandem, producing a musical sonority. To a scholar in a medieval cathedral school or university, however, the Latin words *concordia, consonantia*, and *harmonia*, and the Greek-derived *symphonia*, even in their poetic use, were more distinctive than our Modern English forms, as links in a logical chain of connections between the harmony of the universe and the sound of music. For the medieval philosopher, musical harmonies reflect the highest concord. In a harmonious universe, nothing is isolated, but instead has a place or purpose in a taut, hierarchical scheme. In the words of the 9th-century scholar, Aurelian of Rheome:

> *Truly, the construction of this world and its natural order somehow contain an harmonious balance* [. . .] For, if you investigate how other things rejoice together as the sun proceeds higher—how the air becomes purer, the face of the earth flourishes with the loveliness of flowers, and the sea rests from its seething—you will find that *every created thing accords with every other, interrelated in wonderful harmony*.[1]

Aurelian's worldview is indebted to Pythagorean thought, an important influence on Plato and the neo-Platonist tradition, and the harmonic worldview lingered far beyond its medieval manifestation. As John Dryden's verses tell us eight centuries later, harmony connects the highest to the lowest in a chain of being:

> From Harmony, from heav'nly Harmony
> This universal Frame began:

[1] Aurelian of Rheome, *The Discipline of Music* (*Musica Disciplina*), trans. Joseph Ponte (Colorado Springs, 1968), p. 6, emphasis added.

From Harmony to Harmony
Through all the compass of the Notes it ran,
The Diapason closing full in Man.[2]

Chief among the late-classic authorities cited in discussions of musical harmony by generations of medieval scholars was Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, whose philosophical and theological tracts discuss cosmic order, unity, and goodness, and whose quadrivial treatises were designed as a preparatory exposition of verifiable, mathematical truth.[3]

This chapter begins by sampling a varied collection of medieval works in which Boethius appears as the main authority on harmony, tracing his influence on music theory, scholastic science, philosophy, and theology, and in works of the creative arts such as poetry and song. Pseudo-Boethian conceptions of harmony again assumed a prominent role for 20th-century music theorists, composers, and musicologists, subtly framing our current understanding of musical structure, composition, and analysis. A comparison of this trend to its medieval precursor concludes this chapter. The sorting out of differences between the harmonic metaphor in these two periods is a preliminary attempt to separate the modernist and medieval ideas of harmony in order to clarify better the boundaries that have been crossed for ill or gain by modern composers, music theorists, and musicologists.

Boethian Definitions of Harmony

As a corpus, Boethius's works reveal a belief in a profoundly ordered cosmos that provided an *exemplum* for centuries of musical speculation. In his two extant quadrivial treatises, *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica*, Boethius defines music as the comparison of whole-

[2] John Dryden, "A Song for St Cecelia's Day 1687," in *The Songs of John Dryden*, ed. Cyrus Lawrence Day (Cambridge, 1932), p. 76.

[3] *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione muscia* will be cited as works of Boethius in this study. The former is a paraphrase of Nicomachus's arithmetical treatise; the latter is a mostly a combination of the musical treatises of Nicomachus and Claudius Ptolemy. On the sources of *De institutione musica*, see Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower (Yale Music Theory in Translation) 1 (New Haven, 1989), pp. xxiv–xxix (hereafter *De institutione musica*); see also Calvin Bower, "Boethius and Nicomachus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of *De Institutione Musica*," *Vivarium* 16.1 (1978), 1–45. See András Kárpáti, "Translation or Compilation? Contributions to the Analysis of Sources of Boethius's *De Institutione Musica*," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29, Fasc. 1/4 (1987), 5–33.

number quantities to each other. Johannes de Muris's position "secundam Boetium" that the most potent musical consonances are "yoked tightly to the power of number" neatly summarizes High Gothic quadrivial music.[4] In one of his theological tractates, Boethius establishes an essentialist view that connects mathematical truth with material existence,

> for [mathematics] investigates forms of bodies apart from matter, and therefore apart from movement, which forms, however, being connected with matter cannot be really separated from bodies.[5]

Nevertheless, the idealist separation of number and matter endured, with support from Boethius's *De Trinitate*.[6] According to a 15th-century humanist, "Mathematicians measure with their minds alone the forms of things separated from all matter."[7]

Boethius prescribes a fixed program of quadrivial study "by which the mind is able to ascend so that by means of the eye of the mind [...] truth can be investigated and beheld."[8] More important, any change in the order of study nullifies the effectiveness of the program, as arithmetic provides the key to unlocking the other three mathematical studies: music, geometry, and astronomy.[9] The emphasis on musical number in Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* is consistent with Aurelian's later assessment that for the medieval mind, "music has the greatest correspondence to mathematics."[10]

A triad of musical categories is the broadest musical system given in Boethius's *De institutione musica*. The music of the spheres (*musica*

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[4] "*Propter symphoniam subiungere vim numerorum*": Johannes de Muris, "Tractatus De institutione musica," in *Scriptores ecclesiastici De institutione musica sacra potissimum*, ed. Martin Gerbert, 3 vols (St Blaise, 1784; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 3:249. See *De institutione arithmetica* 1.1: Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the* De Institutione Arithmetica (Amsterdam, 1983), p. 72 (hereafter *De institutione arithmetica*); see also *De institutione musica* 2.3, pp. 53–54.

[5] *De Trinitate* 2: *Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), p. 9 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*).

[6] Winthrop Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge, 1988), p. 34.

[7] The author of this treatise dismisses the biasing of reason over perception given the obvious necessity of using human sight for evaluating the beauty of visual art: Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (London, 1956), p. 43.

[8] *De institutione arithmetica*, p. 73.

[9] *De institutione arithmetica*, p. 74.

[10] Aurelian, *The Discipline of Music*, p. 15.

mundana) is Nature's "original mundane mechanism" described in detail by Plato in the *Timaeus*. Two additional categories are its reflections:

> What Plato rightfully said can likewise be understood: the soul of the universe was joined together according to musical concord. *For when we hear what is properly and harmoniously united in sound in conjunction with that which is harmoniously coupled and joined together within us* and are attracted to it, then we recognize that we ourselves are put together in its likeness.[11]

The beauty of song (*musica instrumentalis*) unites the musical numbers of the human body (*musica humana*) with its exemplar, the precise motion observed in the revolutions of the heavenly spheres (*musica mundana*):

> So that there can be no doubt that the order of our soul and body seems to be related somehow through those same ratios by which subsequent argument will demonstrate sets of pitches, suitable for melody, are joined together and united.[12]

This triad is important to Boethius's philosophical and theological works. David S. Chamberlain has called attention to Boethius's invocation of *musica humana* in *Consolatio* 5m4, where the human soul adopts the forms of musical sensations heard by the ear or felt through astral influence.[13]

The dynamism of Boethius's triad seems analogous to the emanations between the neo-Platonic hypostases of being. However, as Sarah Pessin has argued, Boethius suggests in *Quomodo substantiae* that mere participation in the world grants living beings the essential goodness of God, a direct participation in the deity's essence.[14] Similarly, the 13th-century music theorist Jacobus of Liège states that the human soul is perfected by its participation in numerical truth through musical speculation.[15]

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[11] *De institutione musica*, p. 2, emphasis added.

[12] *De institutione musica*, p. 7.

[13] David S. Chamberlain, "Philosophy of Music in the *Consolatio* of Boethius," *Speculum* 45.1 (1970), 85.

[14] See Sarah Pessin, "Boethius and the Neoplatonic Good: Hebdomads and the Nature of God in the *Quomodo Substantiae*," *Carmina Philosophiae* 10 (2001), 57–72. See the discussion of the initial hypostases and their emanations in the *Enneads* 5.1: Plotinus, *The Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), pp. 369–79. Eriugena's interpretation of God, however, places the deity forever out of human comprehension; see Henry Bett, M.A., *Johannes Scotus Eriugena: A Study in Mediaeval Philosophy* (New York, 1964), p. 25.

[15] Richard Wingell, "Anonymous XI and Questions of Terminology in Theoretical Writings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 (1979), 126; cf. Leo Schrade's discussion of Boethian mathematics as a "summit of perfection" for the soul: "Music in the Philosophy of Boethius," *The Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), 190.

Music is used in Boethius's philosophical tracts for its agency and dramatic potential rather than as an indulgent, sensual pleasure. As such, it is a reflection of something greater than itself or its listeners—it is a glimpse of a better state. As Boethius and Lady Philosophy agree in the *Consolatio*, the goal of all things is goodness, found in unity.[16] Its power suffuses all things, as Raison, borrowing thoughts from the *Consolatio*, instructs l'Amant in *Le Roman de la Rose*:

> However, I do not give the name of power to evil or unregulated power, for our text says, and says well, that all power comes from the good and that no man fails to do good except through weakness and omission; and he who understood clearly would see that evil is nothing, for so the text says.[17]

Harmony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

Neo-Platonic musical philosophy coexisted with other late antique musical theories. Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* (*c.* early 5th century A.D.) was a central textbook for the study of the liberal arts in the early Middle Ages. His chapter on harmony treats the science from the empirical, perception-centered theories of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, though Martianus's discussion also hints at certain cosmological elements derived from neo-Platonic writings on music.[18] In his description of the company of heaven, Martianus assembles a pantheon of Greek and Roman philosophers and artists:

> Linus, Homer, and the Mantuan poet [Vergil] were to be seen there, wearing crowns and chanting their poems; *Orpheus and Aristoxenus were playing their lyres*; Plato and Archimedes made golden spheres rotate. Heraclitus was afire, Thales was soaked with moisture, and Democritus appeared

[16] Boethius, *Consolatio* 3p10; *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, pp. 283–85.

[17] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Princeton, 1971), p. 124; cf. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 2 vols (Paris, 1920; repr. 1965), 2:290–91: "*Si n'apele je pas puissance / Poeir mal ne desordenance, / Car l'escriture dit e bien / Que toute poissance est de bien, / Ne nus a bien faire ne faut / Fors par feiblece e par defaut; / E, qui serait bien cler veianz, / Il verrait que maus est neienz, / Car ainsinc le dit l'escriture.*"

[18] While Martianus employed similar terminology, he was not an ardent neo-Platonist: William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E.L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 1: *The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella: Latin Traditions in the Mathematical Sciences, 50 B.C.–A.D. 1250*, 2nd ed., (Records of Western Civilization) (New York, 1991), p. 10. For a detailed discussion of Martianus's chapter on harmony, see pp. 202–27.

> surrounded with atoms. *Pythagoras of Samos was cogitating certain celestial numbers*.[19]

In Martianus's intellectual paradise, Pythagoras is disassociated from the musicians, who are represented by two legendary performers of the *kithara*. With Pythagoras engrossed in astronomical calculation and Plato manipulating the sphere—the most perfect solid as well as a model of the heavens—the personifications of practical music are separated from those of cosmic harmony.

Boethius rejoined music and number intimately in his works, though in *De institutione musica* 5.4 he asserts the mathematical basis of pitch height in contrast to what he characterizes as a purely aural basis for Arixtoxenus's conception of pitch height, invoking theories of Euclid and Ptolemy in support of his argument.[20] Boethius expresses disdain for Aristoxenus again in *De institutione musica* 5.13 for his use of sensory data instead of the calculations of reason:

> The opinion of Aristoxenus concerning these matters should be discussed briefly. Since he attached little value to reason but yielded to aural judgment, he does not indicate numbers for pitches as a means of obtaining their ratios. Instead he estimates the difference between them, not to inquire into the pitches per se but rather the differences between them.[21]

The mere calculation of intervallic distances using geometric measurements was inconsistent with Pythagorean and Platonic musical numerology, which saw whole numbers as having an ideal existence beyond the world of sensation.[22] The segregation of mathematical operations and

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[19] Martianus Capella, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 2: *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, 2 vol., trans. William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E.L. Burge, (Records of Western Civilization) 10 (New York, 1977), p. 62, emphasis added.

[20] Bower notes that this is a mischaracterization of Aristoxenus's theory: *De institutione musica*, p. 166. For more on Boethius's manipulation of the theories of Euclid and Claudius Ptolemy in *De institutione musica*, see Alan C. Bowen and William R. Bowen, "The Translator as Interpreter: Euclid's *Sectio Canonis* and Ptolemy's *Harmonica* in the Latin Tradition," in *Music Discourse from Classical to Early Modern Times/Editing and Translating Texts/Papers given at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems*, ed. Maria Rika Maniates (Toronto, 1990), pp. 97–148. On the impact of his inconsistencies on later theorists, see Klaus Jürgen Sachs, "Boethius and the Judgement of the Ears: A Hidden Challenge in Medieval and Renaissance Music," in *Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett et al. (London, 1991), especially pp. 175–76.

[21] *De institutione musica*, p. 173.

[22] On Aristoxenus's revolutionary application of geometry to music, see Richard Crocker, "Aristoxenus and Greek Mathematics," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue (New York, 1961), pp. 96–110.

mathematical speculation continued unabated even with the rise of practical mathematical schools in the 13th century.[23]

Michael Bernhard demonstrates that there was a significant gap in transmission between the time when Boethius wrote *De institutione musica* and the Carolingian era.[24] In the *Musica* and *Scolica Enchiriadis*, we find treatises that suddenly incorporate aspects of Boethian musical arithmetic. Alison White discusses the early medieval prejudice against Pythagorean musical mathematics, citing Guido d'Arezzo's statement that "*De institutione musica* was useful not to musicians but only to philosophers."[25] According to Calvin Bower, the late antique tradition of the seven liberal arts had fallen out of usage in favor of a curriculum based on Carolingian educational reforms.[26]

The use of concepts from *De institutione arithmetica* in the *Scolica Enchiriadis* is balanced by the practical demonstration of harmonic consonance in both treatises of the *Enchiriadis* tradition. By restricting *organum* to the perfect consonances of the Pythagorean *tetraktys* (emanating from the relationships in the number series 1:2:3:4), early harmonic practice provided what seemed to be an irrefutable demonstration of sounding number.[27] David E. Cohen traces the vital Boethian elements of these treatises, although he avoids characterizing them as a true chain of causation. Broadly speaking, the *Enchiradis* authors follow a simple teleology: 1) a wrestling with the basis of musical sound; 2) the establishment of an

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[23] Michael Masi, "The Influence of Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* on Late Medieval Mathematics," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts/A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), p. 81.

[24] Michael Bernhard, "Glosses on Boethius's *De institutione musica*," in *Music Theory and its Sources*, pp. 142–43. No comparable delay is seen in the transmission of *De institutione arithmetica*, which continued to be used as a quadrivial text throughout the Middle Ages: Pearl Kibre, "The Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the *Quadrivium* in the Thirteenth Century University Milieu at Paris," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, ed. Masi, p. 70.

[25] Alison White, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1982), p. 163.

[26] Calvin Bower, "The Role of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, ed. Masi, p. 163.

[27] See Raymond Erickson, "Eriugenia, Boethius and the Neoplatonism of *Musica* and *Scolica Enchiriadis*," in Claude V. Palisca, nancy Kovaleff Baker, and Barbara Russano Hanning, *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), p. 65. See also Nancy Philips, "Classical and Late Latin Sources for Ninth-Century Treatises on Music," in *Musical Humanism and its Legacy*, ed. Palisca, et al., pp. 103–08; and Calvin Bower, " 'Adhuc Ex Parte Et In Enigmate Cernimus . . .' Reflections on the Closing Chapters of *Musica Enchiriadis*," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Mathiesen (Lincoln, 2002), 21–44.

artificial scale system necessary for organal practice; and 3) a concluding, harmonic method that demonstrates the Boethian consonances via *musica instrumentalis*.[28] Cohen carefully points out that these treatises do not yet provide as thorough a mathematical proof of all pitch relationships as one would expect of a work indebted to Boethius.[29]

In the following century, Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II) further championed the Boethian teachings on arithmetic and musical number in several of his letters explaining problematic passages in *De institutione arithmetica*.[30] No less a pupil than Emperor Otto III requested a copy of the treatise from Gerbert in 997.[31] Oscar Darlington long ago noted Gerbert's influence on liberal education in France through his tutelage of many scholars, statesmen, and future leaders of cathedral schools, and his success in inculcating mathematical study at Paris and Chartres through his student Fulbert.[32]

Boethius in the Hands of *Magisters*

The curricula of the universities of Paris and Oxford have revealed a gradual waning of the strongly neo-Platonist liberal arts tradition established in the 12th century in favor of a program of study dominated by logic and natural science. The rediscovery of the "new" Aristotle's scientific works resulted in the minimizing of the quadrivium, which was delivered largely through a few public readings by students studying for the degree of Magister.[33] However scarce the evidence is for the study of quadrivial music in

[28] David E. Cohen, "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory: The Metaphysics of Consonance and the Concept of Organum" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1993), p. 72 and pp. 537–41.

[29] Cohen, "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory," p. 83.

[30] See Letters 3, 4, and 5 on *De institutione arithmetica*; Gerbert also claimed in one letter (no. 15, p. 54) to have discovered books on astronomy and drawings of geometry by Boethius: Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II), *The Letters of Gerbert/with his Papal Privelges as Sylvester II*, trans. Harriet Pratt Lattin (New York, 1961). White discusses Gerbert's letters in detail, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," pp. 169–72.

[31] *Letters of Gerbert*, pp. 294–95.

[32] Oscar G. Darlington, "Gerbert, the Teacher" *The American Historical Review* 52.3 (1947), 473–75. On the Chartrian curriculum, see Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, 1972); and Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," pp. 21–53.

[33] Three studies of James A. Weisheipl treat the 13th- and 14th-century curricula at Paris and Oxford, with little mention of music: "Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964), 143–85; "The Structure of the Arts Faculty in the Medieval University," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 19.3 (1971),

the street of straw, modern scholars have uncovered numerous, scattered statements that call for the use of Boethius's two quadrivial treatises in the university curricula of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In fact, the core teachings of these works played an important role in the conception of a carefully ordered cosmos that reflected the medieval Christian hierarchical worldview, one that would remain essentially unchallenged until the pioneering discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler.[34]

With the rise of harmonic composition, topics in Boethius's musical treatises began to fall out of synchronicity with contemporary musical practice. The *Enchiriadis* author(s) departed from Boethius in rejecting 9:8 as a symphonic interval, an early example of discarding inconvenient aspects of antique theory to suit contemporary practice.[35] The 14th century saw an accelerated pace of musical innovation, and with it a series of necessary accommodations of Boethius to modern practice. The Parisian *magister* Johannes de Muris omits the fourth and second from the intervals considered consonant for discant and describes not only the perfect Boethian intervals but also the necessary "imperfect" consonances of the third and sixth as admissible in practice.[36] A mathematician who taught music and astronomy, de Muris's condensed version of *De institutione musica* replaced Boethius's original in the 14th- and 15th-century curricula, and in many universities it was specified as the official musical text for musical lectures.[37]

Orpheus, Aristoxenus's duet partner in *De Nuptiis* and a Platonic symbol of music in the *Enchiriadis* tradition, appears in Boethius's treatise

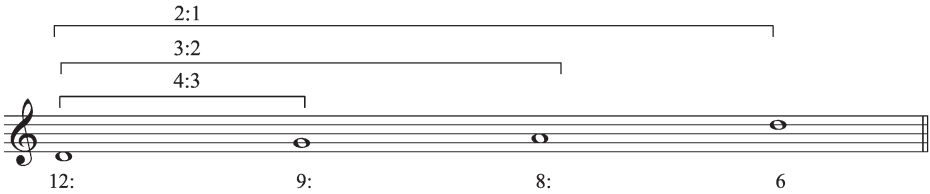
263–71; and "The Parisian Faculty of Arts in the Mid-Thirteenth Century," *The American Benedictine Review* 25 (1974), 200–17.

[34] The classic study of music in the medieval curriculum is Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK, 1958; 2nd ed., 1986). See also White, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," pp. 162–205. On Boethius's influence on medieval mathematics, see Kibre, "The Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the *Quadrivium*," pp. 67–80. See also Michael Masi, "The Influence of Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* on Late Medieval Mathematics," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, ed. Masi, pp. 81–96. On Boethius's *De institutione musica*, see Calvin Bower, "The Role of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, pp. 157–74; and Michel Huglo, "The Study of Ancient sources of Music Theory in the Medieval Universities," in *Musical Humanism and its Legacy*, pp. 150–72.

[35] Cohen, "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory," p. 504.

[36] Johannes de Muris, "De Discantu et Consonantiis," in *Scriptores Ecclesiatici De Musica Sacra Potissimum*, ed. Martin Gerbert, 3 vols (Saint-Blaise, 1784; repr. Hildsheim, 1963), 3:306–07.

[37] Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, p. 64.



Example 1. *The Boethian Symphonic Numbers in Modern Music Notation.*

as the first of the ancient musicians: "In the beginning, as Nicomachus reports, music was truly simple, since it was composed of four strings. It continued in this state until the time of Orpheus."[38] Boethius then attributes the addition of each successive string of the *kithara* to a pantheon of mythic musicians, using fixed pitches generated out of the *tetraktys* (first four numbers) as the basis of the Greek diatonic systems. The four strings of Orpheus's lyre resonate with the intervals of the *diatessaron* (4:3 or perfect fourth), *diapente* (2:3 or perfect fifth), *diapason* (2:1 or perfect octave), and the residual whole tone (9:8, the difference between the fifth and fourth within an octave), which are derived from the four numbers of the Pythagorean *tetraktys* (deployed as 12:9:8:6), the metaphysical source of musical consonance. Like Martianus, Boethius named these intervals "symphonies" in the final chapters of *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica*.[39]

These sounds are described at the conclusion of *De institutione arithmetica* as "the greatest and most perfect harmony that, constituted in three intervals, holds great strength in the modulation and tempering of music and in speculation of natural questions."[40] The numbers of the *tetraktys* are the formal cause, the active, particular motivation, of all

[38] *De institutione musica* 1.20, pp. 29–30. On the use of the Orpheus myth in the early Carolingian period, see Susan Boynton, "The Sources and Significance of the Orpheus Myth in 'Musica Enchiriadis' and Regino of Prüm's 'Epistola De Harmonica Institutione,'" *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 47–74. For a Pythagorean interpretation of Orpheus in the *Enchiriadis* tradition, see Blair Sullivan, *Grammar and Harmony: The Written Representation of Musical Sound in Carolingian Treatises* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1994), pp. 150–51. On Guillaume de Machaut's use of Orpheus throughout his poetry in relation to Boethius's *Consolatio*, see Sylvia Huot, "Guillame de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," *Modern Philology*, 100.2 (2002), 189–92; and Jacqueline Cerquiglini, *"Un Engin Si Soutil"/Guillaume de Machaut et L'Écriture au XIVe Siècle* (Paris, 2001), p. 89. Michael Masi discusses the Boethian aspects of the Middle English *Sir Orfeo* in his edition of *De institutione arithmetica*, pp. 45–46.

[39] *De institutione arithmetica*, p. 179, and throughout *De institutione musica*, Book 5.

[40] *De institutione arithmetica*, pp. 185–88.

musical relationships in Boethius—from the revolutions of the heavens to the smallest divisions of musical intervals. According to Aristotle:

> An explanatory factor means [. . .] [t]he form or pattern of a thing, that is, the reason (and the kind of reason) which explains what it was to be that thing; for example, the factors in an octave are based on the ratio of two to one and, in general, on number.[41]

In the anonymous *Berkeley Manuscript* (1375) (University of California Music Library 774 (olim Phillips 4450), the description of Mercury's Lyre that "endured until the time of Orpheus" is the only location in the treatise where the terms *simphonias* or *armonia* are used to discuss musical intervals. For the author(s) of the treatise, the ideal basis of harmony remains grammatically above *musica instrumentalis*.[42]

As noted by Michael Masi, Boethius was a source of innovation in mathematical thought.[43] Masi sees in the mathematical works of Thomas Bradwardine and Roger Bacon indebtedness to *De institutione arithmetica*.[44] Boethius's inconsistent treatment of infinity in *De instutitione arithmetica*—expressly prohibiting infinite number at the beginning of the treatise while constantly extending series of numerical proportions *ad infinitum*—creates a curious loophole in his epistemology. Johannes Scotus Eriugena propounded the infinity of God in the 9th century, giving Him alone this property.[45] It is just possible that this inconsistency indirectly influenced the heretical notion of an infinite universe held by the ill-fated *Nolan*, Giordano Bruno, some centuries later. Such a departure from the medieval worldview lay in Bruno's humanistic capacity to understand mathematics differently in relationship to the universe, a freedom alien to his critics who still adhered to a Ptolemaic universe with a medieval, Boethian epistemology. Hilary Gotti describes the new worldview as nothing short of a rejection of the basis of mathematical idealism.

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[41] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. Richard Hope (Ann Arbor, 1952; paperback edition, 1960), p. 88.

[42] Anonymous, *The Berkeley Manuscript, University of California Music Library, MS 744 (olim Phillips 4450)*, trans. and ed. Oliver B. Ellsworth, (Greek and Latin Music Theory) 2 (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 190–95.

[43] Masi, "The Influence of Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica*," p. 82.

[44] Masi, "The Influence of Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica*," pp. 89–94.

[45] Clarifying Boethius that the potential of infinite series rests only in the infinite Being. Bett, *Johannes Scotus Eriugena*, p. 26.

> For Bruno, the traditional mathematics held a purely abstract truth status and was considered as a departure from the physical realities of being rather than a true description of being itself.[46]

This worldview was, in fact, outdated long before Bruno. Winthrop Wetherbee notes that, despite the enthusiasm of modern scholars for the intellectual prosperity provided by the Platonist revival of the 12th century, in which *De institutione arithmetica* played a significant role, neo-Platonic learning in that era led to few original discoveries in philosophy.[47]

Musical innovators, too, drew upon both of Boethius's treatises in their endeavors, and the quadrivial Boethius was readily available to Oxford's scholars; Peter Cossington donated a manuscript copy of *De institutione musica* to Baliol College in 1276, one of the oldest surviving texts belonging to the university.[48] Oliver Ellsworth explained Jerome of Moravia's explanation for new chromatic pitches in the gamut necessary for the justification of *musica ficta* as a modern adaptation of the Boethian *coniunctio*, a common tone used in the *synemmon* tetrachord.[49] The development of the four basic musical meters (*mensurations*) in the early 14th-century *ars nova* relied on hierarchical trees of odd and even number, seemingly justifiable via *De institutione arithmetica*. Phillipe de Vitry's *Ars Nova* uses Boethian arithmetic to justify its intervallic language but shies away from the application of quadrivial number to the new metrical language.[50] Similarly, Marchetto of Padua calculated Boethius's unequal semitones by subdividing the tone into five separate parts, an arithmetical solution that went beyond the canonic numbers of the *tetraktys* in order better to approximate the unequal division of a tone's superparticular ratio (9:8).[51]

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[46] Hilary Gatti, *Giordano Bruno and Renaissance Science* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), p. 53. On the indebtedness to Boethius by Cornelius Agrippa, one of Bruno's main sources, see Alessandro G. Farinella and Carole Preston, "Giordano Bruno: Neoplatonism and the Wheel of Memory in the 'De Umbris Idearum," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55.2 (2002), 614. On attempts to measure infinity by scholars in medieval Paris, see John E. Murdoch, "Subtilitates Anglicanae in Fourteenth-Century Paris: John of Mirecourt and Peter Ceffons," in *Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Madeline Pelner Cosman and Bruce Chandler, (Annals of The New York Academy of Sciences) 314 (New York, 1978), pp. 51–88.

[47] Dronke, "Philosophy, cosmology, and the Renaissance," p. 28.

[48] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Baliol College 317. From an exhibition at the Bodleian Library: http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley/about/exhibitions/online/workofone/theme1.

[49] Oliver Ellsworth, "The Origin of the Coniuncta: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Music Theory* 17 (1983), 97–98. See *De institutione musica* l.24, pp. 43–45.

[50] Phillipe de Vitry and Leon Plantinga, "Philippe De Vitry's *Ars Nova*: A Translation," *Journal of Music Theory* 5.2 (1961), 204–23.

[51] Jan Herlinger, "Marchetto's Division of the Whole Tone," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34.2 (1981), 193–216; see also Herlinger, "Fractional Divisions of the Whole Tone," *Music Theory Spectrum* 3 (1981), 74–83.

Michael Huglo believes that by the 14th century the Boethian paradigm of a harmonious universe held true by musical number had already become ineffectual.[52] Johannes Tinctoris, a Janus-like figure who straddles the *avant garde* rhythmic innovations of the late 14th-century *ars subtilior* and the purer harmony of a new humanist dawn in the *quattrocento*, laments the musical errors stemming from composers' "lack of training in arithmetic, for proportion is produced from its entrails."[53] Given the wide separation between the need for mathematical acumen in handling difficult rhythmic and metric proportions and the antique detritus of Boethius's bygone musical system, Tinctoris cautions his patron that singers and composers should rely "upon the arithmetical rather than the musical training of Boethius [. . .]"[54] However, Bonnie Blackburn cites Seybald Heyden's disparaging view of proportional metric games as an indication that by the early 16th century even Tinctoris's Boethian arithmetical training seemed antiquated to many forward-thinking musicians.[55]

Boethian Harmony as a Poetical Conceit

The harmonic paradigm exerted a strong influence on the written word in the medieval period. Boethian music pervades Alan of Lille's cosmographies, *De Planctu Naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*. The latter is modeled after a number of late classical works including *De Nuptiis* and the commentaries and educational and cosmological manuals of 12th-century neo-Platonists such as Thierry of Chartres and Bernardus de Silvestris.[56] The influence of *De institutione musica* is found in Alan's knowledge of quadrivial music, revealed in a series of bookish quotations—*probationes*, or standard answers to the *quaestiones* of an academic disputation—that adorn his excursus on the seven sisters (i.e., the liberal arts) who construct Prudence's celestial vehicle.[57] Boethian musical topics discoursed upon

[52] Huglo, "The Study of Ancient Sources," p. 172.

[53] Johannes Tinctoris, "The Proportionale Musices of Johannes Tinctoris," trans. Albert Seay, *Journal of Music Theory* 1 (1957), 27.

[54] Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint* [*Liber de Arte Contrapuncti*], trans. Albert Seay (Oxford, 1961), p. 140.

[55] Bonnie J. Blackburn, "A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered," *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 101–02.

[56] See Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus; or The good and perfect man* [*by*] *Alan of Lille*, trans. James J. Sheridan, (Medieval Sources in Translation) 14 (Toronto, 1987), p. 12.

[57] Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, pp. 109–12. On the use of integumenta, a feature of 12th-century allegorical writing, see Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," pp. 36–37.

briefly in this passage include the reliance of music upon numerical ratio, the Boethian musical triad (*mundana, humana*, and *instrumentalis*), the three genera of the *diatessaron* or perfect fourth (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic), and the impossibility of equal semitones due to the unequal terms of the whole tone's superparticular ratio (9:8). Alan discusses intervals smaller than a tone including both the *limma* and comma and the division of the comma into even smaller parts.[58] Alan's understanding of the fine details of harmonics is more consistent with the Pythagorean tradition of Boethius than the Aristoxenian system discoursed upon by Harmony in *De Nuptiis*.[59]

Alan adorns his theological arguments and social satire with harmonic references, and with Boethian knowledge infusing his *elocutio*.[60] When Nature is reunited with her illegitimate son and lover Genius at the end of *De Planctu Naturae*, their souls commingle in music:

> And is it not strange if in the *harmonious union of our wills I find the music of concord*, since one original thought and idea conforms us with each other, and has brought us into the same mind, since the official rank of one administration makes us alike [. . .] the virtue of *pure love dwells in the inner secret places of our souls*.[61]

In this scene, music fuses the natural and unnatural in light of carnal sin.[62]

According to Eileen C. Sweeney, Alan's Nature herself is composed of opposing qualities, an "uneasy construction placed on disparate and volatile forces."[63] Dyadic opposites occur on multiple levels in Alan's cosmography—including his comparison of the microcosm (man) and the macrocosm (the universe) in *De Planctu Naturae*, represented by corresponding elements in both (Table 1).

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[58] *De institutione musica*, pp. 88–91. The unequal semitone is first discussed in *De institutione musica* 1.17, pp. 26–28, and explained more fully in 3.1–2, pp. 88–92. The smaller intervals are discussed throughout the third book of the treatise.

[59] On Alan's use Boethius's triad of musical categories, see David S. Chamberlain, "Notes and Comments: *Anticlaudianus* 3.412–445 and Boethius's *De institutione musica*," *Manuscripta USA* 13.4 (1969), 167–69.

[60] In particular, see Alan, *Anticlaudianus*, pp. 11 and 109–12.

[61] Alain of Lille, *The Complaint of Nature*, trans. Douglas M. Moffat, (Yale Studies in English) 36 (Connecticut, 1908, repr., 1972), p. 92, emphasis added. Cf. James Sheridan's translation of this passage, a less neo-Platonic reading than Moffat's: *Alan of Lille/The Plaint of Nature*, trans. James Sheridan (Toronto, 1980), pp. 219–20.

[62] On the incestuous relationship between Nature and Genius in *De Planctu*, see Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses/Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 66–73.

[63] Eileen C. Sweeney, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille* (New York, 2006), pp. 167–68.

Table 1. Contraries of the Microcosm and Macrocosm in Alan's De Planctu[64]

Microcosm	:	Macrocosm
Man	:	World Soul
Seven Planetary Spheres	:	Starry Heaven
Human Body = Four [Humors]	:	Earth = Four Elements : Four Dyads
Similar : Different	~	Concord : Discord
Inequality : Equality	~	Single : Plurality
Formless : Conformity	~	Dissonant : Consonant
Separate : Identity	~	Dissent : Agreement

Nature's description of the soul as a microcosmic union of opposites mirrors Boethius's discussion of the soul in *De institutione musica*:

> For what unites the incorporeal nature of reason with the body if not a certain harmony and, as it were, a careful tuning of low and high pitches as though producing one consonance? What other than this unites the parts of the soul, which, according to Aristotle, is composed of the rational and the irrational?[65]

And yet, *musica instrumentalis* can restore the fallen by reminding them of *musica mundana*. When Nature commands Hymen to excommunicate homosexuals from the body of the medieval church, Hymen's company of musicians, formerly struck dumb in grief over humanity's sin, suddenly strikes a pitch that makes "a sound of many notes in one, of quality unlike yet consonant, of manifold tone."[66] Like the music emanating from Harmony's shield in *De Nuptiis*, the symphonies of the *tetraktys* have a sobering effect on their listeners.[67] Both authors' descriptions of the unlike qualities of *musica instrumentalis* is Boethian:

> When two strings, one of which is lower, are stretched and struck at the same time, and they produce, so to speak, an intermingled and sweet sound, and the two pitches coalesce into one as if linked together, then that which is called 'consonance' occurs.[68]

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[64] Alain, *Complaint*, pp. 25–26.

[65] *De institutione musica*, p. 10.

[66] Alain, *Complaint*, p. 86.

[67] For the description of Harmony's musical shield, see Stahl, et. al., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2:352–53. Barbara Newman's interpretation of Alan's metaphorical-linguistic edifice in *De Planctu Naturae* as an ironic and perhaps sympathetic comment on homosexual love would lend Hymen's chord a rather sarcastic tone: *God and the Goddesses*, p. 97.

[68] *De institutione musica*, p. 47.

The source of the musical ratios of Boethian consonance, as stated in Book 2 of *De institutione musica*, is unity.[69] In *De institutione arithmetica*, Boethius cites Philolaus's definition of harmony as a collection of "contraries [...] compounded and joined together by a certain harmony [...] the union of many things and the consensus of dissidents."[70]

Boethius also derides Ptolemy's conception of interval, "for consonance is not of similar sounds, but of dissimilar, each coming into one and the same concord."[71] In the neo-Platonic view, number departs from unity; in Boethius's quadrivial definition, music is the comparison of whole numbers, themselves containing collections of unities (discrete units) related to one another.[72] Nature's claim to have "imparted to the elements the kiss of peace and bound them together with the more effective knot of number" in *De Planctu* reflects the union of contraries found in Boethian musical arithmetic.[73]

Boethian music theory provided Alan and his successors with a complex symbolic network capable of representing both political order and disorder in divine, natural, and human affairs.[74] As pointed out by Richard Wingell, a change in the assessment of musical acumen occurred with the rise of the Scholastic curriculum: the term *musicus* now denoted philosophical knowledge of Boethius's quadrivial music rather than the achievement of distinction in practical music, a departure from the *peritus cantor* addressed by Aurelian.[75]

In the *Battle of the Seven Liberal Arts*, Henri d'Andeli stages a martial campaign between the universities of Paris and Orléans, led by the classical and medieval authors and allegorical figures representing the curricula of each institution. Boethius and his quadrivium march separately in the Parisian column in a way that resembles the segregation of music found in Pythagoras in *De Nuptiis*. Nevertheless, the intervals of Music are described by Henri in Boethian terms:

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[69] *De institutione musica*, p. 57.

[70] *De institutione arithmetica*, p. 156. However, based on Boethius's reading of Nicomachus, Cohen argues that Boethius defined musical consonances as unities: "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory," pp. 478–79.

[71] *De institutione musica*, p. 48.

[72] *De institutione musica*, p. 54.

[73] *Complaint*, p. 92.

[74] Masi considers this the ethical application of Boethian number in literature: *De institutione arithmetica*, p. 40.

[75] Wingell, "Anonymous XI," p. 127. Aurelian begs the assistance of his ideal reader, i.e., the skilled singer, in finding errors in his work, *The Discipline of Music*, p. 56.

The sweet tones diatessaron
Diapente, diapason,
Are struck in various combinations.
In groups of four and three
Through the army they went singing,
They go enchanting them with their song.
These do not engage in battle;[76]

Henri's use of the numbers 4 and 3 clearly indicates the ratio of the perfect fourth, the smallest consonance within the *tetraktys*. Frank Lloyd Harrison located a similar musical passage in a poem by the 14th-century Norman poet Gace de la Buigne. While discussing the singing of King Jean's clerks, the poet indicates his knowledge of Boethian harmonics by measuring their intervals in unequal semitones and the symphonies of the Pythagorean *tetraktys*.[77]

The musicians' supporting role in Henri's army is reminiscent of Music's pacifism in *Anticlaudianus*.[78] In both works, musical consonance has a supernatural, calming effect on the human soul as described in *De institutione musica* 1.1.[79] Chamberlain argues that music is the central healing agent in Boethius's *Consolatio*, the model for several late-medieval musical allegories including Alan's *De Planctu*.[80]

As demonstrated by Elonora M. Beck, references to the three Boethian categories of music likewise pervade the paintings of Giotto, in which angel musicians and practical musicians alike participate to amplify the status of events or persons depicted. Like Alan's metaphorical use of music as poetic metaphor, the sounds created by the musicians in Giotto's paintings are silent. The sonic accompaniment to these works may be "heard"

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[76] Lines 180–86: "*Li douz ton diatesaron, / Diapente, diapason / Sont hurtez de diverses grebes. / Par quarreüres et par trebles, / Par mi l'ost aloient chantant, / Par lor chant les vont enchantant. / Celes ne se combatent pas*;" Henri d'Andeli, *The Battle of the Seven Arts: A French Poem by Henri D'andeli, Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Louis John Paetow, *Memoirs of the University of California* 4.1 (Berkeley, 1914), p. 49. Paetow notes that Boethius travels in the company of Aristotle based on his translations of Aristotle's works, a privileged position given the resurgence of the Stagirite's works: p. 51.

[77] "*Les uns font semitone mineur, / les autres semithon maieur, / diapenthe, diapason, / les autres dyatessaron*" [Some make a minor semitone, / others a major semitone, / fifth, (or) octave, (and) others a perfect fourth"] (my translation): Harrison, "Plainsong," pp. 320–21.

[78] "Dressed in a striking cloak, the maiden shows that she is the foster-child of peace and seeks not the thunderbolts of war," *Anticlaudianus*, p. 110.

[79] For more on the effects of music as reported in Boethius and other classic authors and the continuing tradition in medieval treatises see Don Harrán, "The Musical Ecomium: Its Origins, Components and Implications," *Revista de musicologia* 16.4 (1993), 2187–97.

[80] Chamberlain, "Philosophy of Music," p. 85.

in the few surviving compositions and the influential music treatises of his contemporary Paduan, Marchetto, whose *Lucidarium* is littered with Boethian references and glosses.[81]

Discord indicates moral decrepitude and spiritual deterioration. In Alain Chartrier's *Livre de l'Esperance*, several allegorical figures flaunt the Boethian model of orderly, heavenly song. Within certain speeches, Sylvia Huot hears a peculiar disjunction of sound and meaning resulting in prose-like passages that "[threaten] at times to degenerate into ugly, incomprehensible noise."[82] When individuals' souls are detuned, the rhetorical conventions of their speech may suggest trouble. Harmonic-poetic clues about character flaws are scattered bountifully throughout Shakespeare's plays centuries later.[83]

Guillaume de Machaut's poetry is suffused with Boethian influences, indicating a wide-ranging familiarity with the latter's quadrivial, theological, and philosophical works. Surpassing the cosmological allegories of Alan of Lille, Machaut employs *musica instrumentalis* in two of his long narrative poems, or *dits*, amplifying his poetic mastery of quantity in song. Music was considered a poor substitute for fine verse by some poets of the next generation: Machaut's student Eustache Deschamps defined poetry as "natural" music, more perfect than the "artificial" poetics of music, which require audible performance.[84] James I. Wimsatt's views on the relationship of sound to verse in Machaut are sympathetic to those of Deschamps. In his analysis of a Machaut ballade, Wimsatt finds "little discernible relationship" between the sonic qualities and meaning of the poem, with "the sense handmaid to the sound."[85] This is a sorry state of affairs for a poet-composer who aims to marry sense, rhetoric, and music in his oeuvre.[86] Lawrence M. Earp offers an interpretation more sympathetic to

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[81] See Elonora M. Beck, *Giotto's Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence, 2005), pp. 131–67.

[82] Sylvia Huot, "Re-fashioning Boethius: Prose and Poetry in Chartier's *Livre de L'Esperance*," *Medium Aevum* 76.2 (2007), 273.

[83] For a wide-ranging survey of English harmonist thought, see James Daly, "Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking in Early Stuart England," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 69.7 (1979), 1–41. Interestingly, Boethius avoids a clear delineation of dissonance in his system: Cohen, "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory," pp. 547–48.

[84] James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural Music in the Fourteenth Century* (Toronto, 1991), p. 24.

[85] Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries*, pp. 22–24.

[86] On the role of music in Machaut's *Prologue* to his collected works and the association of love and harmony in Machaut's *Voir Dit*, see Sarah Jane Manley Williams, "Machaut's Self-Awareness as Author and Producer," in *Machaut's World*, 189–97.

Machaut, sensing a careful balance of tensions between the rhythmic and metrical demands of declamation and song that takes advantage of conflicting rhetorical schemes.[87]

Huot compares l'Amant's transformation from love-sickness to joy in the *Remede* with the transformation of Boethius himself from fear to comfort in the *Consolatio*.[88] She describes a "relocation of goodness and beauty to a place within the lover [...] that marks the movement from desire to hope."[89] L'Amant states early in the poem that a poet must take inspiration from his emotions, "because he who does not compose according to his feelings falsifies his work and his song."[90] According to Daniel Poiron, it is L'Amant's emotional fluctuations that initiate the events of the *Remede*.[91] As the emotions are governed by the musical quantities of the soul, the dramatic course of events is set in motion by the lover's striving for spiritual consonance.

Boethius himself serves as the personification of music in texts of a small number of 14th-century French and English motets,[92] appearing in works written for a "quadrivial culture."[93] In *Apollonis Eclipsatur/Zodiacum Signis/Pantheon Abluitur*, he is named in the contratenor text as the transmitter of Pythagorean *musica mundana*.[94] In *Sub Arturo Plebs Vallata/Fons Citharizanicium*, he appears in a chronological list of

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[87] Lawrence M. Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance in Machaut," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning From the Learned*, ed. Susanna Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music) 4 (Trowbridge, UK, 2005), pp. 102–22.

[88] Sylvia Huot, "Machaut and the Consolation," *Modern Philology* 100.2 (2002), 169–95.

[89] Huot, "Machaut and the Consolation," p. 176.

[90] Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, trans. James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 188–89; see also Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre Dou Voir Dit* (*The Book of the True Poem*), trans. R. Barton Palmer, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, (Garland Library of Medieval Literature) 106A (New York and London, 1998), p. 723.

[91] Daniel Poiron, "The Imaginary Universe of Guillaume de Machaut," in *Machaut's World*, ed. Cosman and Chandler, p. 202.

[92] See Frank L. Harrison, "Plainsong into Polyphony: Repertories and Structures *circa* 1270–*circa* 1420," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 314–23; Roger Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth Century Polyphony," *Music & Letters* 71.3 (1990), 313–35; and Andrew Wathey, "The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations," *Early Music History* 9 (1990), 129–74.

[93] James Haar, "Conference Introductory Remarks," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford, 1997), p. 13.

[94] Frank Lloyd Harrison, trans. and ed., Musicorum Collegio: *Fourteenth-Century Musicians' Motets. Edited with a New Introduction and Notes on Performance Specially Written for this Edition* (Monaco, 1986), p. 37.

standard musical authorities from the classical era to the 13th century. The list of ancient authors begins with the biblical figure of Tubal and ends with Franco of Cologne, the great 13th-century codifier of mensural notation. In this motet, Boethius appears in conjunction with Pythagoras, based on Boethius's use of Pythagoras in *De institutione musica* 1.11: "The weights of Pythagoras bring to life the law of numbers of the seemly art, the law which the examining Boethius promulgated more widely, praising the King of Kings."[95] In *Comes Flandrie / Rector Creatorum / In cimbalis*, an anonymous motet that falls outside of Harrison's musician motet complex, Boethian language reminds us of the necessity of inequality for effective (and affective) harmony:

> Boethius, the perfect harmonist, delights the soul with the *sound of unequal bells gently moving* discerning listeners and serenely praising the Lord.
>
> May it please heaven and may the Lord bless such uplifting sound as now decorates the city of Ludowycus.[96]

In his later collected-works manuscripts, Machaut's isorhythmic motets are placed in layers devoted to music, appearing between his most virtuosic monophonic compositions, the *Lais*, and his most daring polyphonic composition, *La Messe du Nostre Dame*. The motets are elaborate musical vehicles for poetry, an inversion of his two *dits* wherein poetical structures are the foundation for a layer of musical participation. The simultaneous texts and musical differences lurking within Machaut's isorhythmic motets can easily challenge the perceptual skills of modern listeners in a way that his lyric chansons normally do not. However, Christopher Page has cautioned against the assumption that simultaneous texts were overly difficult for medieval audiences to process, reserved for elite auditors, or that their aesthetic enjoyment required more contemplative effort than an initial hearing.[97]

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[95] "*Pondera Pictagore / numerorum decore / artis vernant legem, / quam rimans Boecius / propalavit latius / regum laudans regem*": Harrison, ed., *Musicorum Collegio*, p. 39; see *De institutione musica*, pp. 17–18.

[96] "*Boecius armonicus perfectus accidit ut pecis animo labe delectat / cymbalis inequis mulcens corda studiosorum. / Quolibet astro jam debet dominus benedici, / que sic stante sono decorat urbs ludowyci*": "Comes Flandrie," in *The Newberry Consort / Mary Springfels, Director / A Twentieth Anniversary Celebration / A Portrait of Renaissance Brughes*, trans. Kenneth Perlow (Chicago, 2007), p. 10, emphasis added. For a discussion of this motet and its connections to other musician motets, see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 103–05; a musical transcription is found on pp. 201–05.

[97] Page discusses the 13th-century motet and its audience, but his conclusions drawn from a treatise of *c.*1300 are surely applicable to the *ars nova* motet: Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio, the *Litterati*, and Verbal *Subtilitas* in the Ars Antiqua Motet," in

Typically, the garrulous *triplum* of a motet is locked in opposition to the glacial motion of the tenor voice, with the moderating pace of the *motetus* providing a median term. Means are integral to the study of quadrivial music, and Boethius singles out three types (arithmetic, geometric, and harmonic) that arise from combinations of superparticular and multiple ratios, the two number relationships necessary for Boethian consonance.[98] M.L. Fuehrer sees a series of continuities in the *Anticlaudianus* that tie the material and spiritual worlds together with man as the mean term, rather than an end point as in Dryden's verse quoted above, and affirmed in Fuehrer's statement: "So man is an essential link in the cosmos, and if this link fails, everything which depends upon it from below is reduced to a chaotic state."[99]

Hierarchical thinking shapes not only the musical but also the social aspects of the simultaneous texts: Huot has observed social implications in the nature of each voice and the meaning of its text in Machaut's first two motets, reconstructing a profound *sens* from the various perspectives afforded by each voice and by the voices in various combinations.[100] Poiron equates the mathematical relationship between the rhythmic layers of Machaut's motets with the numerical differences in ratios governing the heavenly spheres, considering each symbolic system a coordinated microcosm/macrocosm. These strata function in the rhetorical service of Machaut's allegorical structure, supporting deep emotional undercurrents, functioning for Poiron as the *raison d'être* of Machaut's oeuvre.[101] Both Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet and Deborah McGrady have compared the mixed media of Machaut's *Voir Dit* with the motets.[102] As fascinating as they are, sociological, astronomical, and generic comparisons seem to ignore the basic difference between Machaut's primary ways of linking music and poetry: the harmonic interaction of musical and poetic layers is simultaneous in the motet while the interlocking layers in the *Remede* and *Voir Dit* occur in temporal succession, creating a quasi-melodic discourse.

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his *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford, 1993; paperback, 1997), pp. 65–111.

[98] On the musical means, see *De institutione arithmetica* 2.52–54, pp. 184–88; and *De institutione musica* 2.12–17, pp. 65–71.

[99] M.L. Fuehrer, "The Cosmological Implications of the Psychomachia in Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*," *Studies in Philology* 77.4 (1980), 351.

[100] See Sylvia Huot, "Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's Motets 2 and 3," *Medium Aevum* 63.2 (1994), 222–38.

[101] Poiron, "The Imaginary Universe of Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 199 and 202.

[102] See Cerquiglini, "*Un Engin Si Soutil*," p. 103; and Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto, 2006), p. 140.

Furthermore, each of the chansons in both *dits* highlights the cantus as the controlling voice of the composition. These neo-quadrivial analyses have their roots in a search for proportions of musical architecture that arose with the Jungian search for archetypal beauty (see below). Notably, while medieval motets employ Pythagorean ratios in the organization of their tenors almost exclusively, theoretical treatises do not normally use the quadrivial language of Boethian harmony to describe formal partition.[103]

Modern Music and Boethian Harmony

"Did you guess the celestial laws are yet to be worked over and rectified?"[104] Walt Whitman's prescient question arrived on the scene during a resurgence in harmonic thinking, predated by the rediscovery of Swedenborg's peculiar brand of neo-Platonism by Honoré de Balzac, and followed by the rise of theosophy and other mystical systems of thought. In the early 20th century, elements of organicism, idealism, and formalism converged. The most influential structural theory of music devised in this period was that of Heinrich Schenker, whose reductive process looks beyond immediate perception for higher, more abstract levels of structure. His theory grafted a medieval cosmological aesthetic onto the canon of works that best represented "common practice" Germanic composition.[105]

Schenkerian reduction begins with the removal of dissonance; today, even the most basic modern harmonic analysis involves the sifting of structural, harmonic tones from those that are ornamental and superfluous in relationship to the consonant structure they deform. Cohen persuasively argues that due to the early, definitive steps made by neo-Platonist and neo-Pythagorean theorists of Antiquity and the Carolingian period, musical consonance has remained privileged, a position it still occupied almost a millennium and a half later.[106]

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[103] On the Boethian numerical construction of motet tenors in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, see Charles Turner, "Proportion and Form in the Continental Isorhythmic Motet C. 1385–1450," *Music Analysis* 10.1.2 (1991), 89–124, especially p. 102.

[104] Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*, ed. Stephen Mitchell (Boston, 1998), p. 38; emphasis added.

[105] For an introduction to Schenkerian thought, see Allen Forte, "Schenker's Conception of Musical Structure," in *Readings in Schenker Analysis and Other Approaches*, ed. Maury Yeston (New Haven, 1977), pp. 3–37. For a condensed exposition, see Adele Katz, "Heinrich Schenker's Method of Analysis," *The Musical Quarterly* 21.3 (1935), 311–29.

[106] Cohen, "Boethius and the Enchiriadis Theory," pp. 550–51. For an Aristotelian perspective on consonance and perfection, see Cohen, " 'The Imperfect Seeks Its Perfection':

Schenker's more radical claims are found in the nature of and relationships among structural levels. These levels imply a severely devalued musical surface. In particular, Schenker searches for the replication of *a priori* melodic and contrapuntal schemata on several structural levels. According to the Schenkerian view, the art of analysis is to reveal hidden, non-motivic forms as a natural series of correspondences from the musical surface all the way to the top of the hierarchy. In a rhetorical reversal of the analytical process, Schenkerian theorists often insist that composers begin from the highest, most abstract archetype (Schenker's *Ursatz*), improvising lower, more complex structures until reaching the surface.[107]

According to Robert P. Morgan, the medieval cosmological model, with God at its very core, was held up by German and Austrian modernists of the 1920s and 1930s as a utopian ideal, fueled by their nostalgia for an elusive and artificial "modernist past."[108] He views the loss of the "all-encompassing central frame, whether musical or spiritual," as motivating Austrian and German modernists to seek a substitute hierarchy in the early 20th century.[109] One result of their quest was an enduring obsession with structure and coherence in contemporary music theory.

Schenker's analytical method continues to exert a strong influence on contemporary analytical discourse despite a number of mystical statements in *Der freie Satz* that should call his claims of scientific rigor into question. By appealing to poetical abstractions of universality and unity, Schenker confers a rarefied aura on his ideas, attempting to place his theory beyond any logical critique. For instance, Schenker's musical hierarchy resembles Plotinian emanationism:

> The whole of foreground, which men call chaos, God derives from His cosmos, the background. The eternal harmony of His eternal Being is grounded in this relationship [. . .]

Harmonic Progression, Directed Motion, and Aristotelian Physics," *Music Theory Spectrum* 23.2 (Fall 2001), 140.

[107] E.g., David Neumeyer and Susan Tepping, *A Guide to Schenkerian Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1992), p. 1.

[108] Robert P. Morgan, "Schenker and the Twentieth Century: A Modernist Perspective," in *Music in the Mirror*, ed. Giger and Mathiesen, pp. 267–68. Kevin Korsyn notes a turn towards idealism in Schenker's later writings, but cautions that "Schenker himself, at the beginning of his career, presented a bolder, more penetrating critique of organicist thought than any of his subsequent critics": "Schenker's Organicism Reexamined," *Intégral* 7 (1993), 118. On Schenker's education in German Idealism and his philosophical activity, see Kevin Korsyn, "Schenker and Kantian Epistemology," *Theoria* 3 (1988), 1–58; and Korsyn, "Schenker's Organicism Reexamined," pp. 85–88. The sharpest critique of Schenker's method is Eugene Narmour, *Beyond Schenkerianism* (Chicago, 1980).

[109] Morgan, "Schenker," p. 268.

The astronomer knows that every system is part of a higher system; the highest system of all is God himself, God the creator.[110]

These aspects are strongly asserted in a passage omitted from the first edition of *Der freie Satz*:

> Between fundamental structure and foreground there is manifested a rapport much like that ever-present, interactional *rapport which connects God to creation and creation to God*. Fundamental structure and foreground represent, in terms of this rapport, the *celestial and the terrestrial* in music.[111]

Schenker asserts the primacy of the tone and its harmonic projection, the major triad, within the overtone series, granting them a status equivalent to the intervals of the Pythagorean *tetraktys*.[112] His overtone series is a link to God, much like the access to the good posited by Boethius, with the forms of genius emanating down through various musical hypostases to the distant surface below. However, his communication is a one-way street, with the fundamental structure fulfilling a role of "guardian angel" hovering over the "child" of the structural levels below.[113] Eugene Narmour deftly points out the negativism inherent in this arrangement, in which the "act of generation is visited from above [...] *where the actual notes that generate the structural derivations are not present.*"[114]

In his aphorisms on the organic, coherent nature of music, Schenker invokes two tones of the Boethian triad:

> In its linear progressions and other comparable tonal events, music mirrors the human soul in all its metamorphoses and moods—'*alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis*[,]' 'what is passing only resemblance [...]' (Goethe)[115]

Schenker's ideal music analyst is the genius who "has a soul predisposed to accept the background"; in Boethian terms, the Schenkerian *musicus* possesses an ideally tuned *musica humana*, able to perceive the timeless

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[110] Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition* (*Der freie Satz*): *Volume III of New Musical Theories and Fantasies* (hereafter *Free Composition*), trans. Ernst Oster (New York, 1935; trans. 1979), p. xxiii.

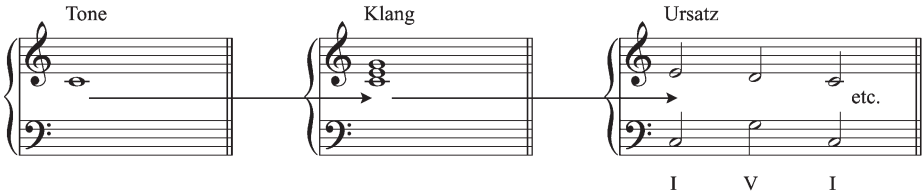
[111] Schenker, *Free Composition*, p. 160, emphasis added.

[112] Schenker begins his discussion of his system of harmony, as did Jean-Phillipe Rameau in the 18th century, with interval ratios. For Schenker's reasoning behind the primacy of the major triad, see Schenker, *Harmony*, trans. Elisabeth Mann Borgese (Chicago, 1954), pp. 21–29.

[113] Schenker, *Free Composition*, p. 18.

[114] Narmour, *Beyond Schenkerism*, p. 123, emphasis added.

[115] Schenker, *Free Composition*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.



Example 2. *Schenkerian Projections: tone—triad—Ursatz.*

structure that generates the composition.[116] Schenker demands practitioners of analysis with a high degree of "musical competence," and his writings seethe with derision against the uninitiated, promising rewards for those who follow his rigorous apprenticeship.[117]

Hierarchical analysis that aims to identify controlling, background structures is common in contemporary analysis of medieval music.[118] Margaret Bent has centered on the musical grammar of *discant* (simultaneous harmonic composition) for more historically accurate reductions of medieval polyphonic works. Unlike Schenker, Bent strives to avoid a "fundamentalist use of grammatical schemes" such as Schenker's *Ursatz* (Example 2), choosing instead to focus on the object at hand and its innate qualities.[119]

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's separation of the surface from the simple harmonic background in his analysis of Machaut's double ballade *Quant Theseus—Ne quier veoir* reveals a "shimmering dissonance on the surface of an essentially simple contrapuntal structure," a valuation of the foreground that savors the subtle rhetorical decisions "lower" in the compositional process.[120] What unites Bent and Leech-Wilkinson's analyses is an

[116] See Schenker, *Free Composition*, p. 3; cf. Boethius's definition of the *musicus* in *De institutione musica* 1.34, pp. 50–51.

[117] On Schenker's historical view of musical competence, see Alan Keiler, "The Origins of Schenker's Thought: How Man is Musical," *Journal of Music Theory* 33.2 (1989), 281–82. For derogatory statements on the uninitiated music lover, see Heinrich Schenker, "Organic Structure in Sonata Form," trans. Orin Grossman, in *Readings in Schenkerian Analysis and Other Approaches*, ed. Heinrich Schenker and Maury Yeston (New Haven, 1977), pp. 50–51. Michael Cherlin strongly disagrees with the Platonic view of Schenker's musical hierarchy, favoring a view based on Schopenhauer's "striving"; see "Hauptman and Schenker: Two Adaptations of Hegelian Dialectics," *Theory and Practice* 13 (1988), 130–31.

[118] See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Machaut's 'Rose, Lis' and the Problem of Early Music Analysis," *Music Analysis* 3.1 (1984), 9–28. For a later reflection on the hierarchical analysis of medieval music see "Rose, lis Revisited," in Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, UK, and New York, 2003), pp. 249–62.

[119] Margaret Bent, "Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in the Mirror*, ed. Giger and Mathiesen, p. 55.

[120] Leech-Wilkinson, "*Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe de Nostre Dame:* aspects of genre and style in late works of Machaut," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2.1 (1993), pp. 57–58.

attempt to recreate the medieval compositional process using historically appropriate tools in order to come closer to the medieval aesthetic of composition. For example, Leech-Wilkinson reconstructs a compositional process for Machaut's *Hoquetus David*, revealing salient harmonic arrivals that are obviously easier to hear than the temporally and rhetorically isolated background levels of a typical Schenkerian analysis.[121]

While Schenkerian theory sought to reveal the genius's conscious elaboration of universal archetypes, a Jungian perspective suggests an unconscious access to ideal artistic archetypes predating individual human experience. For E.H. Huntley, the appreciation of mathematics and music comes from reactions learned through biological experience.[122] According to Carl Jung,

> The creative process, in so far as we are able to follow it at all, consists in the unconscious animation of the archetype, and in a development and reshaping of the image until the work is completed.[123]

In the Jungian paradigm of creative activity, "Effective art depends upon primordial images."[124] By revealing hidden archetypes, the scholar claims universal significance for the artwork. The unconscious recreation of universal archetypes is considered a natural outgrowth of the composer's innate predilection for esthetic beauty, a view compatible with Schenker's improvisational unfolding of structural levels in time.

One of the primary manifestations of the Jungian approach in music theory was Ernö Lendvai's influential treatise *Béla Bartók*, which uses mathematical and geometric symmetries or near-symmetries, particularly the golden ratio and Fibonacci series, to explain Bartok's pitch language and formal processes.[125] Lendvai's *neo-quadrivial* use of the golden ratio and the Fibonacci series promised theorists a systematic approach that legitimized Bartók's works to an age obsessed with structuralism. Lendvai demonstrates that the Fibonacci series reflects "the law of natural growth," and as evidence, he cites Bartók's claim that folk music arises from nature itself. He demonstrates the natural occurrence of the Fibonacci series

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[121] See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure in Machaut's 'Hoquetus David,'" *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 16 (1980), 99–109. His voice-leading reduction is governed by Boethian concords, ibid., pp. 107–08.

[122] H.E. Huntley, *The Divine Proportion: A Study in Mathematical Beauty* (New York, 1970), p. 78.

[123] Quoted in Huntley, *The Divine Proportion*, p. 77.

[124] Huntley, *The Divine Proportion*, p. 81.

[125] Ernö Lendvai, *Béla Bartók: An Analysis of His Music* (London, 1971; rev. repr. 1979).

(1 . . . 3 . . . 5 . . . 8 . . . 11, etc.) in growth patterns of plants, the formation of the nautilus shell, and the structure of the fir-cone. An appendix to his text illustrates the ancient reliance on this formula, finding golden ratios in the Pyramid of Cheops and the Parthenon.[126] Faced with such impressive precedents, many scholars of medieval and Renaissance music heartily joined Lendvai's search for divine proportions.[127] Yet, even for Bartók's works, Lendvai's theory lacks biographical justification and partakes of suspicious methodology. Analyses of medieval music do not always attempt to rectify this method according to medieval concepts of number, but when they do, they exceed Lendvai's efforts in this area by searching for equivalent (if sometimes unconvincing) ideas in medieval treatises.[128]

In regard to number symbolism and symmetrical structure in medieval artworks, I find it difficult to agree with R.G. Peterson's claim that symmetrical "patterns themselves have (if valid) an obviousness and relevance, an esthetic impact, that systems of number symbolism often lack."[129] The immediate, surface-level use of Boethian knowledge in allegories like Alan's and Machaut's works would likely have hit the mark with other educated audience members or readers, while the perception of a structural point of symmetry is clearly harder to posit in a conjectural performance of a large-scale medieval work. Paul Zumthor proposes architectonic, proportional divisions in the oral performance of *Le Roman*

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[126] Lendvai, *Béla Bartók*, pp. 29–34, Appendix III, pp. 110–15.

[127] Examples of Lendvai-inspired observations can be found to a greater or lesser degree in the following list of articles, which is by no means exhaustive: Brian Trowell, "Proportion in the Music of Dunstable," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–79), 100–41; Margaret Vardell Sandresky, "The Continuing Concept of the Platonic-Pythagorean System and Its Application to the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 (1979), 107–20, and "The Golden Section in Three Byzantine Motets of Dufay," *Journal of Music Theory* 25.2 (1981), 291–306; Pozzi Escot, "The Gothic Cathedral and Hidden Geometry of St Hildegard" *Sonus* 5 (1984), 14–31; Allan W. Atlas, "Gematria, Marriage Numbers, and Golden Sections in Dufay's 'Resvellies Vous,' " *Acta Musicologica* 59.2 (1987), 111–26; Margaret Bent, "Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 15–27; Jaap van Bentham, "Text, Tone, and Symbol: Regarding Busnoys's Conception of *In hydraulis* and its Presumed Relationship to Ockeghem's *Ut hermita solus*," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgens (Oxford, 1999), p. 224–25; and Owen Rees, "Machaut's Mass and Sounding Number," in Leach, *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, pp. 75–94.

[128] For a particularly strong rebuke of Lendvai's silent rounding-off of his numerical data, see Jean-Bernard Condat, "Reviewed Work: The Workshop of Bartók and Kodály by Ernö Lendvai," *Leonardo* 21.2 (1988), 217–18. For more reservations, see Newman S. Powell, "Fibonacci and the Gold Mean: Rabbits, Rumbas, and Rondeaux," *Journal of Music Theory* 23.2 (Autumn, 1979), 233.

[129] R.G. Peterson, "Critical Calculations: Measure and Symmetry in Literature," *PMLA* 91.3 (1976), 372.

d'Eracle of Gautier d'Arras, which was obviously divided into several distinct segments in its four-hour performance. These pauses—not written into the work but made for the sake of the performer—would obviously influence an audience's perception of time and pacing, but it is hard to know if the passage of broad swaths of time without the application of scientifically accurate measuring devices could be designed or perceived as proportional in any meaningful way.

In 1950, Otto Gombosi wrote of the difference between the surface and background in Machaut's isorhythmic planning in the *Messe de Notre-Dame*:

> There are, as far as I can see, two principle factors to be distinguished in this planning. One appeals to the senses. It manifests itself in the angular and nervous rhythmic motifs rubbing against each other and following each other in regular alternation [. . .] it has a capricious, effeminate, and fantastic quality that reflects, with a high degree of stylization, the wonders of the perceptible world. It is worldly.
>
> The other factor is entirely outside of the sensuous. It concerns itself with the higher orders of metric units and lines by bringing them into a complex system of symmetries. It transgresses the proper limits and limitations of music as a perceptible order of tones, and acquires an abstract spatial quality. It mirrors a world outlook that is idealistic and transcendental, mystic and hieratic, Gothic and scholastic. It is other-worldly.[130]

Gombosi's quasi-Boethian formulation is very much of its time and reflects the Schenkerian position: note that the "feminine" surface acts like an annoying flibbertigibbet and the "higher orders" are described in rapt terms. Gombosi blends a Boethian worldview with a set of modern assumptions about structure drawn from corrupted ideas about medieval aesthetics.

Like Boethian harmonist thought, coherence in Schenker and Lendvai's analyses rests upon inaudible efficient causes that precede the artistic object. However, the additive nature of medieval creativity, demonstrated profusely in the design and decoration of Gothic cathedrals, elaborately organized and illuminated codices of a poet or poet-composer's works, virtuosic instrumental intabulations, dense isorhythmic motets, as old as the venerable tradition of gloss and trope, is quite different from the tidy, rectilinear perfection achieved in the pseudo-mathematical dissections of Schenker or Lendvai and their adherents. On the contrary, the eloquent

[130] Otto Gombosi, "Machaut's *Messe Notre-Dame*," *Musical Quarterly* 37.2 (1950), 223–24.

surface and the featureless background are equally valued in the Boethian musical system.

Paul Hindemith's *Craft of Musical Composition* begins, like Schenker's *Harmony*, with the calculation of interval ratios. He views the ancient and medieval system of thought in a Boethian mould similar to the quadrivial program stated in *De institutione arithmetica* 1.1:

> Intervals spoke to them of the first days of the creation of the world: mysterious as Number, of the same stuff as the basic concepts of time and space, the very dimensions of the audible as of the visible world, building stones of the universe, which, in their minds was constructed in the same proportions as the overtone series [*sic*], so that *measure, music, and the cosmos inseparably merged*.[131]

Rather than using ratios to construct a diatonic system of harmonics, Hindemith uses them to generate a fixed 12-tone series, arranged in a dynamic series of increasingly distant tonal centers. Medieval in conception is his speculative assessment of this endeavor, entitled "The Nature of the Building Stones," in which he quotes Boethius directly on the three categories of music. Hindemith's tonal system is a reconciliation of modern tonality and the Boethian tradition of harmonics, and his metaphysical system of intervallic construction is a conscious attempt to create a hierarchy from first principles—a reversal of Schenkerian teleology. Like the medieval theorists before him, Hindemith contemporizes Boethius by re-orienting the three categories of music to reflect modern scientific theories of cosmology. His practical harmonics is a *rappel à l'Ordre*:

> Does not all this seem like a distant echo of the *musica mundana* of the ancients, of those harmonies of the spheres that reigned above both earthly types of music, *musica humana* and the music "*quae in quibusdam constituta est instrumentis*"? [. . .] For us there is no longer, thanks to our understanding of their common physical basis, a fundamental difference between *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis* [. . .] We shall not do as the ancients did, and carry over earthly relations to happenings far out in space. Rather, we shall observe in the tiniest building unit of music the play of the same forces that rule the movements of the most distant nebulae. This world harmony, which in its reality is infinitely more simulating and for the musician more significant than the sounding hemispheres of the ancients, exists not only for the seeking and calculating knower of the stars [. . .] But just as today an astronomer cannot understand his reckonings in light-years, or the

[131] Paul Hindemith, *The Craft of Musical Composition: Book I Theoretical Part*, trans. Arthur Mendel, 2 vols (London, rev. 1945), 2:12, emphasis added.

> equalization of time and space, without knowing the workings of the electrons within the cosmos of the atom, so [for] the believing musician the sense of his musical material, the earthly image of the harmonious music of the universe, can never be clear unless he continually returns to the deepest kernel of the single tone, and seeks to understand its electronic flux—the overtones in their proportional relations.[132]

In Hindemith's musical cosmology, the sub-atomic theories of the nascent nuclear age have become the basis of cosmic music. Instead of macrocosmic music reflecting downward from the starry heaven, modern science proves that the movements of electrons and atoms are now observed in distant galaxies and subatomic structures alike. Hindemith has reorganized the Boethian categories of music to reflect science's ascent over religion. In contrast to Schenker's quasi-religious statements, Hindemith proposes a "particle" metaphysics in an attempt to lend an aura of scientific authority to his theory: the sacred primacy of the overtone series and the chromatic scale are not to be questioned as they are based in the real, observable world of sensation.

In *A Composer's World*, Hindemith writes of his musical ethics as derived from St Augustine and Boethius, finding much in common with the precepts of Pythagoreanism.[133] He wrote an opera on the life of Johannes Kepler and furnished a symphony derived from this work that is subdivided into three movements corresponding to Boethius's musical triad. As a *peritus cantor* and Boethian *musicus*, Hindemith not only taught classes in composition and musicology, but also he directed the first significant American collegium, bringing the music of "the ancients" into the hands of modern students. If Hindemith were a lesser figure in the fields of composition and historical musicology, one could easily reject his Boethian fixation as nothing more than the quaint reflections of an antiquarian.[134]

Unlike Schenkerian and Jungian musical philosophies, Hindemith's new tonal system never caught on, perhaps due to the hermetic, pseudo-medieval frame that governs his pedagogical writing. A similar case can

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[132] Hindemith, *The Craft of Musical Composition: Book I Theoretical Part*, pp. 53–54, emphasis added. Jamie James notes the arrangement of Hindemith's tonal relationships in a celestial arrangement based on the cosmological-musical theories Johannes Kepler: Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres/Music, Science, and the Natural Order of the Universe* (New York, 1993), pp. 226–28.

[133] Paul Hindemith, *A Composer's World: Horizons and Limitations* (Cambridge, 1952).

[134] On Hindemith's contributions and his relation to other seminal theorists and composers such as Arnold Schoenberg, Milton Babbit, and Heinrich Schenker, see Allen Forte, "Paul Hindemith's Contribution to Music Theory in the United States," *Journal of Music Theory* 42.1 (1998), 1–14.

be seen in the neo-Pythagorean American composer Harry Partch, whose works revolved around ancient tunings and ratios in a direct attempt to explore the tunings and ideas of antiquity.[135]

Such a bi-directional combination of musical historicism and modernism was endemic in an era of accelerating artistic innovation and societal change. It is surprising to find that even Claude Achille Debussy, known for his rejection of artificial strictures, held forth in strongly Boethian terms, stating that "Music is a mysterious form of mathematics whose elements are derived from the infinite."[136] And yet, Debussy simultaneously rejected the systematic application of any theoretical dogma:

> [...] people have made of [music] a song composed of theories! I prefer a few notes from the flute of an Egyptian shepherd. He collaborates with the scenery around him and hears harmonies of which our textbooks are ignorant.[137]

It is doubtless that Debussy is speaking of ancient music in an invocation of *musica mundana*. What influence is more inaudible—and enigmatic—than a musical culture silenced for millennia? Debussy clearly favors poetic invocation over the revival of the concrete teachings of antiquity.

Modernity and historicism formed a virtual *ouroboros* in the previous century, a hybrid beast whose ravenous, futurist maw consumed the tail of its antiquarian past, obscuring the end points of a cyclic trend towards idealism. As we have seen, metaphysical speculation often pollutes musical-analytic systems with the loudest claims to scientific objectivity. Lendvai's neo-quadrivialism and Schenker's overtone-based *Klang* and *Ursatz* now occupy the status of modern musical *symphoniae* to many practitioners of modern music theory and composition, who are largely unaware of their medieval inheritance. Likewise, Hindemith's re-orientation of the overtone series, while hardly a staple of musical education today, passes as a scientific method, rather than a medievalist's neo-Boethian remaking of tonality.

Only by disentangling the various strands of modernity and antiquity will we come to a more perfect understanding of medieval creativity and the influence of historical consciousness of medieval art in early

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[135] For an explanation of his system and its historical basis, see Harry Partch, *Genesis of a Music* (New York, 1949; 2nd ed., 1974).

[136] Léon Vallas, *The Theories of Claude Debussy: Musicien français*, trans. Maire O'Brien (New York, 1967), p. 8.

[137] Ibid.

modernism. The partition of composers and musical-historical periods into narrow musicological and theoretical specialties hinders progress in this area. Likewise, the removal of the neo-quadrivial influences of modernism from modern musicology—a project well underway in the works of Bent and others—will disperse a veritable cloud of unknowing that posits distance between the moving hand of the artists and the emanations of the infinite.

THE *QUADRIVIUM* AND THE DECLINE OF BOETHIAN INFLUENCE

Ann E. Moyer

The *De institutione arithmetica* [hereafter *De arithmetica*] and the *De institutione musica* [hereafter *De musica*] surely are among the least read of Boethius's works, a status they have held for some time. They received English translations only in the late 20th century. Before the publication of modern scholarly editions in the 19th century, they had been out of print for nearly 300 years. Yet, for a millennium after their composition, they had served in their fields as standard textbooks, and as the prototype for many that followed. The *quadrivium*, the four-subject cluster of mathematical disciplines that Boethius promoted and to which his books contributed, was equally long-lasting. The *quadrivium* had provided a means for organizing the instruction of mathematics; but more important were the claims that Boethius made in these works about the nature and value of mathematics and the *quadrivium*. Their long use as textbooks built a Platonic, even Pythagorean, approach into mathematical studies and their applications that merits recognition as one of the major strains or traditions of Platonic thought in the Latin West.

When the *quadrivium* dissolved in the later 16th century, the application of these belief systems about the nature of mathematics to teaching faded with it. The individual mathematical disciplines of the *quadrivium*, and new ones as well, were then freer to advance as specialized fields. Newer ways of thinking about the relationships between arts and sciences developed, many of which persist to the present, and mathematics generally lost its claims to providing insights into the divine mind or to affect the character and moral disposition of its students.

The Rise and Persistence of the *Quadrivium*

Boethius composed his quadrivial texts early in his life; they are his first known works, written between 500 and 506. Those that survive, the *De arithmetica* and the *De musica*, are primarily Latin versions of Greek texts by Nicomachus of Gerasa. The *Geometria*, which survives only in fragments, was Euclidean, and Boethius apparently took his lost *Astronomia* from Ptolemy. These works were part of Boethius's project to convey

into Latin some of the treasures of Greek scholarship, as he noted in the introduction to the *De arithmetica*, in an age in which the Latin portion of the old Roman Empire was losing the use of the Greek language and thus access to its scholarship and literature. Like the works of other late antique translators and digesters, they served for centuries as the narrow filters through which ancient learning in Greek could pass to Latin readers.

We know of Boethius's *Astronomia* only from scattered later references.[1] The *Geometria*'s fortunes were more complex.[2] It is not clear how much of Euclid Boethius translated. Cassiodorus states that he had made the *Elements* known in Latin,[3] but what survives does not go beyond Book 5 of Euclid's 13 or 15. Two partial versions of Boethius's *Geometria* survive. Each incorporates sections on geometry along with other material, and both were used in quadrivial instruction.[4] The first, usually referred to as *Geometria I*, was used mainly from the 9th through the 11th centuries; its contents represent the type of geometry instruction in use in the era. In addition to the Boethian material, it includes elements taken from a collection of Roman *agrimensores*, practical treatises on land surveying. These texts were of interest to post-classical educators mainly for their geometrical elements rather than for actual practical application in surveying. The manuscripts of this version date primarily from the 9th through 11th centuries, mainly from the Carolingian monasteries that were at the heart of the era's educational culture.

The other version, *Geometria II*, is composed in two books. It also includes sections of Boethius's Euclid translation and *agrimensores*

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[1] For example, by Gerbert (the future Silvester II) in a letter of 983; see Leo Schrade, "Music in the Philosophy of Boethius," *The Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), 188–200.

[2] On the Boethian *Geometria*, see esp. the work of Menso Folkerts, *Essays on Early Medieval Mathematics: The Latin Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003); Folkerts, *The Development of Mathematics in Medieval Europe: The Arabs, Euclid, Regiomontanus* Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 2006); and Menso Folkerts and Boethius, *"Boethius" Geometrie II: ein mathematisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

[3] "The Importance of the Pseudo-Boethian *Geometria* During the Middle Ages," in Folkerts, *Development of Mathematics in Medieval Europe* VII, p. 187.

[4] These versions, along with the other supporting evidence, suggest that Boethius's *Geometria* resembled his other quadrivial works in being a rendering into Latin of Greek textbooks on the subject in a format somewhat more free than would merit the term *translation*. Boethius's *Geometria*, then, was a partial version of Euclid's text. Thus, for all of these quadrivial works, the role of Boethius as "author" was quite different from his role as author of the *Consolatio* or the other works he seems truly to have written *de novo*. The surviving versions of the *Geometria* combined fragments of this text with other ancient fragments to form a sort of textbook or handbook.

excerpts, along with a section on the abacus. Most manuscripts date from the 11th and 12th centuries; it was little copied after the mid-13th century. At this point, the new translations of Euclid, first by Adelard of Bath (*c.*1120), then by Johannes Campanus of Novara (before 1260) supplanted the older, incomplete Boethian versions. Renaissance scholars later rediscovered these older works, and included them in the published *Opera omnia*.

The *De arithmetica* and the *De musica*, then, were really the core of the Boethian quadrivial textbooks over the centuries, since they survived and remained in circulation more or less as complete texts. The two books of the *De arithmetica* come from Nicomachus's *Eisagoge in Arithmeticam*.[5] Boethius notes in his dedication to Symmachus that his work is not a simple translation; he has condensed some sections that seemed too long, and he has expanded others that required more explanation. In modern usage, the term *arithmetic* refers to practical and rather elementary computation. Boethius and his ancient authorities referred to that subject as logistics, and his medieval readers knew it as algorism. *Arithmetic* referred to the theory or philosophy of number, a discipline that eventually disappeared along with the *quadrivium* itself, so it is quite foreign to modern readers. It is the theory of number, then, that is the subject of Boethius's *De arithmetica*, and that theory developed from the neo-Pythagorean school of philosophy to which Nicomachus adhered. Boethius's Proem to Book 1 introduces the subject. Since he argues that arithmetic is the first of the quadrivial subjects, the Proem also introduces the cluster of disciplines as a whole.

The notion that the *quadrivium* deals with pure and permanent truths begins with Boethius. These truths exist in particular essences, and essences themselves exist in two kinds, differing in the type of quantity of which they are composed. One type is continuous or single, as a tree or a stone, and it is treated under magnitude. The other type is some sort of collection, and it is treated under multitude. Multitudes themselves may exist on their own, or they may exist in relationship to others, as a ratio or proportion; and they may be stable or in motion. Arithmetic studies multitudes; music studies proportion; geometry, stable multitude; and astronomy, moving magnitudes. These quadrivial fields, then, allow the mind to ascend from the study of things perceived by the senses to the

[5] On the *De arithmetica*, see Fernando di Mieri, "Il 'De institutione arithmetica' di Severino Boezio," *Sapienza* 1 (1948), 179–202.

more certain matters of the intellect, as Plato had said. Arithmetic, continues Boethius, is the exemplar of divine thought and prior to all other disciplines. Through number, the scholar moves from the unity of the divine mind to the multiplicity—and quantitative order—of created things.

In the body of the *De arithmetica*, Boethius discusses first the properties of quantities (for example, properties of odd and even number) before moving on to numbers in comparison to one another, or proportion (*proportio*).[6] Proportions may be equal or unequal; inequalities are of several types. Multiplexes are in the form a×b:a. Superticulars take the form a+1:a; superpartients, a+b:a. The remaining types are more complex: multiplex superparticulars (b×a + 1/c):a, and multiplex superpartients, b×a+(a-c):a. Boethius observes that through this study one can both distinguish goodness from evil and strengthen and improve one's mind:

> By means of it [arithmetic], primary nature and the infinite ugliness of evil are perceptible through the constant propriety of its substance; it rests on none of its own principles but always by nature is derived from the definition of good principle as though put together by the impress of a good form in some sign, and is saved from the flux and change of error. The mind holds in check excessive cupidity and the immoderate frenzy of anger like one who rules, strengthened by this pure knowledge; this knowledge, tempered by goodness, establishes the forms in inequality.[7]

In Book 2, Boethius extends his discussion to geometric number and to the establishment of the mean between two numbers in proportion. A mean "m" between "a" and "b" might be of three types: arithmetic m = [a+b]/2; geometric a/m = m/b; or harmonic m = 2ab/[a+b]. After a diagram of proportion and means, the work ends without a conclusion.

The *De musica* is longer, in five books, but the fifth book is incomplete, and only chapter headings survive for the last 11 chapters. Boethius introduced the work with a very influential praise of music. He begins the treatise by contrasting the naturalness and ease of sense perception with the difficulty of moving from it to certain knowledge. His first example uses sight: it is easy to recognize a triangle or square by sight, but to understand the nature of such a form requires knowledge of mathematics. So too with things heard. Immediately Boethius introduces moral and emo-

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[6] Michael Walter, "Über den musikalischen Begriff *proportio*," in *Musik—und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Hentschel (Leiden, 1998), 69–95.

[7] Boethius, *Boethian Number Theory*, trans. in Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the* De Institutione Arithmetica (Amsterdam, 1983), 114.

tional responses; the listener takes pleasure in ordered sounds, and displeasure in disorderly ones. Music, therefore, deals with both speculation and morality. He produces a list of examples that show music's ability to alter human feelings and behavior, its ability to bring about longer-term changes of character, and the esteem in which it had been held by Plato and others for its ability to aid or harm both public and private good. He decries the modern decadence of the music of his day for having fallen away from its early high standards. Humans respond strongly to music because, according to theory, the same ratios that constitute pitches are also those from which the human soul and body are constructed.

In Chapter 2, Boethius continues his discussion of music as proportion. Considered as such, music might be manifested in a variety of ways, which Boethius categorizes as three distinct kinds of music. Cosmic music (*musica mundana*) consists of the proportions that are the fundamental order of the created world itself: the distances between the various heavenly bodies, as well as the elements that make up the sublunar realm. A second level is the human music (*musica humana*) in the order of the human soul, between body and soul, and the balances in the body. Finally, there is the music of sounding bodies, physical objects that make a sound (*musica instrumentalis*).

By Chapter 3, Boethius has narrowed his focus to instrumental music. He defines sound as vibration, a percussion of the air that reaches the ear of the listener. Sounds may be faster or slower, higher or lower, and a given sound as heard consists in fact of a series of such vibrations that arrive so quickly they seem continuous. A modern text on sound would begin to assign quantities to those vibrations, measured in cycles per second; Boethius, who was unable to measure such vibration directly, assigns them instead to parts of the length of a single plucked string. Those are the ordered numbers whose relationships form the basis of much of the rest of the discussion. He presents the basic intervals of a Western musical scale—the octave that marks its beginning and end, and the fourth and fifth that are foundational intervals (to use their modern names)—as well as the four-note units, known as tetrachords, that assembled the pitch systems of Late Antiquity, and a general discussion of intervallic consonance based on the proportions of pitches as identified by string lengths.

The subsequent books treat major topics in greater depth: how one establishes means between ratios, the nature of intervals smaller than a tone, how to generate a scale from a single string divided into various sections, and various sorts of musical scales. Boethius also claims that his work represents a summary of the consensus established among ancient

scholars on the subject. He cites Ptolemy frequently with approval, and asserts that the approach advocated by Aristoxenus, which began not from mathematics but from the human perception of sound, was not only wrong but generally had been rejected in antiquity.

Boethius presents these quadrivial fields in genuinely Pythagorean terms. That is, that proportions are not simply a convenient device for describing pitch, but that they exist in the divine mind prior to their manifestation in the created world. Because they are fundamental to the composition and order of the world, the study of these proportions offers not only a way to understand the particular phenomena of the ordered sounds called music, or ways of calculating relationships among measurable objects under the rubric of arithmetic (or geometry), or even the movements and distances between heavenly bodies; they also reveal the interconnectedness of these fields, the links between their study and the study of the divine mind that brought them into being, and the nature of humans in relationship to both.

By the Carolingian era, a number of Boethius's books had already become standard textbooks; students read his works (as their descendants would continue to read them) in their studies of grammar as examples of Latin style, as well as in the relevant subject fields.[8] The monastic libraries of this era in modern Austria and Switzerland retain significant numbers of copies of the *De arithmetica* and the *De musica* from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries.[9] Because his works became so deeply ingrained into the classroom experience, Boethius's legacy was not only of long duration but also dispersed very broadly both through the curriculum, and through the educational experience of very many students over a very long span of time. To assess that legacy thus requires looking at several different levels in the intellectual system. One is that of the influence or use of Boethius in the writings of major scholars on quadrivial subjects. Leading thinkers from Roger Bacon, to Jean de Muris, to Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples built

[8] On the quadrivial texts up to the 11th century, see, in addition to Folkerts, *infra*: Ubaldo Pizzani, "The Influence of Boethius *De Arithmetica* on Late Medieval Mathematics," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 97–156; Calvin M. Bower, "The Role of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, ed. Masi, pp. 157–74. For examples of the *De arithmetica* read for grammar, see Gillian R. Evans, "Introductions to Boethius's 'Arithmetica' of the Tenth to the Fourteenth Century," *History of Science* 16 (1978), 22–41.

[9] *Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius*, vol. 2, ed. Lesley Smith et al. (London, 1991), pp. 20–22.

upon Boethius in their own work. Another level is Boethius's more general influence on how people classified fields of knowledge and the tools they considered appropriate to the study of those fields; closely related is the role they assigned to mathematics in general education. Because so many of Boethius's works were so widely read as textbooks for so many years, these ideas shaped the thinking of many people who were not specialists in quadrivial fields, or who were not scholars at all. Finally, it is important to note that despite Boethius's enormous importance to general education in mathematics, his was not the only tradition in medieval mathematics education and practice.

The 11th-century educational revivals set a long-term pattern for the use of Boethius's quadrivial texts. The cathedral and chapter schools of northern Europe that strove to produce an educated clergy came quickly to distinguish between those Boethian texts and topics that comprised the superior, "theoretical" half of each discipline, on the one hand, and a "practical" side, which consisted of one or more applied skills, on the other. An essential part of music's practical tradition was the division of the monochord. This meant dividing the length of a single-stringed, purpose-built instrument (though the principles could also be illustrated on any unfretted stringed musical instrument) so as to produce the pitches of the musical scales used for ecclesiastical chant. Another standard topic of practical music was the construction of organ pipes; a third was the "Guidonian hand," a practical method for choir directors to indicate pitch, absent a written text, visible to all singers (the director elevated one hand and pointed to particular parts of it with the other). Computus used basic astronomical observations to construct the liturgical calendar. As the astrolabe came into use, it was added to the list of quadrivial practices, and arithmetic acquired the educational board game Rithmomachia, designed to train the minds of students in the use of the proportional numbers of the *De arithmetica*.

The *quadrivium* also played a role in moral education. Its study made plain the divinely inspired orderliness of creation. The contemplation of that order by means of any of its disciplines, theoretical or practical, helped train the student's mind in the patterns established in the world by the divine mind. This moral aspect of quadrivial study is the aspect most distant from modern expectations of mathematics, so much so that its importance can be difficult to appreciate. Authors were nonetheless quite consistent on this point: music, tuned properly, improved the soul of the listener; dissonant and cacophonous sound did it damage. Directly or indirectly, contemplation of geometric or arithmetic order, or cosmic order,

had a similar function. So too did the changing distances of the heavenly bodies, measurable by number, affect the world below. The development of rational faculties, aesthetics, and morals all worked together on similar principles.

The important role of the *quadrivium* in these ecclesiastical schools can be seen in the extant manuscripts. The number of surviving copies of the *De arithmetica* and *De musica* in the British Isles are highest from the 12th century, and often show signs of heavy use.[10] The Glossa Major on the *De musica*, which took shape during the 12th century, emphasizes these topics and notes the many authors who expressed similar ideas.[11] Other glosses and marginalia continued to appear in manuscripts as well. Plato's *Timaeus*, his most Pythagorean work and the one Platonic text widely available in the Latin Middle Ages, amplified Boethius's topics and arguments. It too was widely studied in the 12th century and had some of its widest influence at that time. These themes featured prominently in the glosses that developed on the Boethian texts.

The ecclesiastical liberal arts schools of northern Europe survived for centuries, though they soon faced (and lost) a challenge to educational supremacy by the rise of universities. Universities brought major and lasting changes to education, and not simply by their distinguishing higher and more specialized levels of study. University education included the newly accessible texts translated from Arabic, including, of course, the works of Aristotle. It emphasized logical analysis and debate. Universities increasingly took on the task of instructing Latin Europe's educational elite. Thus, the ongoing importance of the *quadrivium* must be measured not simply in terms of its ongoing role in the world of cathedral schools but also in its transition to education in the rising universities.

The presence of the *quadrivium* in the early university curricula is unclear in many statutes and related records, so much so that some scholars who focused only on these years suggested that its long-term importance had waned already by the end of the 12th century.[12] Nonetheless,

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[10] *Codices Boethiani*, vol. 1, ed. M.T. Gibson and Lesley Smith, assist. Joseph Ziegler (London, 1995), pp. 23, 26–27.

[11] *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*, ed. Michael Bernhard and Calvin M. Bower (Munich, 1993, 1994, 1996); and Cecilia Panti, "Suono interiore e musica umana fra tradizione boeziana e aristotelism: le glosse pseudo-grossatestiane al 'De institutione musica,'" in *Parva naturalia: saperi medievali, natura e vita*, ed. Chiara Crisciani, Roberto Lambertini, and Romana Martorelli Vico (Pisa, 2004), pp. 219–45.

[12] Pearl Kibre, "The Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the Quadrivium in the Thirteenth Century University Milieu at Paris," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts*, ed. Masi,

both Boethius's textbooks and his classification system itself, the *quadrivium*, became integrated into the new scholarly environment. University curricula made heavy use of Aristotelian texts, and most subjects in Aristotelian natural philosophy were not treated in a quantitative manner. The advanced works of ancient mathematics that would help transform the field in the 16th century were not yet available. Hence, despite the enormous volume of new texts to which university scholars had access, in comparison with the volume available to their earlier colleagues, they found no obvious replacements for the *De arithmetica* or the *De musica*. Nor did the new works promote a competing classification system. Further, the topics covered in Boethius's treatises still had a number of useful applications, not only in general education, but also among more specialized topics as well.

Admittedly, mathematical studies were not at the center of the university curriculum, especially with the broader range of subjects available for study.[13] But neither were they completely stagnant. The "new" ancient sources included fuller translations of Euclid; they quickly replaced the older geometry textbook attributed to Boethius. Practical geometry acquired new topics, and the application of geometry to astronomy continued. Optics developed quickly both with the translation of Alhazen's work and the composition of new ones by Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, John Pecham, and others.[14] While Ptolemy's *Almagest* remained an educational staple in the study of astronomy, it was far too advanced for beginners, and Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Sphere* quickly became the standard textbook. New commentaries served to update the content and

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pp. 67–80, at 71; Guy Beaujouan, "The Transformation of the Quadrivium," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 463–87.

[13] David C. Lindberg, *Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago, 2007), p. 211; Christian Meyer, "Mathématique et musique au Moyen Age," in *Quadrivium: Musique et Sciences: colloque conçu par Dan Lustgarten . . . [et al.], organisé du 8 au 10 mars 1991 à Metz par l'IPMC, l'Association d'études pour la coordination des activités régionales musicales en Lorraine et l'Association régionale pour le développement de l'action musicale en Alsace* (Paris, 1992), pp. 107–21; and Gillian R. Evans, "The Teaching of Mathematics in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History and Philosophy of the Mathematical Sciences*, vol. 1, ed. I. Grattan-Guinness (London, 1994), pp. 275–85.

[14] John North, "The Quadrivium," in *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. 1: Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 337–59, at pp. 346–48.

adjust the level of complexity to diverse groups of students over several centuries.[15]

Boethius's texts remained in use for arithmetic and music. Alexander Neckham (1157–1217) produced a list of recommended textbook authors and works; he named Euclid and Ptolemy for geometry and astronomy, but Boethius for both arithmetic and music.[16] The *De arithmetica* was listed as the examination text in the subject by a Paris master between 1230 and 1240.[17] It remained a standard text at 14th-century Oxford.[18] Computus and Rithmomachia continued to serve in practical applications—evidence of the value clerics ascribed to computation, not only for the production of the liturgical calendar, but also for the moral development of the individual. Treatises on algorism, that is, basic computation using Arabic numbers rather than Roman numerals, became increasingly important to arithmetical practice. The field of practical music retained the division of the monochord and, of course, the singing of ecclesiastical chant, a significant feature of many northern universities that emphasized their theology faculties and the education of Europe's clerical elite.

New textbooks also developed along with the universities from the early 13th century onwards. Many of these new textbooks made clear their debt to Boethius, not only as a sign of scholarly respect but also due to university curriculum standards, since Boethius generally remained the statutory authority in arithmetic and music at most institutions for which such information can be found. The much-used 13th-century *Arithmetic* of Jordanus of Nemore is one example.[19] Johannes de Sacrobosco wrote a computation textbook, generally known simply as the *Algorismus*, in addition to his famous textbook on astronomy; it borrowed both terminology and a number of explanations from Boethius.[20] By the 14th century, Jan de Muris composed treatises on music theory that extended Boethian proportions to rhythm as well as pitch, using language and terminology of Aristotelian logic as well as that of the *quadrivium*.[21]

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[15] North, "Quadrivium," pp. 348–50.

[16] North, "Quadrivium," p. 339.

[17] Kibre, "Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica*," p. 72.

[18] George Molland, "An Examination of Bradwardine's Geometry," in his *Mathematics and the Medieval Ancestry of Physics*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 1995), I, p. 119; and Matthias Hochadel, "Zur Rezeption der Institutio Musica," in *Musik—und die Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Hentschel, pp. 187–206.

[19] Kibre, "Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica*," p. 74.

[20] Kibre, "Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica*," p. 73.

[21] Dorit Tanay, "Jehan de Meur's Musical Theory and the Mathematics of the Fourteenth Century," *Tractrix: Yearbook for the History of Science, Medicine, Technology, and Mathematics* 5 (1993), 17–43.

The *De arithmetica* and the *De musica* were not restricted to the ranks of general education. A number of medieval scholars who worked in mathematics and natural philosophy made use of these works in their own scholarship. Both applications of the study of proportions and ratios, and broader philosophical issues of the levels of truth revealed by mathematical study and analysis, are characteristic features of these works. Robert Grosseteste (*c*.1175–1253) built his theories on the concept of light rather than sound as first form, but in doing so he employed Boethian teachings on proportion and number, and on the central role of mathematical truth.[22] Roger Bacon continued with work in optics as well as metaphysics in which arguments about proportion and number are clearly in the tradition of Boethius. Thomas Bradwardine and his 14th-century colleagues, often referred to as "calculators," also turned to Boethius's quadrivial works in their efforts to quantify relationships among moving bodies, as did Nicole Oresme (*c*.1323–82). All of these scholars, and others as well, managed, in various ways, to reconcile Aristotelian natural philosophy and logical analyses not only with Boethius's interest in quantifying the study of particular phenomena but also with his ontological claims about the primacy of mathematics and emanationist approaches to cosmology.[23] Thus mathematical study, particularly at northern universities, retained the neo-Platonic and neo-Pythagorean underpinnings that Boethius had given it centuries earlier.

Nonetheless, the Boethian tradition was not the only pedagogical or philosophical approach to mathematical study in medieval Europe. During the same era that cathedral and chapter schools, with their clerical model of the educated person, were developing north of the Alps, schooling in Italy was taking a distinctly different course in its development. More urban, lay, and business oriented, Italian schools increasingly included more mathematics instruction than their northern counterparts. The needs of international business in Mediterranean regions, particularly the Italian cities, made European students and teachers early adopters of Hindu-Arabic numbers in place of Roman numerals; they also developed

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[22] Cecilia Panti, "Robert Grosseteste's Theory of Sound," in *Musik—und die Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Hentschel, pp. 3–17; A.C. Crombie, "Grosseteste's Position in the History of Science," in his *Science Optics, and Music in Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (London, 1990, pp. 115–37; Kibre, "Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica*," pp. 74–75; George Molland, "Colonizing the World for Mathematics," in his *Mathematics and the Medieval Ancestry of Physics*, X.

[23] George Molland, "An Examination of Bradwardine's Geometry," and "The Geometrical Background to the 'Merton School,'" in his *Mathematics and the Medieval Ancestry of Physics*, I, V.

and promoted double-entry bookkeeping. Leonardo Fibonacci (*c.*1170–after 1240) was perhaps the most noted early scholar in this tradition. He wrote on business mathematics, on the number series that bears his name, on geometry, and on algebra, a branch of mathematics that, as its name implies, came to the Latin West via Arabic mathematical scholarship.[24]

The children of Italian merchants acquired these skills at an introductory level from their schoolteachers, who generally were lay instructors and might have held a public teaching appointment, or, more commonly, were taught by private tuition. Students could continue their studies at abbacus schools (*scuole d'abbaco*) that focused especially on business mathematics. These vernacular schools were widespread by the 14th century.[25] With them developed a textbook genre as well: Abbacus manuals, which included arithmetic, geometry, and algebra, all presented with story-problems in mercantile settings.[26] The material was more advanced than that found in the algorism manuals. Little in these manuals was reminiscent of Boethius; only a few even mentioned his name; one, for instance, noted explicitly that Boethian topics would not be treated.[27] In these manuals, mathematics was entirely practical, its value defined by problem solving; there was no philosophical content. There were no claims that mathematical study would reveal the divine mind or the cosmic order, nor was there an effort to play a role in a student's moral development.

Italian students thus arrived at universities with more mathematical skills than their northern counterparts, and with a different understanding of the field as well. While they might need to hone these skills as part of their university education, they also would encounter mathematical

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[24] Paul Lawrence Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics: Studies on Humanists and Mathematicians from Petrarch to Galileo* (Geneva, 1975), pp. 82–83; and *Un ponte sul Mediterraneo: Leonardo Pisano, la scienza araba e la rinascita della matematica in Occidente*, ed. Enrico Giusti with Raffaella Petti (Florence, 2002).

[25] Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 22–23, 29–36, 306–19; Warren Van Egmond, "The Commercial Revolution and the Beginnings of Western Mathematics in Renaissance Florence, 1300–1500" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1976); and Van Egmond, *Practical Mathematics in the Italian Renaissance: A Catalog of Italian Abbacus Manuscripts and Printed Books to 1600* (Florence, 1976).

[26] On early algebra in Italy, see R. Franci and L. Toti Rigatelli, "Fourteenth-Century Italian Algebra," in *Mathematics from Manuscript to Print, 1300–1600*, ed. Cynthia Hay (Oxford, 1988); and Barnabas Hughes, "Learning Algebra in 14th Century Italy," in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought Applications in Medieval Disciplines*, ed. Nancy van Deusen and Alvin E. Ford (Lewiston, NY, 1990), pp. 1–14.

[27] Van Egmond, *Commercial Revolution*, p. 22; Van Egmond, *Practical Mathematics*, pp. 74, 206; and Pietro Borghi, *Arithmetica* (Venice, 1484; repr. Munich, 1964), fol. 1v.

study at a higher level associated with studies of medicine and astronomy.[28] Among this group of scholars, with their strong interest in judicial astrology, and hence in explanations for supposed celestial influence, the Boethian texts did find an Italian audience. Thus, in Italian university environments, the *quadrivium* was more a part of specialized study than of general education. Surviving manuscripts suggest that, in Italy, the *De arithmetica* and *De musica* were among the least popular Boethian texts.[29] The ecclesiastical schools of the 9th through 12th centuries produced the early surviving Italian copies; a number of later copies bear witness to the Renaissance interest in the texts as well.

The *Quadrivium* in the Renaissance

According to Boethius and those who followed him, the truths of the *quadrivium* were timeless and unchanging. The cosmos always had been, and would continue to be, constructed in a divine orderliness that could be comprehended in simple numbers or figures, seen in the observation of the heavens, experienced in the beauty of a well-proportioned building, or heard in the harmony of a musical performance. Aesthetic pleasure was rational, based on the same principles no matter how the beauty was manifested, and it made the person experiencing it better or worse. Despite the strength of this mythology of changelessness, the Boethian tradition had in fact undergone considerable change and development over the centuries. Quadrivial studies enjoyed renewed attention in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Scholars of astronomy and astrology, scholars of the studies newly inspired by Ficino and the Platonic corpus he made available, educational reformers, and theorists of the musical and visual arts, all relied on Boethian texts and traditions.

Yet, the *quadrivium* would soon find itself a victim of this very success, as renewed attention to the *quadrivium* and its claims to unity would lead scholars eventually to encounter one limitation after another. These future issues were scarcely in evidence, however, at the time the *De arithmetica* was first printed in Augsburg in 1488. A combined edition of the *De arithmetica*, *De musica*, and *Geometria* followed in 1492, published in

[28] Mario Biagioli, "The Social Status of Italian Mathematicians, 1450–1600," *History of Science* 27 (1989), 41–95.

[29] *Codices Boethiani, III. Italy and the Vatican City*, vol. 3, ed. Marina Passalacua, Lesley Smith, et al. (London, 2001), pp. 21–23.

Venice.[30] Both were clearly working editions for students, small and plain, though the numerous diagrams meant that the volumes were not especially cheap to produce. At this time, quadrivial studies were receiving substantial attention at northern universities, to which the numerous student editions of these and related works attest. These universities were under increasing pressure to improve the numeracy of their students, both with the spread of medical faculties and the growing importance of bureaucratic career paths. In particular, there was growing interest in the study of astronomy, and of judicial astrology as part of the study of medicine.[31]

Scholars of astronomy found Boethius useful in their efforts to describe celestial motion, despite the absence of a Boethian astronomy textbook. One reason is the Platonic and Pythagorean influence visible in many ancient astrological texts. The old Latin authors known and studied since the earlier Middle Ages—Chalcidius, Martianus Capella, and Macrobius—were very short on technical detail, but they were all strongly Platonic.[32] Even Pliny's *Natural History* seemed consistent with the use of such concepts in studying the heavens, since he described Pythagoras's use of musical ratio to determine the distances of planets from one

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[30] Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* (Augsburg, 1488); Boethius, *Hec sunt opera Boetii que in hoc volumine continentur, Arithmetica, Geometria, Musica* [...] (Venice, 1491–92). The *Arithmetic* went through about 25 editions between 1488 and 1570; see Smith, *Rara Arithmetica*, p. 27.

[31] Guy Beaujouan, "Motives and Opportunities for Science," in *Scientific Change: Historical Studies in the Intellectual, Social, and Technical Conditions for Scientific Discovery and Technical Invention, from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. A.C. Crombie (New York, 1963), pp. 219–36, at p. 223; see also Olaf Pedersen, "Astronomy," in *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lindberg; Francis R. Johnson, "Astronomical Text-Books in the Sixteenth Century," in *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice, Written in Honour of Charles Singer*, ed. E. Ashworth Underwood, 2 vols (London, 1953), 1:285–302; Pearl Kibre, "Arts and Medicine in the Universities in the Later Middle Ages," in her *Studies in Medieval Science*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1983), XII, p. 222; J.D. North, "Astronomy and Mathematics," in *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2: *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford, 1992), pp. 103–04; and Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1992).

[32] Chalcidius (4th c. A.D.), commentator and translator of Plato's *Timaeus*; Martanus Capella (5th c.), author of *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*; and Macrobius (fl. *c.*400), commentator on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. See Winthrop Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," and Tullio Gregory, "The Platonic Inheritance," both in *History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 21–53, 54–80; Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1987), pp. 114–15; and Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 92–93.

another.[33] Ptolemy showed more Aristotelian and Stoic influences in his astrological writings;[34] yet in his *Harmonics*, he too discussed at length notions Boethius would label *musica mundana* and *humana*, the harmonic proportions comprising the basic order of the cosmos, of which human bodies and souls also were constructed.[35] In his *Tetrabiblos*, he also described several astrological terms and principles in Pythagorean terms.[36]

Boethian proportions were not the only possible basis for explanations of celestial influence; indeed, Pythagorean arguments were not prominent in many of the advanced ancient writings on astronomy and astrology that enjoyed increasing study by the late 15th century.[37] But their presence in these introductory works suggested to readers that there was an underlying unity of truth among the very diverse astronomical and astrological texts; and they lacked sufficient detail to cause potential contradictions or conflicts with the contents of the more advanced works. The use of such texts early on in the arts curriculum, along with Boethius and his ratios, helped predispose students to take an interest in celestial influence once they turned to more advanced astronomy. Many of the era's scholars of astronomy and astrology referred explicitly to principles of *musica mundana* and *humana* as explanatory mechanisms, from Hermann of Carinthia to Johannes Kepler.[38] So too, these principles served to account for the otherwise-unseen influences of natural magic.

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[33] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2.19–20. He rejected, however, the claim that the planets moved in particular musical modes.

[34] On overlap and divergence between Aristotelian and neo-Platonic astrological discourse, see Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 8–11; on Stoic traditions of thought in ancient astronomy see John D. North, "Celestial Influence—the Major Premiss of Astrology," in *Astrologi Hallucinati: Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time*, ed. Paola Zambelli (Berlin, 1986), pp. 45–100, at pp. 47–49; see also Michael Lapidge, "The Stoic Inheritance," in *History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Dronke, pp. 81–112.

[35] Boethius, *De musica* 1.2.

[36] See, for example, his discussion of triplicities, *Tetrabiblos* 1.18.

[37] For a discussion and survey of the explanations of celestial power and influence on the sublunar world, see John D. North, "Medieval Concepts of Celestial Influence: A Survey," in *Astrology, Science and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Patrick Curry (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1987), pp. 5–17; and North, "Celestial Influence." On the influence and intellectual contexts of major texts and authorities, notably Ptolemy and Albumasar, see Richard Lemay, "The True Place of Astrology in Medieval Science and Philosophy: Towards a Definition," in *Astrology, Science and Society*, ed. Curry, pp. 57–73. For a survey of astronomical textbooks see Pedersen, "Astronomy," in *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lindberg, 1:285–302.

[38] Ingemar Düring, *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik* (New York, 1980), 3.3–16. On Hermann, see Charles Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia," in *History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Dronke; see also John D. North, "Celestial Influence," p. 59. On

The close relationships, for many university men among musical proportion, mathematical study, explanations of celestial influence, and the shaping of character can be seen in many of these manuscripts and publications of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. One great interest is in a game called Rithmomachia. A flurry of manuscripts from the late 15th century attests to its presence in the university environments of northern and central Europe.[39] Another interest is seen in the development of a similar game intended to teach and practice understanding of planetary motions for judicial astrology, known as the "*ludus astronomorum*" or the astronomers' game.[40] Game manuals survive in several manuscripts of English provenance from the 15th and early 16th centuries.[41] Each of two players has a set of heavenly bodies that they may choose to move, though they must move each one in patterns that mimic that body's actual celestial motions (including, of course, its proper retrograde motion). Players compete by putting one of their own pieces, or stars, in astrological aspect relative to one belonging to the opponent. The relative strength of these dueling stars is measured by the number of "dignities" assigned to each by virtue of its position in the heavens, based on astrological categories such as house (worth five), exaltation, triplicity, term, and face.[42] The victor in the encounter may despoil the loser of the assigned number of dignities, or even overpower the loser completely and capture the piece. Players may also include the influence of celestial rays among nearby planets to add to their strength. The game employs principles from Ptolemy, Al-Kindi, and Roger Bacon. One manual made references to Rithmomachia

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Kepler's use of the *Harmonics*, see Bruce Stephenson, *The Music of the Heavens: Kepler's Harmonic Astronomy* (Princeton, 1994), esp. pp. 16–46; see also J.V. Field, "Astrology in Kepler's Cosmology," in *Astrology, Science and Society*, ed. Curry, pp. 143–70, at pp. 147–68; and D.P. Walker, "Kepler's Celestial Music," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), 228–50.

[39] Ann E. Moyer, *The Philosophers' Game: Rithmomachia in Medieval and Renaissance Europe: With an Edition of Ralph Lever and William Fulke, The most noble, auncient, and learned playe* (*1563*) (Ann Arbor, 2001), pp. 74–7; and Borst, *Das mittelalterliche Zahlenkampfspiel*, pp. 287–319.

[40] On the *ludus astronomorum*, see Ann E. Moyer, "The Astronomers' Game: Astrology and University Culture in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Early Science and Medicine* 4 (1999), 228–50.

[41] Substantially similar texts are found in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 344, fols 72r–83r; Ashmole 346, #15, 22 (fols 18, 21r–23v); Dublin, Trinity College (TCD) 369, fols 69v–74v; TCD 375, fols 12v–15 (in the TCD manuscripts it is referred to both as *ludus astronomorum* and *astrologorum*).

[42] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.17. For a discussion, see J.D. North, *Richard of Wallingford*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 108–13.

and tended to circulate with it. William Fulke published English versions of both games later in the 16th century.

A substantial cluster of works on Boethian topics appeared in the last decade of the 15th century and continued through the middle of the 16th. They were associated especially, though not exclusively, with instructors at the University of Paris.[43] At the center of this circle of educators was the humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Ètaples (*c.*1435–1536), whose writings on these topics dated particularly from his years teaching at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine. His colleagues and collaborators included Charles de Bovelles, Josse Clichtove, Symphorien Champier, Pedro Sánchez de Ciruelo, and

[43] Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, *Textus de Sphera Johannis de Sacrobosco. Cum additione* (*quantum necessarium est*) *adiecta: Nouo commentario nuper edito Ad utilitatem studentium Philosophice Parisiensis Academie: illustratus* (Paris, 1494/95); Faber Stapulensis, *Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata; Musica libris demonstrata quattuor: Epitome in libros arithmeticos diui Seuerini Boetij: Rithmimachie ludus qui et pugna numerorum appellat* (Paris, 1496, 1507, 1514); Carolus Bovillus, *Epitome compendiosaque introductio in libros Arithmeticos divi Severini Boetii* [...] *Introductio in Geometriam breviusculis annotationibus explanata: sex libris distinta* [...] (Paris, 1503); Iudocus Clichtiveius, *Epitome compendiosaque introductio in libros Arithmeticos divi Severini Boetii: adiecto familari commentario dilucidata* (Paris, 1503); Faber Stapulensis, *Epitome compendiosaque introductio in libros Arithmeticos divi Severini Boetii* [...] *Insuper Astronomicon* (Paris, 1503); *Pimander. Mercurii Trismegisti liber de de sapientia et potestate dei. Asclepius. Eiusdem Mercurii liber de voluntate divina. Item Crater Hermetic A Lazarelo Septempedano* (Paris, 1505); Faber Stapulensis, *Introductio* [...] *in Arithmecan* [sic] *Divi Severini Boetii pariter et Jordani. Ars supputandi tam per calculos quam per notas arithmeticas suis quidem regulis eleganter expressa Judoci Clichtovei Neoportuensis. Questio haud indigna de numerorum et per digitos et per articulos finita progressione ex Aurelio Augustineo. Epitome rerum geometricarum ex Geometrico introductorio Caroli Bouilli. De Quadratura Circuli Demonstratio ex Campano* (Deventer, 1507); Symphorianui Champerius, *De triplici disciplina cuius parts sunt. Philosophia naturalis. Medicina. Theologia. Moralis philosohia integrantes quadrivium* (Lyons, 1508/1509); *Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de generatione. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris. Epistole complures* (Paris, 1510/1511); Petrus Ciruelus, *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium quas recollegit atque correxit magister Petrus Ciruelus* ... (Alcalá, 1516); *Introductorium astronomicum, theorias coporum* [*sic*] *coelestium duobos libris complectens: adiecto commentario declaratum* (Paris, 1517); *Divi Severini Boetii Arithmetica, Duobus Discreta Libris: adiecto Commentario, Mysticam Numerorum applicationem perstringente, declarata* (Paris, 1521); *Arithmetica specvlativa Boetij per Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem in compendium redacta. Arithmetica practica Christierni Morssiani in quinque partes digesta. Prima de numeris integris. Secvnda de fractionibus uulgaribus & physicis. Tertia de regulis quibusdam. Qvarta de progressione & radicum extractione. Qvinta de proportionbus* (Basel, 1536); Faber Stapulensis, *Elementa Musicalia ad clarissimum virum Nicolaum de Haqueuille inquisitorum Presidentem; Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris, 1551); and Faber Stapulensis, *Arithmetica Boèthi epitome, una cum difficiliorum locorum explicationibus & figuris* (*quibus antea carebat*) *nunc per Ioannem Scheubelium adornatis & adiectis. Accessit Christierni Morsiani Arithmetica practica, in quinque partes digesta* (Basel, 1553). A number of these works saw additional full or partial reprintings through at least the 1550s; as the often-lengthy titles show, these volumes consisted of numerous small works that might circulate separately.

Gérard Roussel (Girardus Ruffus). The features of their works and publications are in many ways exemplary of the renewed interest in Boethius and the *quadrivium* in the first half of the 16th century. Indeed, so powerful was their influence, coupled with the general rise of humanistic and literary interests in mathematics, that in the estimation of some historians they overwhelmed the development of the practical mathematical tradition that had begun to emerge in France during the last quarter of the 15th century.[44] Interest in practical computation began to reappear only towards the middle of the 16th century. Many of these volumes included prefaces and dedicatory letters. Thus, even though the individual works may be brief, their readers may follow some of the authors' larger goals for these volumes.

The association with university life appears explicitly in some of the titles; in other cases, it is seen in the identity of the dedicatee.[45] A number of these publications seem to be study-manuals for examinations, offering rapid mastery of the subject. The older authors placed together in these miscellanies of short works had long been connected both with the *quadrivium* and with Boethius: Sacrobosco, Jordanus, Euclid. The mixture of titles in each collection suggests the degree to which these scholars saw the quadrivial fields as closely related in method and goals, and not simply as a collection of lecture topics; the *De arithmetica* or epitomes of it are perhaps the most common, with the other quadrivial fields appearing in combinations that differ from one volume to the next.

Another shared feature is the strong interest not in the computational aspects of these fields, but in the Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy that Boethius and his tradition represented. Most of the prefaces at least allude to it to some degree. Many of them emphasize the value of quadrivial study to the student's moral and spiritual development. Contemplation of the divine order strengthens those ratios in the student's soul. That process both improves character and brings peace and relaxation to those troubled by conflicts and cares—or simply by too much study. Lefèvre's

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[44] Warren Van Egmond, "How Algebra Came to France," in *Mathematics from Manuscript to Print*, ed. Hay, pp. 139–40.

[45] For an example of the first, see for example *Textus de Sphera* (*Paris 1494–5*). For academic dedicatees, see, for example, Clichtove's dedications to Jean Molnier and Philippe Prévost, both of the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine [...] *Epitome compendiosaque introcutio in libros Arithmeticos* (Paris, 1503); or Lefevre's Rithmomachia manual (1496), which was dedicated to Paris medical professor Bernard de Le Venquiere, dean of medical faculty, 1498–1500. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre D'Étaples and Related Texts*, ed. Eugene F. Rice (New York, 1972), pp. 36–38, 108, 110.

preface to his commentary on Sacrobosco's *Sphere* cites Plato's *Republic* (Book 7) as well as George of Trebizond on the value of mathematical study.[46] In his epitome on music, he offered a list of miraculous effects caused by musical authorities in antiquity, several of which included curing disease as well as moderating emotion. The list was based on Martianus Capella, and was of course reminiscent of Boethius's own praise of music from *De musica*, Book 1.[47] In introducing his *Astronomicon*, he emphasized the value of studying astronomy for apprehending the traces of the divine mind.[48] Clichtove began his preface to an epitome of the *De arithmetica* with a discussion of the contemplation of the divine through mathematics, citing the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomides*.[49] Clichtove (1472–1543) composed an entire work (1515) devoted to the unified religious and philosophical symbolism of number.[50]

Euclid's *Geometry* itself contains little that might seem to offer the opportunity to present the field in Platonic terms, yet several factors kept the work, and the field, within the purview of those interested in the philosophical aspects of the *quadrivium*. One factor was the interest of Boethius himself in Euclid, since it was known that the old Boethius *Geometria* contained the earliest, if partial, translation of Euclid; another is the belief that Euclid had written a work on music, the *Sectio canonis*.[51] Perhaps most significant was the confusion of the geometer Euclid of Alexandria with Euclid of Megara, the 4th-century follower of Socrates.[52] Finally, given Plato's famous motto not to let anyone ignorant of geometry enter the Academy, as well as the discussion of geometry in the *Timaeus*, the subject was in fact an easy fit. A number of Euclid's editors through the first half of the 16th century wrote introductions that treated the standard

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[46] Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 26–27.

[47] Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 30–32.

[48] Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 112–14.

[49] Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 108–10.

[50] Josse Clichtove, *De mystica numerorum significatione opusculum* (Paris, 1513); Smith, *Rara Arithmetica*, pp. 94–95. Clichtove's commentary on Lefèvre d'Étaples's *Epitome* of Boethius was often reprinted; Smith, *Rara Arithmetica*, pp. 29–30, 80–82.

[51] *Eukleidou Eisagoge Harmonike, tou autou katatome kanónos: Euclidis Rudimenta mvsices: eiusdem sectio regulæ harmonicæ: e regia bibliotheca desumpta* (Paris, 1557); *Evlidis Propositiones. Elementorum. 15. Opticorum. Catoptricorum. Harmonicorum. Et apparentiarum* (Argentorati, 1570); and *Le liure de la musique d'Euclide*, trans. Pierre Forcadel (Paris, 1566).

[52] Ann E. Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), pp. 126–34; Rose, *Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, pp. 51, 170, 206; and Diana Simpkins, "Early Editions of Euclid in England," *Annals of Science* 22 (1966), 225–49, at 227.

topics on the value of quadrivial studies in moral development, knowledge of the divine, and on understanding the hidden connections among elements in the created world: Bartolomeo Zamberti, Niccolo Tartaglia, John Dee. The Parisian academics were thus consistent with a number of colleagues elsewhere in related fields.

Another significant feature visible in these publications is the interest in the new translations of Plato and the Hermetic corpus by Marsilio Ficino, as well as Ficino's own writings and those of his colleagues. Lefèvre traveled to Italy in 1491–92, where he met Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Pico himself had studied in Paris in 1485 and returned after the papal condemnation of his theses in 1487. The new access to Plato's works added dramatically to the northern European interest in Platonic thought; so too did the Hermetic corpus, as well as the various new works promoting the concept of an ancient theology.[53] Claims that one feature or another could be traced back to the Chaldeans began to appear in Boethius-related writings as a result.

These same years marked Lefèvre's interest in natural magic and his composition of a treatise on the subject. Not all Renaissance scholars with a particular interest in Boethius and the *quadrivium* shared this interest in magic, but many did, and Lefèvre's treatise serves as a useful example. The work begins with definitions, distinguishing natural magic from demonic, and Lefèvre says he will concentrate solely on the former.[54] The term *magus*, he states, is of Chaldean origin. Its meaning is similar to *philosophus*; but while the *philosophus* deals with the theoretical and the speculative, the *magus* deals with the practical, exploring the secret effects of nature. Thus natural philosophy and natural magic are the two parts, theoretical and practical, of one larger discipline.

Nature's "secret effects" are of two types: attraction and repulsion, on the one hand, and transformation, on the other. These forces work not only within the celestial or mundane realms but also across them—for example, in astrology, which examines the powers of celestial bodies on mundane ones, and a subject to which Lefèvre devoted considerable

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[53] On Lefèvre and the ancient theology, see, in addition to Rice, D.P. Walker, "The Ancient Theology in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY, 1972).

[54] Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "*De magia naturali* of Jacques Lefèvre D'Etaples," in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Edward P. Mahoney New York, 1976), pp. 19–29 (25); and Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols (New York, 1923–58), 4:515.

attention. The *magi* also had been the discoverers of medicine, a field in which the study of astrology was clearly significant. But while medical cures or astrological predictions might be beneficial, the highest goal of natural magic is knowledge of the divine. Because the divine forms are mathematical, through contemplating mathematical symbolism, the human mind can ascend on "golden chains" from the diversity of the world to the unity of the One, from whom all things emanate. Lefèvre compares natural magic to sacramental mystery.

Lefèvre's contacts with Pico can be seen in his syncretism and interest in *prisca theologia*, of which he claimed natural magic to be a part, as well as in his related interest in cabala.[55] Some of these arguments also appeared in his 1509 edition of the Psalms. Later he drew back from a number of these positions, especially those related to the Hermetic texts, and at one point he even referred to magic as a wicked deception.[56] Nonetheless, he continued to respect related ideas as presented in the more traditional, established Latin sources, and kept an interest in Boethian mathematics and its ability to affect the moral or, as a modern reader might say, psychological state of its students.[57]

Lefèvre's colleague Pedro Sánchez Ciruelo shared his interest in quadrivial education, astrology, and religion. Ciruelo studied and taught at Paris until 1502 and returned to Spain, where he eventually taught theology at Alcalá. He published a set of quadrivial textbooks there in 1516.[58] He modeled them on those of Lefèvre, and included his epitome of the *Arithmetic*; but he also made clear his own interests in the connections between quadrivial studies and those of theology. His justification for the value of the *quadrivium* refers several times to Augustine as well as Boethius. And when he turns to the definition of *number*, he offers not one but several, according to various schools of theology: Realist, Scotist, Thomist, Nominalist, Neoteric. The volume includes a brief discussion of optics along with the standard quadrivial fields.

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[55] Brian P. Copenhaver, "Lefèvre d'Étaples, Symphorien Champier, and the Secret Names of God," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977), 189–211 (194–97).

[56] Rice, "*De magia naturali*," p. 28.

[57] Rice, "*De magia naturali*," pp. 28–29; Rice, "Humanist Aristotelianism in France; Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and His Circle," in *Humanism in France at the End of the Middle Ages and in the Early Renaissance* (New York, 1970), pp. 32–49, at 138; and F. Roulier, "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples lecteur de Pic de la Mirandole," in *L'Aube de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1991), pp. 167–78, at 169–70.

[58] Pedro Sánchez Ciruelo, *Cursus quattuor mathematicarum artium liberalium* (Paris, 1516).

While optics had a long tradition of association with the *quadrivium*, its inclusion here also recalls another set of developments from Italian humanistic scholarship. Studies in Italy of the visual arts, particularly in Florence, had brought new attention to applications of studies of proportion both in the new practice of linear perspective and in architecture. Both can be seen in the writings of Leon Battista Alberti as well as many others. The visual arts and formal scholarship had formed distinctly different fields until the advent of these highly successful efforts to apply the study of optics (often referred to with its Latin name *perspectiva*). Further, a number of writers on the visual arts began to assert that Boethian proportions form the basis for visual, as well as aural, composition and perception of beauty; writers on music, in turn, began to use these visual applications to support their claims that these principles were interdisciplinary and universal. To these writers, the visual arts were related to the *quadrivium* insofar as the fundamental principles of music—proportion and ratio—also underlie the aesthetics of architecture, of representations of the human form in any medium, of the parts of a painting, or of the geometry of linear perspective.[59]

Links between musical proportion and architecture had been made in antiquity by the Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, whose treatise on architecture was enjoying renewed attention in Florence. In a well-known passage (*De architectura* 1.1), Vitruvius compares the proportions of buildings to those of the human body by means of musical harmony.[60] Other discussions of proportion appear throughout the work, notably in a description of musical modes in 5.4. The construction of the human body and soul (assumed from *musica humana*, *De musica* 1.2) formed the basis for descriptions of human emotional and aesthetic response, as well as of the effects of sense experience on character. Alberti's use of the harmonic term *concinnitas* as the basis of beauty shows these principles at work. This aesthetic standard is the same for sight or hearing; it is based on reason, and it is revealed through the study of Nature. As he notes in *De architectura*:

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[59] Amid the great volume of scholarship on the subject, a few works at least should be noted: Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 4th ed. (London, 1988); G.L. Hersey, *Pythagorean Palaces: Magic and Architecture in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY, 1976); and Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsi Callander, and Antony Wood (London, 1994).

[60] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan (New York, 1960; f.p. 1914); and *Vitruvii De architectura libri decem*, ed. Valentinus Rose (Leipzig, 1899).

> When you make judgments on beauty, you do not follow mere fancy, but the workings of a reasoning faculty that is inborn in the mind [...] That is why when the mind is reached by way of sight or sound, or any other means, *concinnitas* is instantly recognized. It is our nature to desire the best, and to cling to it with pleasure [...] Beauty is a form of sympathy and consonance of the parts within a body, according to definite number, outline, and position, as dictated by *concinnitas*, the absolute and fundamental rule in Nature.[61]

Renaissance Vitruvian commentators also used these passages to stress the role of musical ratio and proportion in renderings of the human figure itself.[62] Such discussions became more and more prominent in treatises on perspective and on rendering the human form, as for example in the writings of Albrecht Dürer,[63] as well as in those of Leonardo.[64] They still featured prominently in the writings of such art theorists as Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo in the 1580s.

Some contemporary mathematicians began to make similar arguments about the central role of optics, some of them going so far as to argue that the very concept of the *quadrivium* should be expanded to include it; Luca Pacioli and Niccolò Tartaglia, in early 16th-century Milan, are cases in point. Pacioli suggested that, because both the visual arts and music require sense perception as well as mathematics (a point often raised in traditional discussions of the *quadrivium*), they should have a similar standing among disciplines. Either perspective should be admitted to the *quadrivium* or music should be dropped.[65] Tartaglia used this argument in his introduction to Euclid to assert the superiority of geometry. Both music and perspective rely on sense perception for their study; geometry does not, and so it is the higher field.[66]

This effort to expand quadrivial principles to related fields testifies to the liveliness of the tradition at this point. At the same time, it also

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[61] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykkwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 302–03.

[62] Moyer, *Musica Scientia*, pp. 186–87.

[63] For a discussion of Dürer's work on proportion see Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 56–62.

[64] See, for example, Leonardo's (brief) comparison between music and perspective: Jean Paul Richter, ed., *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1970; f. p. 1883), par. 102; see also Kemp, *Science of Art*, p. 46; and Walter Wiora, "Der Anteil der Musik an Zeitstilen der Kultur, besonders der Renaissance," *Die Musikforschung* 30 (1977), 160–64.

[65] Luca Pacioli, *Divina proportione* (Milan, 1509), sig. Biii r. Despite Pacioli's advocacy of the Golden Section in this work, musical proportion was far more significant throughout this period. See Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, p. 63.

[66] Niccolò Tartaglia, trans., *Euclide Megarense* [...] *reassettato, et alla integrità ridotto* [...] (Venice, 1569), fol. 6r.

introduced some changes in thinking about the fields that would prove significant by the mid-16th century. It made the *quadrivium* a two-part composite: the first part consisting of two fields of abstract mathematics (arithmetic and geometry); the second part composed of applied fields, unspecified in number. This change in thinking made it easier over time to introduce additional applied fields; but some of those fields would have no real relationship to Boethius's Pythagorean principles, and would not, in fact, integrate with them as easily as optics. But at first it seemed rather, to many early 16th-century scholars, that an expanded *quadrivium* added support to the Boethian claims that universal mathematical order could indeed be seen in a range of material subjects.

Music theorists, particularly in Italy, also showed interest in extending into other fields the analytic tools of Boethian proportion. A good example is the work of the musical scholar and composer Franchino Gaffurio (1451–1522), a colleague of Pacioli and Tartaglia, and probably also of Leonardo; his writings came to set the standards for musical scholarship during the first half of the 16th century.[67] Gaffurio's high reputation and the popularity of his works gave his arguments a wide currency in the era's musical thought. He became important through his efforts to incorporate newly translated works of Greek musical theory into modern scholarship, as well as the substantial introduction of humanist sources, methods, and even writing style into the field. Many of Gaffurio's "new" ancient sources were themselves products of the neo-Pythagorean thought of later antiquity that had produced Boethius's treatises, and so served to strengthen still further Gaffurio's sense that ancient scholarly opinion was united in agreement on the truth of the Boethian position.

It is hardly surprising, then, that when Gaffurio linked music to the visual arts, he did so by means of harmonics. Musical proportions, he claimed, account for the human aesthetic response to painting, just as they do for music. Like Alberti, he argued that it is the perception of these ratios in nature that inspires artists. He turned his attention to the subject as part of his discussion of modes in his last work, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, of 1518. In this case, the comparison itself is based on musical proportion:

[67] On Gaffurio, see Walter Kurt Kreyszig's Introduction to Gaffurio, *Theory of Music*; Irwin Young, "Franchinus Gaffurius, Renaissance Theorist and Composer (1451–1522)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1954); and Alessandro Caretta, Luigi Cremascoli, and Luigi Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi, 1951).

> For when you look at a picture, you find nothing in it that is without the proportion of numbers. You see the measure of the bodies and mixture of the colors in numbers and proportions, and so too the ornament of the picture. Again, it is through numbers themselves that this first art imitates nature. This proportion made such beauty in natural bodies and accordingly in their proportion of their measure and color, that it caused painters to want to explain life and customs in colors, form, and figure.[68]

At several points in his writings, Gaffurio tried to extend proportion to the study of color, as he notes briefly here. So too did other contemporaries; but in fact all found great difficulty in identifying a factor about color that could truly be quantified, and so such efforts seldom developed beyond the level of general analogy. Other scholars sought to bring additional features of these fields into Boethian-type analysis, but with mixed results. Both the successes and failures lie in the kind of analysis Boethius made possible. The principle of analysis was absolute in its truth claims and strongly assertive of its ability to encompass all phenomena and experience. It could easily accommodate new subjects, such as painting, as long as it could expand its number theory to cover aspects of them. Indeed, such efforts reinforced Boethian claims to explain the fundamental numerical order that underlay all fields of knowledge, and thus to represent an absolute and universal aesthetic. Some scholars, Gaffurio among them, even argued that poetics should be subsumed under music theory by means of the numeric values involved in the study of metrics. When scholars were able to identify features of other fields that could be treated in this quantitative way—such as setting the dimensions of a building, or in renderings of the human figure—these comparisons yielded productive results.

Comparisons that could not be quantified consistently fared less well. The Boethian tradition lacked a way of talking about historical change or variations of individual style, since its mathematical principles were believed to be fixed and unchanging. Writings on the visual arts or on poetics, with their stronger base in humanist rhetorical analysis, were much better able to develop such topics. The efforts to extend Boethian tools—the reach of the *quadrivium*—into these new areas attracted considerable interest, and thus drew attention to both the strengths and the weaknesses of these kinds of explanations in the arts.

The expansion of Boethian analysis into other fields in the arts and humanities found a related expansion into explanations of creativity.

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[68] Franchino Gaffurio, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518), 4.16, fol. 96v; trans. in Moyer, *Musica Scientia*, 89.

Once again, the source was the Renaissance Platonism of Marsilio Ficino and his circle. The notions of poetic inspiration or furor that he advocated had the additional advantage of providing a way to compare the activity of different artists. One example occurs in the *Lucidario in musica* (1545) by the musician and theorist Pietro Aron.[69] At one point, Aron takes up the question of how it is that there seem to be variations in quality among composers, variations that cannot be related fully to their level of education about musical principles. Aron claims that successful composers, whatever their degree of learning, enjoy a celestially inspired gift that sets them apart. The creative process does indeed appear supernatural:

> whence one can believe that the good composers are born, not made through study, nor from much practice, but indeed thanks to celestial influence and inclination, and truly, that few are so destined.[70]

It is this creative gift that, for Aron, unites composers with sculptors, and explains the differences in aesthetic quality among works of similar type:

> And so, as we see that if different sculptors in marble or some other material produce the same figure or form, nonetheless one of them will be much more perfect than another, by the amount that one's artifice is better than the other. I say that it happens likewise with our harmonic faculty, in which we may observe many composers, each of whom would know the materials or musical intervals of harmonic form. Yet it is present in greater excellence in one of them than another, and has greater sweetness according to which one has more understanding and grace in such faculty than the other.[71]

Aron's explanation is consistent with Boethian claims for a correspondence between celestial, human, and instrumental music. Yet, neither Boethius nor his medieval followers had addressed this subject; it is a Renaissance innovation. This approach shifts the point of comparison significantly, away from the two fields of activity and onto the creative force of the persons undertaking those activities. That is, Aron argues that there is a resemblance not between music and sculpture but between musicians and sculptors. Thus he could circumvent the standard arguments that music was the superior field because its principles are mathematically demonstrable; fields so different normally could not be discussed together or compared in a scholarly setting. But by focusing instead on

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[69] For biographical information on Aron, see Peter Bergquist, "Aaron, Pietro," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*; and A. Bonaccorsi, "Aaron, Pietro," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. See also Moyer, *Musica Scientia*, pp. 119, 136–37.

[70] Pietro Aron, *Lucidario in musica* [...] (Venice, 1545), fol. 15r.

[71] Aron, *Lucidario*, fol. 15r.

the participants themselves, attention could turn to new topics that the Boethian tradition had not addressed, and which were in the process of being examined using a wider range of analytic methods.

Humanistic scholarship also reached out by mid-century to the Boethian texts themselves. The first publications of the *De arithmetica*, *De musica*, and *Geometria* used working manuscripts as the basis for the editions. On its verbose title page, the 1546 *Opera omnia* announced substantial improvements.[72] It claimed that previous editions of many of Boethius's works had used inferior manuscripts, especially of the *De arithmetica* and *De musica*. Heinrich Glarean, the noted musical scholar, humanist, and professor of theology, based the new edition of the quadrivial works in this volume on a manuscript from the 11th-century monastery of St Georgen im Schwarzwald. Glarean, a Swiss scholar, had been part of Lefèvre's circle in Paris 1517–22.[73]

Glarean noted in his dedication that many humanists had found little about Boethius to love; Lorenzo Valla had been especially critical of his style. Other modern authors had made use of the Boethian texts in writing their own works, he continued, but had avoided mentioning his name. Glarean admitted that Boethius was rather lengthy in his explanations, and that the subject matter itself was difficult. Nonetheless, he attributed the worst of the problems in reading the quadrivial works to the use of poor manuscripts that had led to equally poor printed editions, especially in the case of the *De musica*, which rendered the subject nearly unintelligible.

The Glarean edition of the *De arithmetica* looks straightforward. Glarean has added a number of improved diagrams, as well as some explanations in the margins. In the case of the *De musica*, however, he has made his

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[72] *Anitii Manlii Seuerini Boethi in omnibus philosophiae partibus inter Latinos & Graecos autores principis Opera, quae extant, omnia: non solum liberalium disciplinarum, sed maiorum facultatum studiosis etiam utilissima. sine quibus Aristotelis in praecipuis locis intellegi non potest. Quare summi uiri rectè censebant, uerè studiosum non esse in cuius bibliotheca hic autor non erat. Porrò, infinitis locis non aliquot uoces, sed longas periodas quae in prioribus aeditionibus desiderabantur, emendauimus, adiuti praesidio uetustissimorum manuscriptorum exemplarium, & auxilio doctissimorum uirorum: inter quos in omni literarum genere summus uir Henrichus Loritus Glareanus arithmeticam & musicam demonstrationibus & figuris auctiorem redditam suo pristino nitori restituit, cui exemplar aureum uenerandaeque uetustatis fuit ex monasterio S. Georgij. Et Martianus Rota opus de tota disserendi ratione, hoc est, organum, dialecticae & rhetoricae studiosis necessarium, illustrauit. Et huius autoris uitam certis coniecturis, cum ex alijs, tum ex Boëthi monumentis collectam, bona fide descripsit. Haec pagina uerso, altera facie, librorum catalogum ostendet* (Basel, 1546; repr., 1570).

[73] Clement A. Miller, "Glarean, Heinrich," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:7726/subscriber/article/grove/music/11256 (accessed June 11, 2008).

extensive emendations to previous versions very obvious: he uses the previous edition as the body of the text, marks it with various symbols to indicate points of correction, and gives the corrections in the margins. In many cases, these corrections are both thick and substantial, which required serious effort from the typesetters. Glarean hoped this improved text would lead to better scholarship and to wider study of the *De musica* in particular; the next year, 1547, he would publish his own work on music theory, the *Dodecachordon*, which was itself based on Boethius.

Decline and Disappearance

During the first decades of the 16th century, then, it may have looked as though the interest in Boethius's texts and the *quadrivium* would continue to expand to incorporate new topics, new questions, and better texts. A number of mid-century student textbooks and curricular developments in northern Europe contributed to such an optimistic picture. Claude de Boissière, a mathematician and teacher in Paris, published a number of such works in the 1550s. His vernacular arithmetic textbook seems intended for university students. It would also have served the other principal audience for mathematics texts: students of applied studies such as architecture, fortification, and so on, who might well need to rely on vernacular works because they lacked Latin learning.[74] This audience would grow throughout the century.[75] Boissière also wrote textbooks on the quadrant and on poetics. He translated into French the textbook of Gemma Frisius on astronomy and cosmography, a work that appeared often on the reading lists of reforming curricula.[76] He also published Rithmomachia manuals in both Latin and French.[77]

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[74] David Eugene Smith, *Rara Arithmetica* (Boston, 1908; repr. New York, 1970), p. 260; and Margolin, "L'Enseignement des mathématiques en France," p. 116.

[75] Bennett, "Challenge of Practical Mathematics."

[76] Claude de Boissière, *L'art d'arythmetique contenant toute dimention, tre-singulier et commode, tant pour l'art militaire que autres calculations* (Paris, 1554); rev. ed. Lucas Trembley of Paris (Paris, 1561, 1563); *Art poetique reduict et abrege en singulier ordre et souveraine methode* [...] (Paris, 1554); *La propriete et usage des quadrans*, [...] (Paris, 1556); and *Les principes d'astronomie et cosmographie: avec l'usage du Globe. Le tout composé en Latin par Gemma Frizon, & mis en langage François par M. Claude de Boissiere, Daulphinois. Plus, est adiousté l'usage de l'anneau Astronomic, par ledict Gemma Frizon. Et l'exposition de la mappemonde, composée par ledict de Boissiere* (Paris, 1582). Oxford statutes of 1564–65, for example, called for either Boethius or Gemma Frisius for the study of arithmetic; see Mark Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford, 1959), p. 87.

[77] Boissière, *Le tres excellent et ancien ieu Pythagorique, dit Rithmomachie* (Paris, 1554); idem, "*nouvellement amplifié*" (Paris, 1556); and idem, *Nobilissimus et antiquissimus ludus*

Boissière's arithmetic textbook focused on practical applications, particularly military, as one might expect of a vernacular textbook. Yet, in its preface he offered a discussion on the value of mathematics that echoed the arguments of Lefèvre and his colleagues earlier in the century. Mathematics is the basis of philosophical and moral knowledge. Its study has the ability to console and reassure the scholar; it provides certainty of understanding in a world of uncertainty and threat. It also allows the soul to ascend from preoccupation with the world of change and instability to the contemplation of universal truths.[78] Curricular reforms beginning in 1549 at Cambridge and then at Oxford also suggested a significant role for quadrivial studies at that time. Students were to study mathematics during their entire first year, before moving on in the second to dialectics and rhetoric, and then to philosophy.[79] This prominent place for mathematics did not last.[80]

Those interests carried into the leisure activities of students with the playing of Rithmomachia. But in the meantime, educators at St John's College, William Fulke and Raphe Lever, produced an English game manual based on that of Boissière, *The Philosophers Game* (1563); Fulke went on to publish a version of the astronomers' game (*Ouranomachia*, 1571, 1572) as well as a new one for the study of geometry (*Metromachia, sive ludus*

Pythagoreus, qui Rythmomachia nominatur (Paris, 1556). According to the title pages, the bookseller also sold boards and playing pieces.

[78] Masi, "Introduction," *Boethian Number Theory*, pp. 53–54. As Masi notes, Boissière is making use not only of the introductions to the *De arithmetica* and *De musica* but also the *Consolatio*.

[79] Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 252–53; Paul Lawrence Rose, "Erasmians and Mathematicians at Cambridge in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8 (1977), 47–59; and John Lamb, ed., *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents from the Manuscript Library of Corpus Christi College, Illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge, During the Period of the Reformation, from A.D. MD to A.D. MCLXXII* (London, 1838), p. 125. Modern scholarly assessments of the quality of science education during this period have varied. See Charles Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Montreal, 1983), pp. 24–26, for a low estimate of mid-century scientific culture; Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities, and Society in England, 1560–1640* (Cambridge, 1984), esp. pp. 214–16 offers a more positive view, though with an eye toward 1600 and after.

[80] Andrew Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford, Vol. 2 (1571–1672), Part 1, Introductions* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 2–3; John Lamb, ed., *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and Other Documents From the MS Library of Corpus Christi College, Illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge, During the Period of the Reformation From A.D. MD to A.D. MDLXXII* (London, 1838), pp. 124–25, 281–82, 315–20; Cambridge University Commission, *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, vol. 1 (London, 1852), pp. 455–59; Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, pp. 23–31. Feingold notes the increasing importance at English universities of educating the gentry—many of whom did not complete even the undergraduate curriculum—as a factor in the decision not to continue devoting the first year exclusively to mathematics.

geometricus, 1578). The Padua mathematics teacher Francesco Barozzi also published a game manual based on that of Boissière, claiming that the game had originated among the ancient Pythagoreans.

Yet, in fact, these mid-century publications were among the last in their fields. The textbooks of Lefèvre and his colleagues were reprinted in the middle of the century, but not later; the *De arithmetica* and *De musica*, despite the advantages of Glarean's text, were not reissued after the 1570 *Opera omnia*. No single, overriding cause led to the rapid abandonment of Boethius's texts or of the *quadrivium*; indeed, one would be hard pressed to find many explicit attacks on Boethius or his textbooks. Each field of the *quadrivium* continued to exist, though each also lost its Boethian content. It was, perhaps, a victim of its own success. Not only did more attention to mathematical studies bring attention to more applications, and most of them from outside the Boethian tradition; some Boethian claims to summarize the world's order in a few ratios did not always fare well when subjected to the greater scrutiny of 16th-century scholars.

The loss of Boethian content followed a different path in each quadrivial field, a fact that illustrates how the *quadrivium* itself gradually unraveled as a classification scheme. It did so in several ways. First, the trend continued for scholars to extend the term *quadrivium* to include more fields, and these reached some areas that had little or no connection to the more philosophical sides of Boethian thought and were not easily assimilated to it; this accretion process diminished the philosophical underpinnings of the Boethian structure. Closely related was the increasing tendency to define the category in terms of analytical method, as a cluster of fields best analyzed by applied mathematics and quantitative analysis; earlier scholars had emphasized instead the certainty of knowledge brought about by the mathematical proofs of quadrivial fields. Further, the rapid development of mathematical topics from outside the Boethian tradition brought increased attention and interest in those directions. Finally, the moral tasks of the Boethian *quadrivium* in general education were taken up by other disciplines.

Geometry was perhaps the simplest case, since Boethius's ultimate source was so clearly Euclid. Its most direct tie to Platonic thought had been the belief that the Euclid who wrote the *Geometry* was the student of Socrates and contemporary of Plato, Euclid of Megara. Francesco Maurolico pointed out the error of this assumption in his correspondence of 1556, in a letter to the viceroy of Sicily, calling for the restoration of

mathematics.[81] Federico Commandino made the case publicly in the introduction to his edition of Euclid's *Elements*.[82] Such a correction would weaken ties to Plato, but would not necessarily sever them. But Commandino's introduction goes further is separating the field from Platonic philosophy. He uses the classification "mixed science" for the wide range of fields that apply mathematics to the physical world, that is, a mixture of the abstract and the physical. Astronomy and music are among them; but so are optics, mechanics, and geodesy. All these fields use mathematics to describe and predict the behavior of physical objects. He does not single out music and astronomy for providing access to higher truths, as did Boethius. Rather, he treats them as two applications among many, as he praises the utility of mathematics for its wide relevance. He also takes care to locate Euclid chronologically in a brief history of mathematics; again, his emphasis on historical context raises nothing in direct conflict with Boethius, but it stands in sharp contrast to the Boethian emphasis on contemplation of timeless and changeless universal truths. Over time, Boethian-style claims about the value of geometry would simply fade from the Euclidean introductory apparatus, and it had never been present in the body of the text. So too, the Euclidean usage of the terms *ratio* and *proportio* (for the relationship between two numbers and between two proportions, respectively) replaced their usage in Boethius, and those from Euclid have remained in the standard usage.[83]

Astronomy had never really been represented in a Boethian text at all, at least not since Late Antiquity. One point of connection that kept the discipline within the *quadrivium* was astrology, the practical application of astronomy that helped analyze and predict astral influence on earthly actions. The belief that heavenly bodies were composed of a substance distinct from that found in the sublunar realm was another, for it accounted

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[81] Rose, *Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, pp. 170.

[82] *Euclidis elementorvm libri XV* [...] *A Federico Commandino vrbinate. Nvper in Latinvm conuersi, commentarijsque quibusdam illustrat*i (Pesaro, 1572); Rose, *Italian Renaissance of Mathematics*, p. 206; and Enrico I. Rambaldi, "John Dee and Federico Commandino: an English and an Italian Interpretation of Euclid during the Renaissance," in *La matematizzazione dell'universo: momenti della cultura matematica tra '500 e '600*, ed. Lino Conti (Assisi, 1992), pp. 49–86.

[83] On introductions to Euclid, and on the larger issues of the spread of Euclidean terminology for ratio and proportion, see especially the work of Sabine Rommevaux, "Les introductions aux *Éléments* d'Euclide au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance," in *Méthodes et statut des sciences à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. C. Grellard (Lille, 2004), pp. 143–58; and Rommevaux, *Clavius: une clé pour Euclide au XVI*e *siècle* (Paris, 2005).

for the geometric perfection of their motions. Both would undergo significant change in the 16th century and beyond, although gradually and somewhat later than the other quadrivial fields. Galileo's work made the case that the mathematical tools of physics and astronomy did not differ in kind, and while many astrologers attempted to reform and retool their field to conform to the new models and discoveries of Copernicus and his followers, the field suffered a gradual but permanent decline. Nonetheless, Boethian texts and teachings could retain for some time, for some scholars, one of their old roles: as provider of general principles that claimed to account for the mathematical order of the cosmos and of a language for discussing relative motions of celestial bodies. Certainly they remained useful and fruitful for Johannes Kepler well into the 17th century, though they did not for Galileo.[84]

Arithmetic and music faced more complex challenges. Lefèvre and his generation of reformers were successful in their goal of raising the level of attention and interest in mathematics education at the universities, and arithmetic was seen consistently as the gateway. Chairs in mathematics increased in number throughout the century. As a result, mathematics education became increasingly the realm of specialists who could teach not only introductory material but also advanced topics. It moved away from the first year of a student's program to the end of the period of study. Such courses for more advanced students, taught by specialists, began increasing to emphasize the new developments in the mathematical fields themselves. Those new developments came mainly in areas that had little or nothing to do with Boethius.

University statutes are an incomplete and imperfect guide to changes in the classroom, especially because an instructor's commentaries on a statutory text might alter significantly the contents of a course of lectures while its supposed subject remained unchanged. Signs of change are thus all the more significant. In 1565, Oxford still required Boethius's *De musica* in that field; but while it did not eliminate the *De arithmetica*, it allowed the new text by Gemma Frisius as an alternative. Cambridge shifted to the modern authors Cuthbert Tunstall or Girolamo Cardano for arithmetic.[85]

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[84] On Galileian treatments of proportion, see Enrico Giusti, "La teoria galileiana delle proporzioni," in *La matematizzazione dell'universo*, ed. Lino Conti (Perugia, 1992), pp. 207–22.

[85] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, p. 87; and Lamb, *Collection of Letters, Statutes, and Other Documents*, pp. 124–25, 280, 319. Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), author of *De arte supputandi libri quattuor* (London, 1522), based on Luca Pacioli's *Summa*, a text-

These texts all featured abbacus-style arithmetic, trigonometry, and algebra—traditions of mathematical study very different from Boethius and his *quadrivium*. Some mid-century textbooks, to be sure, included a passage in the introductory materials about Boethius, the *quadrivium*, or the value of proportion in understanding the order of the world. Adam Riese's *Rechnung* (1522) is an early example. The work begins with a praise of arithmetic and proportion that notes the high value Plato placed on mathematics and asserts that it is the ability to number that distinguishes humans from animals. The body of the work is nonetheless entirely practical.[86] Robert Recorde's extremely popular *The Ground of Arts* (1540) underwent later revision by John Dee, who added Platonizing verses about the power of number (1579), yet this too was in fact a practical manual.

Other universities show similar patterns. Quadrivial mathematics, perhaps expanded to include optics, were taught in the early part of the century; the trend over the course of the century was an increase in the number of professors, with an expanding package of subjects taught. Erfurt in 1519, for example, had one professor teaching arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy, and optics. Vienna in 1537 had two, teaching arithmetic, geometry, optics, music, astronomy, and geography; by 1554 there were three. Music had disappeared there as a distinct subject, though it is possible that it was subsumed under the general rubric of advanced mathematics taught by the third professor.[87] Similar trends could be seen throughout northern and central European universities.

Professors typically began their terms with a definition of the course's subject, its relationship to other fields of knowledge, and the approach to be taken in its study. These schemas, not surprisingly, followed a comparable path of change through the century. They did not reject Boethius or the *quadrivium* explicitly; some made use of at least some elements of classification, terminology, or praise. Yet, as the mathematical fields clustering under the old topical heading "arithmetic" grew in number and importance (or their general name shifted to mathematics), the number

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book of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. Girolamo Cardano (1501–76), the mathematician and physician, produced the era's most significant algebra textbook, the *Ars Magna* (Nuremberg, 1545).

[86] Adam Riese, *Rechenung auff der Linihen und Federn* (Erfurt, 1522).

[87] Joseph S. Freedman, "Philosophy Instruction within the Institutional Framework of Central European Schools and Universities during the Reformation Era," in *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500–1700*, Variorum Reprint (Aldershot, 1999), II, p. 132.

of applications grew as well.[88] Boethian arguments became simply one voice among many, and eventually it ceased to be heard.

Timannus Camenerus (1513), who taught at Münster for many years, until his death in 1535, kept the four-fold distinction of mathematical fields, with optics and geography as subsets of geometry.[89] Some decades later, Ambrosius Reudenius (1579) distinguished mathematical fields as either intelligible or sensible; the former included arithmetic and geometry, the latter a host of applied fields including mechanics, astrology, optics, geodesy, music, and logistics.[90] His more famous contemporary Henry Savile devoted most of his "Proaemium mathematicum" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 29, unpag.) of 1570 to astronomy and geometry, followed by arithmetic, optics, and mechanics. Savile included music, but only in a brief paragraph.[91]

The writings of the mathematician Francesco Maurolico also exhibit this transition in thinking about the *quadrivium*. He wrote his *Opuscula mathematica* in the 1550s, though they were published only in 1575.[92] He includes a set of quadrivial works: on the sphere; computus; astronomical instruments; horary lines; an epitome of Euclid; music; arithmetic, the longest section. In the *Opuscula*, he specifies his preference for Jordanus over Boethius. His introductory treatment of how to classify fields of knowledge offers three systems, each of which he diagrams for the reader: by subject matter, by the effect they have on the student (intellect versus will, and all quadrivial fields fall for him on the side of intellect), or by theoretical and practical topics. In all cases, he names the traditional quadrival fields, but he does not present the *quadrivium* as a system; nor are its traditional criteria for classifying fields (the level of truth with which they deal, the kind of quantity or proportion studied) of any particular interest to him. For Maurolico as for his colleagues, the study of mathematics, with arithmetic, was expanding, even as the special role of Boethius slid quietly to the margins in mathematics education.

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[88] Olaf Pedersen, "Tradition and Innovation," in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 451–88, at 464–70; and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "New Structures of Knowledge," in ibid., pp. 489–530, at pp. 521–24.

[89] Timannus Camenerus, *Compendium artis dialecticae* (Cologne, 1513, 1520); and Joseph S. Freedman, "Philosophy Instruction," p. 127.

[90] Ambrosius Reudenius, *Libellus de philosophia ex Aristotlele, eiusque interpretibus collectus* (Jena, 1579); and Freedman, "Philosophy Instruction," p. 128.

[91] Moyer, *Philosophers' Game*, pp. 130–31.

[92] Francesco Maurolico, *Opuscula mathematica* (Venice, 1575).

As noted previously, emblematic of that quiet slide is William Fulke's set of books on mathematical games. His first, co-authored with colleague Ralph Lever, was a vernacular manual for the medieval game Rithmomachia (1563), intended as a practical application of Boethian arithmetic. Based heavily on the Latin and French manuals of Claude de Boissière (1554, 1556), it contained its share of references to Plato and Pythagoras, the value of contemplating number in developing personal virtue, and similar subjects. A few years later he published *Ouranomachia* (1571, 1572), also a medieval game (attested in the 15th century), intended to assist in learning judicial astrology. His third game, *Metromachia* (1578), was apparently his own invention, and focused on geometry. Yet, in this case, despite a title obviously intended to refer to the other two, the geometry in question is practical, and based on military engineering, and there are no references to the moral value of number, to Plato, or to Boethius.

Of the quadrivial fields, music had the highest profile outside the university; perhaps not surprisingly, it underwent the most complex set of changes. Unlike the other quadrivial disciplines, musical scholarship did experience some direct challenges to Boethius's authority, mainly in Italy. In the northern universities, several factors contributed to its loss. Music found itself increasingly cast as one of many "applications" of mathematics to material objects; yet as a field, it had traditionally served rather different purposes from these others. Boethius and his successors emphasized the simple, timeless, and changeless nature of its principles, whereas other fields now in the same category, such as optics or geography, were changing and advancing rapidly as the century progressed. Thus they made an uneasy alliance of topics at best. Further, northern universities had long emphasized theology and clerical education, certainly to a far greater degree than had Italian universities. Thus they maintained an association with the practical musical training that was an important part of clerical life. Reformation debates about the role and nature of music in worship continued and, indeed, strengthened the interest in music as practice. On its own, this emphasis might not have been enough to define the field mainly in terms of practical composition and performance rather than those of Boethian mathematical theory. But since the latter did not sit easily with the new mathematical fields either, "music" came to be defined increasingly as musical performance, the sort of practical subject that had little role in general university education.

English universities present a useful example. On the one hand, they began early to recognize music as a sort of professional specialty within the arts faculty by awarding the occasional lower degree in music rather

than in the arts, and they even named a few doctors of music; recipients of these degrees tended to hold positions at significant churches and chapels. The earliest known Cambridge degrees were awarded 1463/64, with a gradual increase over the 16th century, though the total number remained small.[93] On the other hand, lectures on Boethius's *Music* were disappearing from the general undergraduate curriculum. The 16th-century lecturers asked increasingly to be excused from the task; they cited a lack of student interest as well as their own sense that the lectures were not useful. They also noted that students were normally being transferred in any case to the lectures on the *De arithmetica*.[94] The subject's disappearance by mid-century at Vienna has already been noted above, and a number of other universities followed a similar pattern of development. Glarean also asserted that, when he had been a university student in Cologne (where he studied 1506–10), his music teacher had argued that Boethius's music treatise was impossible to understand and, furthermore, that it had little to contribute to the practice of singing.[95]

The Italian situation was different. Italian universities continued to emphasize medicine and law rather than theology, and they continued to admit students with greater numeracy skills that had been acquired outside the Boethian tradition. Many clerics who accepted major ecclesiastical musical posts in Italy, however, were products of northern universities and trained in northern styles of polyphonic musical composition. Humanist poets had developed very different performance styles for setting and singing their poetry, styles they claimed had ancient models. Well-established traditions of humanist scholarship were broadening their studies from the traditional humanistic disciplines to include texts and topics in mathematics and natural philosophy. It is hardly surprising that in this environment, a number of scholars and men of letters would become interested in ancient and modern music, and in Boethius's apparently central role in both, from a range of different perspectives and professional backgrounds. Their arguments circulated both in printed books and manuscripts, and their debates grew heated at times.

In most cases, during the first half of the century, these scholars began with the principles of Boethius's *De musica* and built upon them. Boethius

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[93] Nan Cook Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK, 1958), pp. 200–10.

[94] Andrew Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford, Vol. 2 (1571–1622), Part 1*, Introductions (Oxford, 1887), p. 100.

[95] His music teacher had been Johannes Cochlaeus; Miller, "Glarean," *Grove Music Online*.

and other ancient authors agreed that ancient music had the power to alter behavior as well as emotions, a power modern music apparently lacked; since Boethius argued that music's power lay in the proportions of its pitch systems, the answer seemed to many to lie in a proper understanding and revival of ancient pitch systems. Furthermore, a stumbling block between theory and practice loomed in the growing degree to which modern polyphonic music treated as consonant some intervals that Boethius called dissonant, and vice versa. In fact, post-classical musical practice had differed significantly from the musical practice of antiquity, including the era of Boethius, but the points of difference were rapidly increasing in number and significance. In addition, the broad range of ancient texts read by humanists contained many references to music, including instruments, social contexts, and even other approaches to musical analysis, none of which were present in Boethius's text. Gaffurio's scholarship, as noted above, set the agenda for the early part of the century; his treatises were widely read and cited. He and his colleagues of the next generation read Boethius and portrayed themselves and their works as following, in some way, in his footsteps; as a consequence, most of their readers thus seem to have known Boethius's arguments mainly from their writings, rather than from the *De musica* itself.

Raffaele Brandolini exemplifies the other extreme, moving humanistic analytic tools into the study of music. A humanist who performed extemporaneous Latin poetry in Rome as a highly trained amateur for his peers, his interest lay mainly with the texts of vocal performance; though he professed agreement with Boethius's proportions, he devoted more attention to the emotional impact of words rather than pitches, and to the social settings of ancient music performance, which called for historical rather than mathematical analysis.[96] In any case, Boethius's *De musica* seems not to have seen independent publication. It circulated with the *De arithmetica* and in collections of related works, or as part of the *Opera omnia*, but it was not published on its own.

Over the course of the 16th century, Boethius's authority proved vulnerable to humanistic approaches and historical analyses in several ways. First, as Renaissance scholars learned more about the musical practices of antiquity, they realized ever more clearly that musical styles changed over time, in contrast to Boethius's claim that standards of beauty were

[96] Raffaele Brandolini, *De Musica et Poetica* (*1513*), ed. and trans. Ann E. Moyer with Marc Laureys (Tempe, AZ, 2001).

eternal and changeless. Efforts to emulate in the 16th century the musical practices of antiquity met with mixed success, and simply increased the realization that, for better or worse, the modern ear accepted and would continue to accept intervals that Boethius said they should reject. Further, improved understanding of antiquity and ancient texts made it clear that Boethius had written at a particular point in history and from a particular philosophical point of view: that of the neo-Pythagoreans. Not only had musical practice differed over time—hence ancient writers might differ from Boethius and yet be correct in describing their own experience in a different ancient place and era—but not all ancient musical scholars had been Pythagorean, and some disagreed explicitly with Boethius in ways that merited serious consideration. Girolamo Mei identified several distinct schools of thought in antiquity; Boethius simply represented one of them.[97]

By the second half of the 16th century, even supporters of Boethius had ceded some important ground. Gioseffo Zarlino gave up dividing the field into the traditional quadrivial "theory" and "practice" in favor of newer categories, "history" and "method." The former included features of the discipline that were subject to historical and cultural change over time and place, aspects of the field studied with the tools of humanist scholarship. Mathematical studies based on Boethius fell into the latter category. In most cases this meant the production of sound, or the physical behavior of vibrating bodies. Zarlino maintained Boethius's claim that the proportions among small integers not only described musical consonance, but formed part of the fundamental order of the world, although to Boethius's numbers, one through four, he added five and six (which took care of the problem of post-classical consonances, the intervals called thirds and sixths in modern terminology). Nonetheless, while this distinction opened up broad new approaches for studying musical style in parallel to literature and the visual arts, it ruptured the Boethian field.

And within his own lifetime, even these claims faced challenge and defeat. Vincenzo Galilei showed that while these proportions did indeed measure particular properties of vibrating bodies that sounded intervals perceived as consonant, those sounds might be produced in other ways that could be measured, but with different proportions. For example, Boethius was correct that 2:1 is an octave, when the numbers refer to the length of portions of a single vibrating string. However, one might also

[97] Moyer, *Musica Scientia*, pp. 225–34.

change the pitch of a string by varying not the string's length but the tension that holds it taut, measurable by using weights; pitch here varies by the square root of the tension. Not only were these proportions different from those of Boethius, they also involved irrational numbers, which certainly was inconsistent with Boethian principles of number and universal order. Boethius's teachings only described one sort of measurable behavior among many, and thus had no claims to representing universal truths.[98]

By the early 17th century, music was no longer defined mainly in Boethian terms. The names for intervals followed not Boethius's usage—names that emphasized the proportions such as diapason, diapente, or diatessaron—but rather the steps of a modern scale: *octave, fifth, fourth*—terms still in use today. Claims about "music of the spheres" seldom went beyond the formulaic when they were invoked at all. The case of music, then, did involve important assaults upon Boethius's works and general principles; yet because the rest of the Boethian *quadrivium* was in the process of fading as well, the debates in musical scholarship did not cause major turmoil in the other fields, and musical practice split definitively away from quantitative natural philosophy, classified as a cultural and artistic activity, analyzed with the tools of the humanities, and not with mathematics.

In losing Boethius, mathematical studies lost their old theoretical foundation. No longer could they claim to represent the fundamental order of creation. Rather, they were a neutral set of analytic tools, and while an educator might still argue that the study of mathematics, like the study of logic, served as a useful discipline for a young mind; gone too were the old claims that the study of number led both to an understanding of the divine and to habits of virtue. Mathematics lost its role in moral education. As Maurolico observed, it contributed to the development of the intellect, rather than the will. Yet, by this time, humanist education had stepped up to take the place of moral instruction, and more: early modern students acquired virtue by studying ancient languages and great texts. The *Consolatio* found its place on that long list of ancient texts; the *De arithmetica* and the *De musica* did not. Their loss, along with that of the *quadrivium* itself, marks an important turning point between ancient and modern learning.

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[98] Moyer, *Musica Scientia*, pp. 241–63.

AFTERWORD: BOETHIUS IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Fabio Troncarelli

Boethius and Lady Philosophy

The person and works of Boethius are incomprehensible outside the historical and cultural atmosphere in which his drama-filled biography must be situated.[1] The Goths had created in Italy a peculiar state which had a mixed nature, tied in part to the past, but which was also, in part, modern—an elaborate construction in which the old ruling class, with their own mentality, their own privileges, their own kind of competence, coexisted with new political subjects, accustomed to radically different ways of life. Ancient technology and knowledge, unknown to the semi-analphabetic Goths were in the hands of Latin aristocrats: men such as Boethius, real mandarins of culture, who guaranteed the Gothic regime the prestige and the knowledge necessary to support the process of detachment from Constantinople. The Latin world, however, was naturally intolerant towards the new masters, and itself aspired to the autonomy of ancient times. The Church, holding the balance between the different forces on the field, was formed primarily by members of the Latin aristocracy and, with the exception of a few cases, did not nurture any sympathy

[1] See, by Arnaldo Momigliano: *Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* XLI (1955), pp. 207–45; *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome, 1964), pp. 191–229; *Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI sec. d.C.*, in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Classe d scienze morali*, XI (1956), pp. 279–97; *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome, 1964); pp. 231–53; *La caduta senza rumore di un impero nel 476 d.C.* (1973); and *Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, I (Rome, 1980), pp. 159–16. See also Lellia Cracco Ruggini, "Nobiltà romana e potere nell'età di Boezio," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani* (Pavia, 5–8 ottobre 1980), ed. Luca Obertello (Rome, 1981), pp. 73–96; Lellia Cracco, "Società provinciale, società romana, società bizantina in Cassiodoro," in *Flavio Aurelio Magno Cassiodoro*, in *Atti della settimana di studi* (Cosenza-Squillace, 19–24 settembre 1983), ed. Sandro Leanza and Soveria Mannelli (1986), pp. 245–61; and Celia Chazelle, "The Three Chapters Controversy and the Biblical Diagrams of Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior and Institutiones," in *The Crisis of Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout 2006), pp. 172–205.

for the Goths who professed the Arian heresy. In spite of himself, Boethius was involved in a witch hunt, which—given the situation of conflict—was inevitable. The accusations made against him (and against the Senate) were false: and yet, they reflect the state of mind of the Goths, their hardly hidden hostility towards the Latin intellectuals who would not submit to the values of the *könig*, the undisputed leader. The educated, proud, brilliant Boethius, expert in astronomy and in music, just as much as in philosophy, whose knowledge had, in the eyes of the uneducated Goths, something magical (and, indeed, the philosopher was accused of magic!), was, in effect, a subversive personality. A first-class dissident, Boethius proclaimed by his very existence, the supremacy of the *intelligentia* over politics—the necessity of a detachment from the brutal mechanisms of power, of a rationality superior to brute force. Deluded, as all the technocrats, into governing the governors, alone in this new society though he was no stranger to it, Boethius directly attacked the voracious protagonists of the sub-government of the Goths, preventing abuses and cuts against the poor or, more simply, against the Latins (as with the famine in Campania in 510) or against the Roman patricians in disgrace (as in the case of the ex-consuls Paulinus and Albinus), natural prey for the greedy officials of the king. Thus, just as von Stroheim in *Grand Illusion*, he was condemned inexorably to the role of disenchanted spectator who realizes bitterly the decline of the men of his mould and the irresistible progression of the *parvenus* of history, be they the proud and uncouth Goths, or that strange blend of Rasputin, Peter the Great, and Nero-Messalina which were the Byzantine emperors and empresses such as Athanasius I, Justin, Justinian, Theodora.

It is in this sinister and decadent light, in perfect accord with the decadence of the ancient world in general, that the whole of meditation upon Boethius is to be understood. The *De consolatione philosophiae* [hereafter *Consolatio*] is an unremitting self-analysis that confronts the roots of an historical crisis through an unprejudiced examination of the attachments and the personal history of one of its protagonists. Boethius discovers that he has constructed for himself a false self, a false personality without realizing it: he, the philosopher, let himself be seduced by a chaotic and irrational society, alien to his own desires and his own expectations. Undoubtedly, a love for justice stimulated this choice, a love which he does not disown, as also all the public acts inspired by it. However, it is undeniable that, according to the traditional convictions of ancient philosophy which Boethius shares, reality is the prey of chance and transience—any

success achieved in it, even that of a brilliant intellectual, is ephemeral. The real goal of man is to rediscover the best part of himself, that spark of divinity suffocated by the apprehensions of daily life, immerging oneself into the harmony of the cosmos which annuls the disharmony of the world. That world which, in comparison with the universe, is nothing but an invisible point, with the trembling light of a distant star. Boethius's disgrace, however harsh, is therefore the occasion to understand the necessity of the most total independence of man from reality.

Considering the Stoicism of Boethius with the mentality of a modern man, we shall find him, obviously, willful and excessively strict. But if we read his declaration as a sincere and dramatic testimony of his own personal history and of the general history of the period, we would no longer have a philosophy with which to agree or from which to dissent, but rather a heartfelt and dramatic story, which reveals how a man can lose his own identity and retrieve it again at the price of his own life.

Boethius discovers and rediscovers his true personality. His love for nature, above all, which arises from his own contemplative nature, from anxious observation and at the same time from attention to the phenomena, with the eyes of the artist and man of science. The many poems which describe the passing of the seasons, the emotion of man alone under the starred sky, the infinite and restless harmony of the universe, arise from an inspiration constantly stimulated by the mysterious and beneficial influence of nature. Reviving ancient Stoic formulae which exalt the impassive man in the face of evils—resembling the spectator who watches a storm from afar—Boethius, with infinite variations, describes the rapid change of atmospheric events, the changing and fascinating alternation of day and night, the silent slipping away of time, and the imperceptible change of the colors of the light. Each object seems new, all of a sudden, as though it were seen for the first time, with the eyes full of gratitude of a child who becomes aware of an invisible mystery, of a sort of strange enchantment which protects him. Boethius is a poet of thought. His praise of a life without passions is full of passion, just as his observation of nature is moving. For this reason, together with the rediscovery of his contemplative disposition, he cannot fail to retrieve feverish and intoxicated desire, love, unprejudiced and without restraint, for a disinterested culture and an end to itself. The intellectual whom the world has filled with honors and ingratitude, all of a sudden, finds again the lost time in which, alone with himself, he would immerse himself in study, happy like a nereid in water. His mind, stretching out to the extreme, travels along all the

labyrinthine paths of the culture of the past and of the present, in the frenetic attempt not to forget anything, that every theory, every feeling, every scrap of truth, should survive, beyond physical death, beyond the death of civilization itself: even the remotest ideas, such as metempsychosis are, if not partially developed, at least mentioned,[2] in the titanic attempt to re-embrace everything with the eye of God himself. Like a Byzantine mosaic, made up of detached fragments, reunited by a mysterious miracle, the *Consolatio* is an irrational and hallucinated vision, in which ancient knowledge is transfigured into a single, vertiginous constellation: it is the same gigantic image of Philosophy, with dark and inflamed eyes, resembling certain apparitions of Christ Pantocrator, wrapped around by the ardent glimmering of the gold from the background.

For Boethius, neo-Platonic culture is not only a complex of theories, to accumulate next to the maxims of Stoicism or Aristotelianism; rather, it is the source of deep feelings, continuously renewed, which nourish lyrical inspiration towards the divine—like what such men as Proclus and Synesius of Cyrene, author of the wonderful hymns to divinity, evoked with the terminology of neo-Platonism. We must strongly insist on this point to prevent the risk run by many readers of Boethius of not grasping the most authentic of the author's rediscoveries: the rediscovery of religious sentiment. His relationship with nature and with knowledge finds a natural completion in the adoration of divinity, which is dispersed in the cosmos. It is to it that events of the created world refer. It is of the divinity that, without realizing, philosophers and intellectuals speak. This intuition of the unity of what is created and of its constant relationship with the Creator is the essence of religion (from *religare*, tying together God with the world). Many scholars, however, have wondered how this

[2] There have been many discussions concerning this point, which it is not possible to summarize in this chapter. However, there is one fixed point that should never be forgotten, though unfortunately it often is: Boethius never explicitly says he believes in *metempsychosis*; neither does he ever say explicitly that he believes *verbatim* many of the neo-Platonic theories. The philosopher uses special terms, or particular circumlocutions, which can be explained in reference to such theories: but he never claims openly to believe in every implication contained in these theories. Taking the case of the so-called *metensomatosis*, the transformation of man into an animal after death as atonement for one's faults: Boethius mentions this theory (*Consolatio* 4p3), which presupposes the idea of the *metempsychosis*: but he never says explicitly that he believes in reincarnation; he rather says that vicious men transform, morally speaking, into wild beasts, losing their *humanitas*. This moral interpretation of *metempsychosis* was supported by various Church Fathers and was opposed by others: but, in any case, it did not presuppose in any way the conviction in the reincarnation of the soul and was, therefore, not in contrast with Catholicism.

kind of sentiment can be compatible with Christianity. They have cast doubts on the authenticity of Boethius's religiousness, confining it to a form of pantheism, unwittingly pagan. For is it not the case that in the *Consolatio*, in a work written just before impending death, there are no explicit references to Christian doctrine, or to the name of Christ? If it is reason that consoles us in the face of death, what role remains for faith? The dispute between the reason of faith and the faith in reason spans a long time and still today does not give any indications of dying out. And yet, one should have the courage to admit that it is a false problem.

As great scholars have observed, as for example Courcelle,[3] the psychological state of Boethius is not different from many other contemporaries, such as Synesius of Cyrene (bishop though not baptized) and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. In actual fact, it is gravely wronging Boethius to measure him with conceptions alien to his personality and which, historically speaking, are not very compatible with his own point of view. We cannot expect from a Christian of the 6th century the same organic and systematic faith that a believer of today has. Christianity, as every religion, is not a closed ideology, defined once and for all, whose dogmata are fixed and indivisible. We must imagine that, in Boethius's time, discussions were still open concerning the fundamental values of a believer, what is the possibility and the reality of salvation, the relationship between the human and divine nature of Jesus Christ; we must imagine that authors more engaged than Boethius in the work of definition and analysis of the Christian message, as for example St Augustine, remained for a long time uncertain, and oscillated over fundamental questions, such as that of the creation of the human soul. If we imagine that, despite the solemn formulations of the great councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon, important problems remained unsolved, such as that of the relationship between the three persons of the Trinity, we can understand how it is not only difficult, but especially anti-historical, clearly to divide between that which is authentically religious and that which is not, in considering this most singular and unrepeatable of personal experiences of a great intellectual such as Boethius.

Beyond the content of his works, it is to the spirit of his culture and of his frame of mind that we must turn in order to become attuned to the kind of faith he professes. His Christianity is not the solitary and ardent

[3] Pierre Courcelle, *La* Consolation de philosophie *dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 341–42.

kind of the monks of the desert, nor the tormented and prophetic kind of some representatives of the Latin Church. Boethius believes, as do Gregory of Nyssa, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, that there is no contrast between reason and faith, for both are human manifestations of a unique source of inspiration: the Light of the *Logos*. Man, image in the semblance of God, is intrinsically good, though, temporarily chained by the sufferance caused by the original sin. As Plato teaches, life is a kind of prison, but the real life is elsewhere. Man must rediscover within himself the divine spark which sin has merely obfuscated, without extinguishing it. Philosophy, love for knowledge—these constitute the continuous quest of the divine in one's innermost being.

From this perspective, naturally enough, no break was felt between faith and reason: for both are ways to draw nearer to the hidden divinity, the unknown god buried within us. This Christian Platonism is the grounding, ultimately, of the actual circulation of the message of Christ in the Hellenizing world of the Mediterranean: however, we are not inclined to recognize its influence, preferring rather to imagine that certain authors are, unwittingly, pagan, in comparison with others, who are genuine Catholics. We easily forget how long, how complex, and how often contradictory the path of the self-knowing religion was throughout the centuries. And yet, history teaches us the contrary. How many believers today are capable of perceiving divinity as St Augustine did, privileging its dimension of fiery splendor, its character of illumination of minds, of object, which we can only admire, but not come close to? That which, for us, is less than immediate, for Augustine, in contrast, was normal: he too was inspired by Platonism, which brought out the purely contemplative aspect of the relationship with the divine, the predominantly intellectual dimension of that relationship, which saints such as St Francis would understand with great difficulty—just as he would perhaps have difficulty in understanding the *Soliloquia*, in which Augustine converses with his own reason exactly as Boethius does with philosophy. Exactly as Boethius, he does not refer to the name of Christ, not even when he prays, with moved emphasis,[4] a God, defined in similar terms to those used by Boethius, "my home, my motherland, my salvation, my light, my life"; a God whose laws "*in aevo stantibus* [...] *motus instabilis motum mutabilium perturbatus esse non sinitur*" (1.1.4), which resembles the Boethian God, to whom

[4] In the prayer to the "One God," there are only indirect references to Christ through a veiled citation of the words of the Gospel.

Boethius turns, saying, "*tempus ab aevo / Ire iubes stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri*" [You (...) who bid time ever move, / And resting still, grant motion to all else] (*Consolatio* 3m9.2–3).[5] In comparison to Augustine, to whom he explicitly refers in his first *Theological Work*, Boethius, a philosopher by profession, is still more tied to a Platonizing terminology and culture. His origin, his education, and his own inclination push him in this direction: for neo-Platonism was the more mature and authoritative manifestation of the classic tradition, the very foundation of the identity of the lay Greco-Roman aristocracy. Having reached by now its final phase, this current of thought, after the original experiments of Plotinus or Porphyry, had put a growing emphasis on its religious hue: it is no coincidence that the last students of the pagan school of Ammonius, who were representative figures of neo-Platonism like Zaccharias and Philoponus, are declared Christians. It is to this atmosphere of intellectual fervor and religious effervescence that Boethius refers. The theories he elaborates are born, directly or indirectly, from the teaching of the greatest masters of neo-Platonism, Proclus, Ammonius, and Porphyry. Through them, the Platonic texts are interpreted, and first the *Timaeus* with its fascinating cosmology: man is part of a harmonious whole, structured by divine rules, by a harmony that is reflected in mathematical and musical harmony. To know the forms and modes of being of the universe, signifies to penetrate the very thought of God, to reconstruct, so to speak, the perpetual course by participating in the same infinite happiness which the divinity feels in expressing itself. Boethius's philosophy is centered on the theme of the relationship between the individual and the totality, the microcosm and the macrocosm: the true consolation which philosophy offers to mortals is precisely in enabling them to know the immortal part of man in elevating one who is prisoner of chance and of pain upward towards the sphere of the sublime, in which Being and the beings merge in one unique movement.

In view of this passionate tension towards the divine, the presence of the Christian message is not felt as estranged or indifferent: Christianity is considered to be a sort of effervescent legacy, of intuitions and suggestions which must be explained, articulated, re-elaborated by a reflection and a more universal and complex language. It is in this direction

[5] Trans. S.J. Tester in Boethius, "The Consolation of Philosophy," in *Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), p. 271 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*). All English quotations used in this essay from the *Consolatio* are from this Loeb Classical Library edition.

that Boethius proceeds as a theologian in some of his rare and extremely specialized works that inaugurate a method (in many aspects, difficult and arduous) that will be carried out by St Thomas: the use of reflection, in order to clarify the dogma, according to the fundamental principal of Scholastic, *fides quaerens intellectum* [faith in search of understanding]. It is with this approach that the philosopher can resolve one of the most delicate problems of his time, namely that of the exact definition of the relationships between the three persons of the Trinity.

For, despite the Council of Chalcedon, which, in theory, was conclusive, the fight between the different factions troubled the Christian world, accompanied as it was, often enough, by manifestations of cruelty. Boethius applied to the incomprehensible Trinitarian dogma the concepts of Greek philosophy, and not those of his beloved Plato, but the unique breadth of vision of his great adversary, Aristotle, whom he dreamt of reconciling with Platonism. Thanks to an Aristotelian category, the category of the relationship, which determines the limits between the singular and the multiple, it is possible to explain in which way the divinity can be one and three. No doubt, with respect to the Christian mystery, the Boethian formula is not necessary, and even, linked as it is to a transitory and short-lived philosophy, is destined not to last. And yet, with respect to the Christian people, lacerated by quarrels and incapable of accepting a claim that defies common sense (common sense which did not refute Aristotle), the Boethian intuition is a welcome, original solution. If this indeed was Boethius's general approach, his generous reaction in front of death cannot be surprising, represented as it is, by the *Consolatio*. The philosopher turns to God, with the language and the manner which he instinctively considers to be the most adapted. He does not speak to a God whom he ignores and who ignores him: he speaks affectionately, despairingly, passionately, to the divinity which he has all his life tried to understand and define, through the most refined terminology and culture of his time. In this light, Christianity, this legacy of raw religious emotions, was not forgotten or rejected: it is rather re-elaborated, as it has always been in the past.

Consider, for example, the poem of the second book: Boethius takes up explicitly the image from the Gospel, of the man who builds on rock and the man who builds on sand, copying the images and words of the Gospel. The general background and the context of the citation is, however, very different from how Matthew presents the parable, within a peroration of Philosophy, which, with arguments inspired by Stoicism and neo-Platonism, devaluates the human, evanescent, and ephemeral goods like

sand, and exalts the granite solidity of the true sage. Is all this Christian? Or pagan? To my mind, the question makes no sense, since all this is fundamentally Boethian.

Boethius was a philosophical animal. He remained so until the end. His cry of revolt against death is a rational roar. To be surprised by this is to be surprised that, in similar circumstances, thinkers such as Thomas More and Gramsci did not change their minds either. He who has lost preserves at least the right to lose himself. The Boethian approach will be all the more clear if we examine the figure of Philosophy. Some scholars have emphasized aspects of the character, which recall Christian sources (its height and its appearance remind us of the beginning of the Sheppard of Hermas), though others have contested the presence of such an obvious religious characterization. Recently, some scholars have insisted on the "satirical" nature of the character of Philosophy and on the uselessness of its teaching—an idea which has been rightly refuted by other scholars.[6] Indeed, the role of Philosophy is not that of reasoning for the sake of reasoning, to show the limits of Philosophy (a behavior with no precedent in Greek and Latin literature); rather, it has the traditional role of the consolatory genre (and of classical medicine) to which Boethius refers explicitly in various passages from the *Consolatio*: to take care of the pains of the soul, giving useful remedies to one who suffers.[7]

But, leaving this aside, speaking from the psychological point of view, as a whole, the Philosophy of the *Consolatio* is very similar to the traditional figure of Philosophy in Latin culture, which, for example, appears in a famous letter by Seneca.[8] This is not a chance appeal to the Latin tradition: Boethius brings back to life a well-known character to the public of the patrician aristocrats—in despair in the face of the present disaster—in order to re-affirm the faith in a glorious tradition, suffocated, but still alive. He recovers the image of the Latin *alma mater*: the images of Camilla, of Cornelia, and of the virtuous and stately matron whom we encounter so often in the works of Livy and who seems to retire into the shadows, full of scorn and reserve, in front of the dissolution of Julia or Messalina. In the

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[6] See, for example, Philip Edward Phillips, "Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the *Lamentatio/Consolatio* Tradition," *Medieval English Studies* 9.2 (2001), 5–27.

[7] Philip Edward Phillips, "Lady Philosophy's Therapeutic Method: The 'Gentler' and 'Stronger' Remedies in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae,*" *Medieval English Studies* 10.2 (2002): 5–26.

[8] Pierre Courcelle, "Le personnage de Philosophie dans la littérature latine," in *Journal des Savants* (Oct.–Dec. 1970), pp. 209–52.

moment of vigorously "exhorting" man, and knowing how to console him maternally. Like Thetis to Achilles, Philosophy turns to Boethius, saying: "Speak to me [...] conceal nothing [...]," and like Achilles, unredeemed adolescent, Boethius gives vent to his bitterness, freeing his memories, abandoning himself, stretched out on a bed, to his heart-breaking confession. In the same way, with an equal amount of passion, Augustine had spoken to Monica—until he reached ecstasy.

The Conspiracy of Silence

As we shall see later, in more detail, immediately after the death of Boethius, his logical works were copied in Constantinople, an initiative most certainly willed by the powerful members of the Anicius family, who were living in the East, in order to honor the memory of their relative. In Italy, things took a different turn. The epitome of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which is commonly designated as *Feliciana*, has handed down to us an important piece of information concerning the executions of Boethius and Symmachus. The text, probably written shortly after the events, recalls that the bodies of the two senators were hidden: "*Theodoricus tenuit duos senatores exconsulibus et patricios, gladio interfecit, Boetium et Symmachum, quorum etiam corpora abscondi praecepit*" [Theodoric kept in jail two Roman senators, two patricians, former consuls, Boethius and Symmachus, and ordered them to be killed with a sword. Then he ordered their bodies to be buried in a secret grave]. The same information is repeated in the *Cononian epitome*, also written close to the time of the events: "*Dum uero Iohannem episcopum unacum uiris inlustris positum in Constantinopolim, rex Theodericus tenuit duos senatores, Boethium et Symmacum patricium, gladio interfecit et abscondi praecepit*" [Being Pope John in Constantinople, with other illustrious men of his circle, Theodoric kept in jail two Roman Senators, two patricians, former consuls, Boethius and Symmachus, and ordered them to be to killed with a sword. Then he ordered their bodies to be buried in a secret grave].[9]

That the bodies of Boethius and Symmachus were hidden is not without significance. The execution of the two illustrious representatives of the Latin aristocracy was, without doubt, a scandal of unheard-of propor-

[9] "*Epitome Feliciana*," 55.5 (*Epitome Feliciana,* in *Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum, pars I: Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Theodore Mommsen [Berolini, 1898]).

tions. One understands, therefore, the necessity of covering the whole event under a veil of silence, hiding even the place of burial.

If the bodies of the victims of Theodoric had been found, the same thing would have happened which had happened with the bodies of the third victim of his cruel persecutions, namely Pope John I. As the Anonymous Valesian reports, a great crowd gathered in front of the remains of the pope, with unexpected consequences:

> *Euntes populi ante corpusculum eius, subito unus de turba adeptus a daemonio cecidit, et dum pervenissent cum lectulo ubi latus erat usque ad hominem, subito sanus surrexit et praecedebat in exsequias. Quod videntes populi et senatores, coeperunt reliquias de veste eius tollere. Sic cum summo gaudio populi deductum est corpus eius foris civitatem.*[10]
>
> [The crowd went before his small body, and suddenly someone was possessed by the devil, but when he arrived to the bed in which the body was lying, he was free from the evil and decided to lead the others to the body. When the others and the senators saw it, began to take away some pieces of the pope's dress. Then they carried the body out of the town.]

By withdrawing the bodies of the martyrs from the public eye, Theodoric was carrying out a kind of veiled *damnatio memoriae*, imposing a taboo that could not be violated.[11] It is not mere coincidence that, in recalling one of the enemies of Boethius, Decoratus (who, moreover, had been a *protégé* of Anicius Faustus *Niger*), Cassiodorus, who writes in the name of the Amal king, refers to his participation at the "famous trial" of the philosopher, without any further details. Neither does it seem to be a coincidence that there is no trace of Boethius's written defense, to which the philosopher refers in the *Consolatio*: in it, the scandalous sequence of the false accusations and of the condemnation was reconstructed, revealing most probably many of the backstage dealings.

The conspiracy of silence set up against Boethius and Symmachus was maintained also after the death of Theodoric, despite the implicit disavowal of his successors. Amalasuntha, having obtained the regency, returned the goods sequestrated by the king to the relatives of the two senators, without any exaggerated public outcry, avoiding thus to openly disapprove her father's deeds, as the report of the episode shows in Procopius. With the same degree of discretion, Cassiodorus avoided the

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[10] Anonymous Valesianus 15 (*Anonymus Valesianus*, ed. Romolo Cessi [Rome, 1913]).

[11] On this topic, see Massimiliano Vitiello, "*Accusarentur saecula, si talis potuisset latere familia*," in *The Ghost of Severinus Boethius in the Italy of the Goths* (in print for *Historia*).

insertion in his collection of *Variae*, many years later, of the official letter which had justified such an action.

In the meanwhile, however, the name of Boethius was not forgotten, and his last work was read and quoted by those who disapproved, clandestinely, of the Goths' regime. But such references were not strong enough to tear the curtain of official silence which was wrapped around the public *persona* of Boethius. The philosopher is explicitly remembered by Maximianus in often-discussed lines: according to some, they denigrate Boethius, according to others, much the contrary. Whichever is the right signification of the words of Maximianus, these lines reveal a private side of Boethius and do not serve to re-establish his public reputation.

As for the *Consolatio*, there are evident traces of it in Arator and Elpidius Domnulus,[12] but this merely shows that the work was circulating, though restricted to the elite circles of Ravenna and Rome. Arator was in direct contact with the family of Ennodius, who was related to Boethius. Most probably, it is through the family and the mediation of the bishop of Pavia, successor of Ennodius, that the last work of Boethius was copied and put into circulation. This circulation is, without doubt, an important and significant phenomenon, but of necessarily limited scope. In addition, this circulation corresponded, symmetrically, as in the form of a countermelody, to the use of quotations from the *Consolatio* in the official letters of the Amal leaders written by Cassiodorus to exalt the ideal of the good governance of the philosopher king, which we have already mentioned. As, indeed, we have noted elsewhere,[13] the last work of Boethius is used in the letter that celebrates the establishment of Athalaric, to glorify the memory of Theodoric.

The fall of the Gothic rule gave way to a greater freedom of speech with regard to Boethius and Symmachus. The veil of silence that covered the public figures of the two victims of the *rabies* of Theodoric was torn asunder. The time had come finally to express a critical judgment of Theodoric. And the judgment, which, until then, had been only muttered under one's breath, was formulated with authority, regardless of the difficulties and the violence of the Gothic war which began again after the election of Totila.

Someone, before the beginning of the war, had found the courage to break the conspiracy of silence, animated by the Pauline circumspection

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[12] Fabio Troncarelli, *Tradizioni perdute: la 'Consolatio Philosophiae' nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1981), pp. 84–88.

[13] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni*, pp. 82–83.

towards the *novissima tempora*. For in the tragic scenario of the war to come, it seemed that not only every last remain of civilization should collapse once and for all, and not only the western Empire, as Jordanes and Marcellinus wished, not only the prosperous and tolerant Italy of Theodoric, as Procopius wanted, but the whole world, the City of Men, devastated by the ever more unbearable heat of the burning City of God which was looming in the horizon. It is in this context of desperation and destruction that a mysterious echo was repeated from the beginning of the war, that the death of Symmachus had been unjust. It was a lonely cry, a far-away shrill call, a distraught hymn to dignity, to honor, to the glory of the Romans, which resounded in the ears with the terror-stricken force of the trumpets announcing the *Dies irae* in a Requiem mass. Dionysius Exiguus—inspired by St Paul, who encouraged Christians to face, fearlessly, the end of time—was the first to possess the strength to open Pandora's box: in the preface of his translation of the *Vita Pachomii*,[14] he spoke with warmth, and movingly, of Symmachus,[15] though he did not dare yet to utter his name. Cassiodorus, who was a friend of Dionysius, admired him greatly and knew the *Vita Pachomii*, which he quotes in his *De anima*, and understood the implicit exhortation of his friend. He echoed it, a short time later, breaking, in turn, the conspiracy of silence, which he himself had helped to foster. Symmachus and Boethius, finally named, appear thus publicly as models of virtue in the *Ordo generis Cassiodororum*.[16]

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[14] *Dionysius* Exiguus, *Vita Pachomii*, ed. Hendrik van Cranenburgh (Brussels, 1969).

[15] That it is really of Symmachus of whom he is speaking has been recognized for some time already by scholars. The first indication of this was provided by Heribert Rosweyde in his edition of the translation of the life of Pachomius (in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina* 73 [Paris, 1849], cols 227–72 [hereafter PL]). According to Rosweyde, the matron to whom the text was dedicated was Galla, the daughter of Symmachus. This identification has been accepted by some; however, others claim that the matron is instead Proba, another daughter of Symmachus. For further details, see "Proba," in *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2, *"Italie,"* ed. Charles Pietri and Luce Pietri (Paris, 2000). We should like to recall here, nevertheless, that the dedication of the *Vita*—as it has been handed down by the manuscripts—tends to indicate Galla as the dedicatee, for the matron to whom the text is addressed is mentioned in similar terms to those used by Fulgentius of Ruspe to address Galla specifically. Indeed, the dedication of Dionysius reads: "Dominae venerandae *mihi et* in Christo *quoque magnificentissimae*," while that of Fulgenzio (*Ep.* 2) reads: "Dominae *vere illustri* in Christi *timore* venerabili *filiae Gallae*."

[16] Alain Galonnier, *Anecdoton Holderi ou Ordo generis Cassiodororum. Eléments pour une étude de l'authénticitè boècienne des Opuscula Sacra* (Louvain, 1997).

There is no doubt that the work of Cassiodorus had a different signification from the preface of Dionysius: the two texts emerge from two different points of view, the one secular, the other religious; they have, moreover, distinct functions and goals. Yet, the two eulogies of Symmachus converge, however different in nature, towards a single direction, for they exalt a man who had been unjustly annihilated from the cultural and psychological horizon of the Italy of his time. Cassiodorus and Dionysius, who already were so similar, end up by resembling each other once again. For in both authors, the reference points used to interpret reality, are the Roman *civitas* and the Christian *pietas*. To express the hate of the murderers who kill members of their own family for the lust for power (probably Theodatus), Dionysius finds it natural to quote Livy (*Ab urbe* 40.5.1, cf. *Vita Pachomii, Praef.*, 21); while Cassiodorus recalls how Symmachus wrote the history of Rome, following the example of his relatives, who edited a memorable edition of Livy. Dionysius affirms that Symmachus had a "*perfectam vitae regulam*" [a perfect rule of life] and Cassiodorus speaks of him as a "*vir philosophus*" [a true philosopher].

Dionysius claims that Symmachus bore "*fortiter*" [bravely] his enemies "*pro iustitia*" [for justice], but also that he knew how to die "*pro veritate, id est Christus*" [for Truth, that is Christ]. Cassiodorus affirms that Symmachus was an imitator of Cato, but that, in virtue of the Christian religion, he surpassed his model. In both authors, we find the idea that Symmachus surpassed the virtue of the ancients with his own virtue: the "*virtus admiranda* [...] *vix antiquis effablis*" [his splendid virtue (...) difficult to conceive even for the great men of the past] of Dionysius recalls the "*virtutes veterum*" [virtues of the great men of the past] which Symmachus "*transcendit*" [was able to practice in a better way]. Also, for Boethius himself, Symmachus was "*totus ex sapientia et virtutibus factus*" (*Consolatio* 2p4.5) [utterly molded by Wisdom and Virtue]. The *virtus* of Symmachus was, according to Dionysius, the opposite of the vices of his enemies, "*habentes speciem quidam pietatis, virtutem* [...] *abnegantes*" [concealed under a beautiful mask of virtue and, in fact, denying it]. There is an echo of this in the *Vita Boethii* of Cassiodorus's edition, which defines Symmachus as a man truly "*speciosus*" [beautiful] diametrically opposed to his enemies, who only have a "*speciem pietatis*" [a beautiful mask]. According to the *Vita Boethii*, Symmachus is "*totius virtutis specimine ornato*" [adorned of the beautiful shining of virtue], taking up a formula used in the *Expositio Psalmorum* in which Cassiodorus explains that "speciosus *dicimus quod gratia* [...] ornatur" [we call beautiful one who is adorned of holy grace] (*Exp. Ps.*, p. 404).

The comparison between the *Vita Pachomii*, the *Ordo*, and indirectly the *Vita Boethii* is revealing: the eulogy of Symmachus turns on the same concepts and, at times, uses the same words. Apart from all the political implications of the letter addressed to Cethegus, and apart from the results which Cassiodorus expected to obtain, the sole fact of speaking again openly, of men like Symmachus, was, in itself, a result.

The Reputation of Boethius Between the 6th and 8th Centuries

The end of Gothic rule made it possible to speak freely of Boethius. The *Liber pontificalis* marked the Amal king with the epithet of "*hereticus*" and stigmatized, concisely but firmly, his unjust behavior towards Boethius, Symmachus, and Pope John I. An analogous judgment is the grounding for the second part of the Anonymous Valesian, which describes the regression of Theodoric, instigated by the devil. Differing in part, but close to it, is the judgment of Procopius of Caesarea who, in a famous passage, does not hesitate to condone the behavior of Theodoric towards Boethius and Symmachus, presenting it, however, as the only serious error committed by the king, who was so weighed down by remorse for his mistake that he fell ill and died.

In addition to this, the reputation of Boethius was properly consecrated by a series of intellectual contributions by Cassiodorus, at first in Constantinople, with an edition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*[17] and then in Vivarium, through the use of Boethius's logical treatises within the cultural program of the *Institutiones*.[18]

From the time of Gregory the Great, the name of Boethius seems to disappear once again, within a more general context of regression of the cultural and social life in Europe. However, there are some traces of the

[17] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni*; idem, "Tradizioni ritrovate? Risposta ad alcune obiezioni a un libro recente," *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 31 (1985), 215–26; idem, *Boethiana Aetas. Modelli grafici e tradizione manoscritta della "Consolatio Philosophiae" tra IX e XII secolo* (Alessandria, 1987) (Biblioteca di "Scrittura e Civiltà," II); idem, "Una nuova edizione della *Consolatio Philosophiae* nel CCSL," *Scriptorium* XLI (1987), 133–50; idem, "La più antica interpretazione della *Consolatio Philosophiae*," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 72 (1988), 501–50; idem, "Immagini tardoantiche nei codici di Boezio," *Schede Medievali* 17 (1989), 342–68; idem; "Boezio a Costantinopoli: testi, contesti, edizioni," *Litterae Caelestes* 3 (2008), 203–36; and idem, *Trice-born Boethius* (forthcoming).

[18] An authoritative account of the question is found in John Magee, "The Text of Boethius' *De Divisione*," *Vivarium* 32 (1994), 1–50; and Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii, *De divisione liber*, ed. J. Magee (Leiden, 1998).

survival of the works of Boethius in authors of the 7th and 8th centuries, as, for example, in Aldhelm or Tatwine;[19] this explains the "rediscovery" made by Alcuin, who, from youth, has at his disposal an imprecise number of texts of the Roman philosopher in the York library.

Boethius and His Public

The final work of Boethius has fascinated, over many centuries, his medieval readers, both as an irreplaceable element of a new cultural elaboration and as a document, as the reflection of a human grandeur, of an ideal of nobility and courage, shared by the reader, whoever he may be, with an always indisputable emotion. Even the more polemical reactions never lack a fearful respect that goes well beyond simple medieval veneration for *auctoritas*. And yet, Boethius is an author who, from many aspects, is seemingly alien to the medieval culture: for how can the monk, who spends his time in prayer and meditation over the Bible, be interested in a layman who spends his time reading pagan philosophy, starting with Plato and Aristotle, and who, in the face of death, turns to Philosophy and not to Christ? At the same time, we should remember that Boethius wrote works on theology which were often used by medieval theologians.[20] He is thus a "two-faced," Janus-like author who, for this reason, raised problems for his own critics, who were incapable of utterly refuting him, even when they found themselves in difficulty because of some of his theories.

To understand the problem in all its complexity, we need, most certainly, to read the commentaries on Boethius, in particular on the *Consolatio* and on the *Opuscula sacra*; and we need to read and interpret the explicit declarations of the medieval authors who worked on these texts. This is the path taken by the great scholars of the 20th century, most prominent of whom is Pierre Courcelle.[21] For him, in the Middle Ages, there were vehement debates concerning Boethius, opposing the orthodox, on the one hand, who were suspicious of the not very Christian theories of the philosopher and the heterodox, and on the other, who were dangerously favorable to the pagan theories hidden in the *Consolatio*. The testimonies to this debate are often contradictory and disconcerting, just as discon-

[19] Troncarelli, *Tradizioni*, pp. 107–27.

[20] Fabio Troncarelli, "Aristoteles piscatorius. Note sulle opere teologiche di Boezio e sulla loro fortuna," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), 3–20.

[21] Courcelle, *La consolation de Boèce dans la tradition littéraire*.

certing as the lack, at times, of trustworthy critical editions of the main commentaries. For this reason, scholars sometimes have reached opposing conclusions, and the enigma of Boethius's popularity in the Middle Ages has not been resolved, just as, the enigma represented by Boethius himself is not resolved, whom the scholars define, not by chance, in two apparently opposed ways: the "Last of the Romans" and the "First of the Scholastics."

Some assistance better to understand what took place can be found in an enquiry which itself is Janus-faced, as it brings to light, on the one hand, the philosophical and theological position of Boethius, and on the other, the manuscript circulation of his works. Personally, I have devoted a great deal of attention to this second aspect, without neglecting the first, however. I have, in effect, carried out the census and the analytic description of 135 codices of the *Consolatio* between the 9th and 12th centuries,[22] a project undertaken together with Armando Petrucci, many years ago, which has been enriched, over time, by many other additional enquiries, such as the census, with a more synthetic description, of the *Theological Works* between the 9th and 12th centuries. These are works of research that differ greatly from the so-called "quantitative codicology." The census of the manuscripts and the evaluation of their structural aspects does not arise, in effect, from the love of numbers and statistics, but is aimed at an enquiry of a cultural kind, in which the material and quantitative data must be correlated with the cultural aspects of the phenomenon under examination. In analyzing the interpretations of the man and his works, one understands better that which is suggested by the codicology.

The results of the codicological research are complementary with the philosophical research and show that the seemingly two faces of Boethius are actually the two sides of the same coin. For, in turning to the manuscript circulation of the works of Boethius, wondering with which other works it was associated, we can evaluate the results of this enquiry by linking them with an analysis at a cultural level. This brings to light the general categories of thought with which Boethius's works were connected. In this way, the main lines of his enduring and profound success will appear more simple to understand:

[22] Fabio Troncarelli, *Cogitatio mentis. L'eredità di Boezio nell'Alto Medioevo* (Naples, 2005).

1) Boethius has always been considered an *auctoritas* and a complete *auctor*. He always has been assessed as constituting a whole: he is a philosopher, a theologian, and a poet who has written important works, which cannot be disregarded. Therefore, he cannot be condemned on the basis of one single work: even his most relentless opponent, Bovo of Corvey, says so, who, though attacking the Platonic theories presented in the *Consolatio*, notes explicitly that Boethius is a great theologian, of whom he himself has made good use. As a consequence, it is implicit, in such a judgment of Boethius, that he cannot be judged on having committed an error in just one work.
2) The eventual hostility against Boethius manifested by very few authors, in comparison with the many others who approve and exalt him, is often merely exterior and superficial and is not enough to raise a discussion about the good reputation of the philosopher, whose poems are often sung in Church as though they were sacred hymns and whose words are just as often used as though they were sermons.[23]
3) Boethius's good reputation and the positive evaluation of his philosophical contribution were supported by a general idea, elaborated by the Church Fathers and subsequently rather widespread in the early Middle Ages, according to which there is no contrast between Philosophy and Faith. Rather, the contrast lies between True Philosophy, inspired by Christianity, and False Philosophy, professed by the pagan authors. It is on the basis of this conception that the monk has often been defined as the perfect "philosopher."

In the light of what we already have said, we can understand one of the dominant themes in the interpretation of Boethius during the early Middle Ages: namely, the identification between Boethian Philosophy and biblical Knowledge, which is emphasized with great insistence by the commentators, in the miniatures, in the re-elaboration of the *Consolatio*

[23] This is, for instance, what explains the re-elaboration of the 4th Theological Treatise into the form of a Homily in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1370 (9th c.), and the re-elaboration of the *Vitae Boethii I* and *II* of the Peiper edition, in the form of a prophecy on the Roman Empire attributed to St Paul in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 825 and 845 (of the 10th and 9th c.). In the same way, we should consider the collections of Boethian poetry, which are associated with the compositions of Christian poets and the common practice of setting to music, as liturgical hymns, many of these poems. That is to say, we are confronted with attempts of inserting Boethian motifs within the body of everyday religious practices, of the everyday Christian life of monks, without any mediation, with the same ease with which the ancient columns were used to construct medieval cathedrals.

of that period, and is reflected also in the association made in certain codices of the *Consolatio* with texts such as the *Carmina XII sapientium* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 2772; cf. Bibliothèque nationale de France 7925), or the *Distichi Catonis* (Montpellier, École de Méd., H 306; Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35).

This interpretation can be found already in Alcuin and subsequently in other authors and commentators. According to Alcuin, Boethius refers to Philosophy as Knowledge—or to use the words of one of the commentaries traditionally attributed to Remigius—"[...] *rationem dicit sapientiam Dei*" (ed. Silvestre, p. 51) [(...) human reason is Divine reason]. Boethius, whether he erred or not on certain questions, is fundamentally a poet-philosopher who explains to his Christian public, with the emphasis worthy of the best religious poetry, the relationships between created beings and the created world, between the individual and reality, and between microcosm and macrocosm. It is an instinctive Platonism, an obscure and potent faith in the unity and the harmony of a cosmos (whose features are difficult to know without the help of ancient culture in all of its complexity). As such, it constitutes a profound reason that enables, over the centuries, a coherent and stable trust in the *Consolatio*. Boethius is not the author of a single season of thought.

Having established this point, we can present the data retrieved through our census of the manuscripts of the *Consolatio* and the *Opuscula sacra*. The results of the research wholly confirm what we have claimed.[24]

Boethius Associated with Boethius

The first association to take into consideration is that of Boethius with Boethius. For there are two kinds of *corpus* of Boethian works in which we find the *Consolatio*: the first kind has a "religious" character, which groups the *Consolatio* with the theological works; the second is "lay," and combines it to the logical works or to the *De arithmetica* and the *De musica*, as a kind of *discours de la méthode*. Do such associations reflect an ancient practice? We can answer, most certainly, in the affirmative, as two significant elements can demonstrate: the first is the notice found in the ancient

[24] In our brief summary, we leave aside, for lack of space, the question of the translations of Boethius's works, which we shall only mention rapidly. For general information about this aspect, see Fabio Troncarelli, *Boezio*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, vol. 2, *Il Medioevo volgare*, vol. 3 (Rome, 2003), pp. 302–29.

editions of Boethius's works through subscriptions preserved in the Carolingian editions; the second is the presence of certain associations made already in the most ancient manuscripts of the *Consolatio* which show clear traces of the imitations of Late Antique antigraphs.

We know that the works of Boethius were grouped in the form of a *corpus* by his contemporaries: a subscription of Renatus Martius Novatus, from the Anicii circles, preserved as part of a small number of codices, shows us that certain logical works were copied and grouped together in Constantinople, probably a short while after the death of the philosopher. Moreover, the testimony of Cassiodorus in the *Anecdoton Holderi* can perhaps be understood as a hint to the practice of grouping together theological treatises, written in different times and circumstances. Is it possible also that the *Consolatio* came to be added, during that period, to the volumes which covered part of the logical production and the theological writings? In our opinion, it is reasonable to answer positively to such a question, for the reasons that we shall now present.

The first is that in two of the codices, which have preserved the subscription of Novatus, we find, directly or indirectly, the *Consolatio*. In the Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 1478, written at Cluny towards the end of the 10th century by two scribes who worked together, the *Consolatio* is placed before two of the famous logical texts of the corpus of Constantinople, the *De differentiis topicis* and the *De divisione*, which shows the subscription of Novatus. In another codex, Montecassino, Arcivio della Badia 191, the two logical works mentioned are accompanied by another text from the various treatises of the Constantinopolitan *corpus*, namely the *Introductio ad syllogismos cathegoricos* (only Book 2): the *Consolatio* appears here as well, given that in *c.*74r, between the end of the *De Divisione* and the beginning of the next text, there is the erroneously reported drawing of the elements in relationship to the seasons and the ages of man, of which we have traces in many medieval codices of the *Consolatio*.

We must thus admit the hypothesis that there was more than one prototype of the Constantinopolitan *corpus*: a fact which is already known indirectly, for in the Brussels codex of the 11th century (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 10066–77), a long note which follows the index of the *corpus* shows that Boethius himself (who, moreover, probably partially revised the text himself) had given his works a different order from that which subsequently became the "traditional" order. The index of the manuscript shows, in effect, more than one significant shift of place of the treatises.

We know in addition, that, during the life of Boethius himself, other collections of logical writings were in circulation: Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek 324, of the 10th–11th century, is a rather faithful copy of a *corpus* revised by the author which is composed of different texts from the Constantinopolitan *corpus*.

The existence of different editions of the treatises of Boethius should not disconcert us: the Constantinopolitan *corpus* had a more "rhetorical" tenor, while the *corpus* represented by the Einsiedeln manuscript seems to be more "dialectical." Other associations may have been made, with the intention of emphasizing other aspects of the Boethian works. This brings us directly to the Late Antique period, when such texts were read and understood. In the early Middle Ages, the traditions of the past were taken up mechanically, until the time, when, through a process of in-depth study and reflection, the actual ancient texts were available. It is probable that the "fluid" state of the codices which is reported by the Constantinopolitan *corpus* can be explained in reference to the meeting in it of different ancient traditions, all equally authoritative, to which is humbly added some early medieval contribution, as for example the association/intrusion of the Carolingian treatises, placed separately from the rest.

In addition to the possibility of an ancient association between the *Consolatio* and the texts of a logical tenor, we must consider also that of an equally ancient edition, which would cover the philosophical testament of Boethius and the *Opuscula sacra*. Of such an edition, there are visible traces in the ancient manuscripts, such as, for example, in the most ancient codex of the *Consolatio*, the Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 270, which preserves many external aspects of a Late Antique edition.

The *Opuscula sacra* circulate together, always in the form of a *corpus*, sometimes associated with the *Consolatio* and sometimes alone, though in two of the families of the manuscript tradition, the fourth treatise is missing from the *corpus*, and in another, the fifth. The fourth treatise raised doubts, at times, in the Middle Ages and in more recent times, about its authenticity, because it is different from the others: it is a text which appears to be very simple, almost a catechism. However, the Medieval and modern doubts have been silenced once and for all, since the discovery of the so-called *Anecdoton Holderi*, a fragment of a letter written by Cassiodorus to the leader of the exiled Latins in Constantinople, Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus, in which the theological treatises of Boethius are mentioned and the fourth in particular.

Actually the text, seemingly simple, is more complex than at first sight, and its signification is different from what we might think. For indeed, it

lacks the prologue in which Boethius explains his intentions, and which is present in all the other works by Boethius. I was fortunate enough to find a fragment of this prologue in a codex written in St Gall towards the end of the 9th century, which shows the extremely refined character of the text, defined in the proem as a *summa*, a term which was to have an incredible success in the Scholastic period.[25] Boethius intended to fix the fundamental points of the Christian faith, which he briefly summarizes, in theological terms, of the first principles revealed by the Scriptures: just as in mathematics, we start off from axioms which are subsequently developed into a series of arguments, theorems, and corollaries, so also in theology we begin with the axioms revealed by God from which a series of arguments are developed, grounded, thus, by a, so to speak, "scientific" method, subsequently applied to singular cases in the other theological works.

The Carolingian authors quote the theological works in order to support their claims and also make use, however primitively, of logic by appealing to the texts of Boethius. The theological treatises of Boethius, already known to Alcuin, are used in the works written in the wake of the debates concerning the soul during the mid-9th century by Ratramnus of Corbie, Gottschalk, and Paschasius Radbertus.

As for the *De arithemetica* and the *De musica*, it is difficult to say whether or not these texts circulated together with other Boethian works in the form of a *corpus*, though we can be sure that at least for the *De arithmetica*, the archetype was revised by Boethius himself, as a subscription attests that is widespread in the codices. We should recall that, in the authoritative codex of Naples, Bibliotheque Nazionale IV.G.68, which depends, for sure, on a Late Antique archetype, we find the *Consolatio*, the theological works, and also the *De arithmetica*. This leaves us with at least the suspicion that also the *De arithmetica* was part of the texts associated with the *Consolatio* already in the most ancient times (with respect to the Middle Ages). This does not mean we should think of enormous editions of the complete works of Boethius: in the same context, in Constantinople and in Vivarium, there could have been circulating, contemporaneously, various editions, with different associations, all of which were equally authoritative for the copyists of the following era. In this way, diverging parallel traditions were formed, though deriving from ancient models. Of this we have direct and indirect testimonies: to cite the

[25] Troncarelli, *Cogitatio*, pp. 301–36.

most well-known example, suffice it to think of the difference between the logical *corpus* recommended by Cassiodorus, which contains some of the works of Boethius, together with pseudo-Apuleius and Aristotle (translated by Boethius in one version of the *Institutiones*, and by Victorinus in another) and the Constantinopolitan *corpus* of which Cassiodorus seems not to have been aware. We find the influence of the two traditions within the same circles, without the one dominating the other. Thus, for example, in Swiss circles, the works recommended by Cassiodorus appear in Reichenau before anywhere else in the West, already at the beginning of the 9th century, in a "contaminated" version. In the "pure" version, they reappear not too far away (probably in the Einsiedeln area) in the codex already mentioned, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 324, between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. In the same period, in St Gall, Notker translates into German two of these texts, the Aristotelian *Categoriae* in their Boethian version and the *De Interpretatione*, following, as far as we can tell from the whole of his works, the advice of Cassiodorus, an author who was particularly well loved in these circles. But, a century later, in the same St Gall, Ekkehard IV "discovers" and orders copies of the *corpus* of Novatus, which is thus added to the existing translations and copies, as an autonomous adjunct. Thus, within restricted circles, various versions are in circulation, as different *corpora*, each with its own authority and with its own ancient tradition, without the one superseding the other.

Other Associations: The *Consolatio* Associated with Other Texts

Other associations are quick to appear together with the *Consolatio*: such is the case, for example, with its association with a group of "Christian poets" such as Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, and Avitus, which is widespread already in the 9th century. This kind of connection is frequent, especially in the miscellaneous anthologies, the *florilegia*, sometimes even within collections of hymns. It is obvious that the relationships between Boethius and the aforementioned poets were established in early medieval times. The same goes for all the other forms of associations of the Carolingian period. The most immediate to be made is that with Martianus Capella: the very structure of the *Consolatio*, modeled on the *satura menippea*, encouraged the encounter with the *De nuptiis*, not to mention the frequent references Boethius makes to the work of Martianus, which the medievals did not miss. More generally, we should recall that the two

authors were linked by certain obvious affinities, intrinsic and extrinsic, as for example, the eclecticism with respect to Platonism and their common familiarity with the school. Both, moreover, were masters, *par excellence*, of the liberal arts, necessary steps towards perfection, according to Alcuin, and integral parts of the soul, created together with it, according to John Scotus and Remigius of Auxerre.

It is to this same Scholastic perspective of pious erudite eclecticism that we should appeal to in order to comprehend the not infrequent connection made between the *Consolatio*, as a *summa* of ancient knowledge, and the *summae* of the grammatical knowledge of certain great authors, such as Donatus and Priscian, or the works of the minor grammarians (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13026; Cologne 175; Bern, Burgerbibliothek 179; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 1470; Montpellier, École de Méd., H 406). Setting aside the properly medieval mentality, such associations have, from a wider perspective, an historical sense, given that, for example, Priscian had been very much tied to the group of the Anicii and to their cultural program, dedicating to Symmachus the *De Figuris*, the *De Metris Terentiani*, and the *De Praeexcitamentis*. In addition, Flavius Manilius Theodorus, who had transcribed in Constantinople some of Boethius's logical works, has also transcribed, as is well known, Priscian's *Institutiones*. In other words, the grouping together of the *Consolatio* with works such as Priscian's or Martianus Capella's have the advantage of presenting together authors connected by their common origin, as representatives of that Latin aristocratic culture of Late Antiquity in which the knowledge of the past seems to be recapitulated and condensed, almost with the obscure awareness of an imminent ending. Thus, whether the medievals were aware of it or not, relating these authors together makes sense.[26]

In addition to the associations with authors, similar or close for formal or cultural reasons, we find, clearly distinct, the associations which arise from the interpretation of the content itself of the spiritual "testament" of the last of the Romans: the medieval erudites have gathered together works which, for us, differ substantially, on the grounds that they thought them of comparable quality, if not of comparable content, from their point of view. As we already have mentioned, Pierre Courcelle has illustrated,

[26] Already in the 9th century, one of the *accessus* to Boethius's texts emphasised that "[…] [*Boethius*] *hos libros per satyram edidit imitatus videlicet Marcianum Felicem Capellam qui prius libros de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii eadem specie poematis conscripserat* […]" (A.M.S. Boethii, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. R. Peiper [Leipzig, 1885], p. xxi).

with a rich documentation, the problems, the questions, even the curiosities which the text awoke in its medieval readers. He has paid particular attention to the more straightforwardly theoretical line of the commentaries of Boethius, favoring mostly the speculative dimension, linked to the developments of Platonism in the early Middle Ages. The conclusions we arrive at here, however, through the examination of the manuscripts of the *Consolatio*, are in partial contrast with this tendency. The most common interpretation among the educated readership of the Carolingian world tended rather to class the *Consolatio* in a different genre from that of pure speculation. Indeed, it is rare to find codices in which the *Consolatio* is associated with authors of Platonic stamp, even as *excerpta*, or with "technical" texts, as for example the works of Macrobius or Calcidius, doubtlessly voluminous and complex texts which are but little adapted to accompany a work of wide circulation such as the *Consolatio*.[27] There are, however, numerous associations with "moral" authors such as Persius, Seneca, Prudentius, and Juvenal, and with works of moralizing inspiration and content, or, in any case, ascribable to Stoic ethics, as, for example, Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Cicero's *De amicitia*.[28] This corresponds perfectly to

[27] To be precise, there are only four manuscripts between the 9th and 12th centuries that present an association with philosophical texts; three of these are of the 12th century. The codices are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18208 (XII sec.); Tournai, Bibliothèque municipale 74 (XII sec.); Sydney, Nicholson Museum 2 (XII sec.); and London, British Library, Add. 15601 (X sec.). We could, perhaps, add to these the codex London, British Library, Harley 4092, in which, from what may be gathered from a late note at the end of the *Consolatio*, the *Timaeus* would have been found; however, the codex is a composite, and we do not know whether the Platonic work was added at the same period and in the same context as the Boethian text.

[28] There are 13 codices that present the *Consolatio* together with moralizing authors: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 421; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8039 (a codex that I consider as miscellaneous and not composite, cf. card n. 32 of the census), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8318, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13026, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15090 (now only Boethius, but previously contained Persius: cf. Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation*, p. 241 n. 3); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.G.68; Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1093; Cambridge, University Library, Gg.5.35; London, British Library, Harley 4092, London, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Add. 15601 (which contains Calcidius, but also Prudentius and Persius); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F.1.15; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3363 (now only Boethius, but originally, as the glossary at the end proves, used to contain Prudentius); Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek 302. These are all manuscripts which are obviously produced by the same *atelier*, in which the associations are drawn from the original version. Other associations are not less significant, however, produced at different periods, of elements taken from various *scriptoria*: in this case the number of codices of the *Consolatio* which present also moral works is duplicated, while the number of copies with speculative works is extremely small. We should note that in the grouping together of Boethius with Martianus and Priscian, a considerable role was played by the opinion that: "[...] *l'enseignement de*

the repeated conviction expressed throughout the Middle Ages, according to which the *Consolatio* was a moral treatise, as William of Conches affirms, "*Ethice vere supponitur quia sermo est de moribus* [...] [The text belongs to ethics because it deals with human behavior (...)]." Boethius was not a neo-Platonic philosopher, then, but a master for life.

Magnificus Boethius

Many intellectuals, from the time of John Scotus to the Chartres school, will appeal to the authority of Boethius to justify their own positions. But the authority of Boethius will continue to exist, when that of many other thinkers, often original, will slowly vanish. From this point of view, it is interesting to examine the relationship between the *Consolatio*, the *Opuscula sacra*, and John Scotus. As Giulio d'Onofrio has shown,[29] there are traces specifically of the works of Boethius in the writings of the great philosopher, especially in the formulation of a theory that runs parallel to that of Boethius on Fate and Providence, in terms of which are distinguished the *tempora saecularia* and the *tempora aeterna*. The teaching of Scotus encouraged his students: one of them, Remigius of Auxerre, made a commentary on the *Consolatio* and the *Opuscula sacra*. Remigius was not an utterly original commentator: he pursued, to a great extent, pre-existing traditions, contributing himself only in part. His work was, in turn, taken up and re-elaborated in eclectic works, or in proper "revisions," which emphasize this or that aspect of his interpretation, modifying many points. In any case, he presented there the theories of Eriugena which have been taken up by his students, re-elaborating on his comments, in such an "Eriugenian" way that more than one scholar has claimed that they are the works of the great Irish thinker himself.

The adversaries of Scotus and of Boethius did not have much possibility to affect such a granitic tradition. The reputation of the *Consolatio* survived, beyond any polemics, undisturbed and indifferent. The work was read, studied, loved, according to enduring lines of interpretation that

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l'éthique est non seulement proche de celle du trivium, elle s'y intègre [...]" [The teaching of ethics is not only close to this trivium, but is integral to it] (P. Delhaye, "L'enseignement de la Philosophie morale au XII' siècle," *Mediaeval Studies* 11 (1949), 77).

[29] Giulio d'Onofrio, "A proposito del 'Magnificus Boetius.' Un'indagine sulla presenza degli 'Opuscula Sacra' e della 'Consolatio' nell'opera eriugeniana," in *Eriugena. Studien zu seinen Quellen* (Heidelberg, 1980), pp. 189–200, especially pp. 197–99.

defy the disintegrating action of time and seem insensitive to exaggerated reactions, whether positive or negative.

How can we explain, in this case, the anti-Boethian polemic instigated by intellectuals hostile to the latent paganism of certain of the "daring" theories of the Roman philosopher? There exists, no doubt, a dialectical relationship between thinkers and commentators in favor and against the Boethian text. However, it seems to us that this current should be re-dimensioned and considered, as it actually was, as a secondary aspect, though important, which did not contest the overall positive evaluation of the *Consolatio*. The general picture we can reconstruct, between the 9th and 12th centuries, is fundamentally the following: it is only later, with the development of the philosophical culture and the "discovery" of the great depository of traditions and ancient speculative questions, hidden within the Arab culture, that there will be a proper change in the way the *Consolatio* is read. Authors such as the so-called Anonymous of St Gall, Bovo of Corvey, and Otloh of St Emmeram express some diffidence with regard to the *Consolatio*. But their diffidence does not differ from that expressed by a chorus of suspecting censors who, regularly, throughout the early Middle Ages, have manifested a generic apprehension and a generic disturbance in front of the beautiful curves of the "beautiful captive" often more dreamt of or glimpsed at than actually known. As the old men who lustfully spied the chaste Susanna, some author or other will have watched, restlessly, over the *tête-à-tête* with beautiful Philosophy, the symbol, incidentally feminine, of a cultural freedom which is difficult and problematic for a monk. Some authors recall that the philosopher has preferred to discuss "[...] *de platonicorum magis dogmatum vanitate quam de doctrina evangelicae veritate* [...]" [(...) more of the emptiness of Plato's ideas than the truth of the Gospel (...)],[30] but the brilliant formula should not deceive us. It is not an original formula, but a slogan which we find, monotonous and identical, in attacks of all kind, from every conservative author against secular culture, regardless of the specific content of the individual cases, answering to a rhythmic, rather than rational, requirement, in reciting a litany of conjuration, a propitiatory exorcism in the face of disturbing arguments.[31] The poverty of vocabulary reflects the poverty of ideas: before the rediscoveries of Plato and Aristotle between

[30] Bovo of Corvey, *Commento al Libro III, metro IX*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, in *Mittelalterliche Kommentare zum "O qui perpetua,"* in "Sacris Erudiri" IV (1954), 373–426, especially p. 384.

[31] On this point, compare Henri de Lubac, *Esegesi Medievale. I quattro sensi della Scrittura*, ed. Paline (Rome, 1962), pp. 102–54.

the 11th and 12th centuries, the objections to the *Consolatio* are few and far between, limited to circumscribed points, subordinated to a generally positive interpretation of the philosophical content and, most of all, very poorly diffused. There was no need to "Christianize" Boethius in order to insert him into the world of faith. After the required exorcisms, he was considered a profoundly Christian author in himself, and his detractors never failed to specify this, with insistence, almost as though they were frightened themselves by the audacity of their own criticism.[32]

The early medieval authors have never dissociated the quality of Boethius's faith from the kind of man he was. They did not expect from him mystical and breath-taking conversations with God. They expected what he actually was: a "master" who handed down precious and specific teachings.

For the men of the early Middle Ages, the work of Boethius and in particular his spiritual testament, the *Consolatio*, were a sort of mathematical equation about the structure of the world. The objective sanctioning of a challenge made onto reality, of a working hypothesis that found in the religious sentiment its initial points of departure. And this is confirmed, "*more geometrico demonstrata*" [like mathematicians do], by the anxieties and fears which shook the religious soul: the anguish-filled "presence" of the divine, its eternal and immutable unity, the tormenting nostalgia of being enraptured within Him, of "becoming" God: "[...] *sed qui beati sint, deos esse convenit. Est igitur praemium bonorum* [...] *deos fieri* [...]" [(...) but those who are happy, it is agreed, are good. And therefore this is the reward of good men (...) to become gods].[33] These words, which are by neither Augustine nor Ambrose but by the "lay" Boethius, resounded sweetly to the ears of the monks in love with God, as the proof of a prize dreamed of, for a long time, an attestation, also through the language of the world, of a style of life, of a perception of a rarefied reality, of a behavior harshly experienced: the detachment from worldly goods, their gradual

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[32] See, for example, Otloh of St Emmeram, who writes: "[...] *Maior cura mihi est legendo vel scribendo, sequi sanctorum dicta, quam Platonis vel Aristotelis, ipsiusque etiam Boetii dogmata* (note the characteristic theological slogan!). *Qui, licet in dictis plurimis orator fuerit excellentissimus* (*note the excusatio non petita!*) *in quibusdam tamen errasse invenitur* [...]" [When reading and writing, my main goal is to follow the words of the saints rather than the words of Plato or Aristotle, or the philosophy of Boethius, who certainly was a great writer, but sometimes wrote something that was wrong] (*De Tribus Quaestionibus*, PL 146 [Paris, 1853]:62).

[33] *Consolatio* 4p3.30, trans. Tester in *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 333 (hereafter *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*).

devaluation accompanied by a noble regret, the sense of the worthiness and of the dignity of existence which, though it has lost its splendor, has not lost a peaceful clarity, a light, sweet and calm, the silent modesty and sense of intimacy of certain Roman temples, transformed into basilicas. It is the austere joy, which, in the journey of our life, is born out of privation: "[...] *si vitae huius callem vacuus viator intrasses coram latrone cantares* [...]" [Had you entered on life's road an empty-handed traveler, (you) would laugh at robbers (...)].[34]

And Boethius taught precisely this: the consolation of an interiorization that reduces existence to its most abstract and intellectual elements, examined and possessed with analytical patience, such as to gain a taste of certainty, of solidity, though it is directed towards a denial rather than a conclusion. This is the legacy of lucidity and courage that the last of the Romans transmitted to the Middle Ages: this, together with the pessimism and the melancholy of the Stoics—and the yearning for love, the Plotinian fleeing from the world. In this sense, it is the man, Boethius, who, considered from an existential point of view, will have influenced the medieval world, much more than the individual philosophical ideas, which were for a long time, misunderstood or ignored. The men of the early Middle Ages dissented from certain Boethian concepts, with the slightly petty diffidence of the *parvenus* or country-folk with regard to refined society. But they would never contest, until the 12th century, the sense of respect which the moral authority of Boethius inspires. He always will be, as Scotus Eriugena said, the "*magnificus Boethius*," master, more than only of thought, of life. This derived not only from his role as transmitter of so many aspects of ancient culture, but especially from the personal prestige and aura which surrounded him. That he was a layman, such a rarity in the culture of the Middle Ages, will mark the pivotal point for the admiration as well as the usage which shall be made of his works.

Boethius was a great "master": everyone will attend his logical, theological, or moral "school," to understand, especially, the kind of behavior to adopt, as Dante writes, at a time in which the admiration for the philosopher is already considerably diminished, he is:

> *L'anima santa che il mondo fallace*
> *fa manifesto a chi di lei ben ode*. (*Par.*, X, vv. 125–26).
>
> [The holy soul that shows to the good reader
> how much this world is utterly deceiving.]

[34] *Consolatio* 2p5.100–01, trans. Tester in *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation*, p. 207.

Boethius represents this: a *passe-partout*, a master-key to read the reality of man with, a milestone, a point of departure necessary for any kind of claim about the world; thus, in actual fact, what he really was, was namely a "translator," understanding the word in its most elevated signification. His work was, for the medievals, a scientific treatise for the interpretation of things: for this reason, it was read with respect and used whenever possible and necessary, as a medical text of Galen and Hippocrates, or an ancient treatise on the virtues of herbs.

He was the living demonstration of the behavior every man should have with regard to the world and of the distance he should take from it: his tragic but proud life-experience became a paradigm to imitate, the perfect schema of an epic existence, "testifying" to what existence on this earth should be. A grandiose experience of pain and magnanimity that involves a universe—both hostile and harmonious at the same time—and men, in the bitter journey of the pilgrim, "divine" comedy, in which the scene is, true enough, the *theatrum mundi* of the Stoics, but extended at its extremities into an infinity whose limits are unknown, into a freedom whose signification is unknown, into the unexpected which is not rendered less disturbing by the "sense" of Providence, a world which borders on mystery from every side and which lives with mystery as an everyday fact of life, to be taken into consideration every day, as with storms, seasons, famines, and the dark of night. A world, that is, which is fundamentally static, in which the role of man is to reject temptations, just as the Goths and their raids, to flee, to keep a distance, rather than to build, to travel, to move freely with simple trust in order to take possession of the Eden which surrounds them. The devil with his dark wings, to put it like Johan Huizinga, covers the world of the great abbeys with obscurity. Men, in winter time, retire into themselves, at home beside the fire, to talk with someone, or perhaps just with themselves, stunned by a silence which came suddenly, the sense of life: Boethius himself reminds us, in a famous passage, of this psychological situation:

> *Hiemantis anni tempore, in Aureliae montibus concesseramus,atque ibi, tunc cum violentior Auster eiecisset noctis placidam atque exturbasset quietem, recensere libitum est ea quae doctissimi viri an inluminandas quoddamodo res intellectus densitate caliginantissimas quibusdam quasi intoductoriis commentariis ediderunt. Eius ver rei Fabius initium fecit, qui cum me lectulo recumbentem et quaedam super eisdem rebus cogitantem meditantemque vidisset,hortatus est ut quod saepe eram pollicitus aliquam illi eius rei traderem*

> *disciplinam, complacitum est igitur quoniam tunc et familiarium salutationes et domestica negozia cessabant.*[35]
>
> [During the winter we were at my home near the mountain called Soracte, along the Aurelian road. The wind Auster arose, disturbing our quiet, mild night. So, we started discussing what great scholars wrote to explain in some way a very obscure matter, like an introduction to the students. Fabius was the first one to speak, relaxed on the little bed in which we ate dinner, encouraging me to say, eventually, what I realized on this topic, musing or thinking, accomplishing what I have often promised, wiz to share with the others my doctrine. He did so, because having greeted the friends, the dinner was over and the servants disappeared.]

In the sleepy house, at the hour at which all sounds are silenced, a hallucinated, feverish argumentation is unleashed, lucid and incorporeal, in a remote loneliness. The human ideal of the world is a negative ideal: it is the impassive and silent sage, seated in the midst of ruins: Jove, the Psalmist, Augustine, lost in a burning soliloquy with God, the "confession," "retiring into oneself," with the idea of death.

Boethius was much loved in the early Middle Ages, as perhaps no other author was. Every man felt some fascination for this hero of the civilized life who, in the face of death, does not cry out, but reasons; does not cry, but persuades; does not despair, but reflects. And every man was moved, in thinking that his words were written with blood—a strange demoniac pact with the ancients, to lose one's life in exchange for immortality.

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[35] Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen commentorum editio prima,* ed. S. Brandt (Wien-Leipzig, 1906), 1.1.3.

ANICIUS MANLIUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS: A CHRONOLOGY AND SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Philip Edward Phillips

Introduction

This chronology and annotated bibliography includes entries on the works, influence, and life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (*c.*A.D. 480–524/25), famously known as "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged as their countryman" and the "first of the Scholastics." It is intended to be a general guide for graduate students and seasoned scholars alike. This bibliography provides succinct summaries and evaluations of the essential primary Boethian texts as well as important secondary scholarship on those texts and their influence on later writers and thinkers.

This annotated bibliography begins with a timeline and chronology of the life and works of Boethius. All works are listed according to the date on which they are believed to have been written. This timeline is intended to assist readers in placing Boethius's life events and writings within their historical and cultural contexts.

All primary works (Section I) appear in the order assigned by the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (hereafter CPL). Critical editions of the individual Latin works follow and appear chronologically. All secondary works (Section II) are divided according to genre: books, essay collections, articles, chapters, and reviews. The materials listed in Section II appear alphabetically. Other works, including bibliographies, reference works, and journals (Section III) also are listed alphabetically.

This bibliography calls greater attention to major studies on Boethius in English as well as to more recent scholarship not included in currently available bibliographies. Those seeking more comprehensive coverage of earlier research on Boethius are advised to consult the works listed under Bibliographies (Section III.A), especially Joachim Gruber's two *Lustrum* bibliographies (Bde. 39–40, 1997–98) and the recently published supplement (Bde. 52, 2010), Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr.'s *The Medieval* Consolation of Philosophy*: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1992), and Luca Obertello's *Severino Boezio*, vol. 2 (Genoa, 1974).

Timeline and Chronology of Boethius's Major Works

A.D. 410	Alaric the Visigoth sacks Rome
*c.*475–80	Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius born in Rome
476	*Odoacer* deposes Romulus Augustulus, the last Western Roman emperor, who retires in Campania
487	Boethius's father, (? Narius) Manlius Boethius, consul in Rome
489	Theodoric the Ostrogoth sent by the Eastern Emperor Zeno to capture Italy
*c.*490	Death of Boethius's father; Boethius adopted by Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus (consul 485), a descendant of Q. Aurelius Symmachus (consul 391)
491	Accession of Anastatius as Eastern emperor; Theodoric proclaimed king of Italy
493	*Odoacer* defeated by Theodoric; Theodoric becomes king of Italy
495	Boethius marries Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus
*c.*500	*De institutione arithmetica* written, traditionally marking the beginning of Boethius's literary career
*c.*504–05	*In Porphyrii Isagogen, editio prima*
*c.*505–06	*De syllogismis categoricis*
*c.*507	Boethius receives the title of Patrician
*c.*507–09	*In Porphyrii Isagogen, editio secunda*
510	Boethius appointed consul in Rome; *In Aristotelis Categorias* in progress (*c.*509–11); *De institutione musica* written (*c.*510); *In Aristotelis Perihermeneias, editio prima* written (not before 513) and *In Aristotelis Perihermeneias, editio secunda* written (*c.*515–16)
518	Accession of Justin I as Eastern emperor; *De syllogismis hypotheticis* written (*c.*516–22)
*c.*520	*Opuscula sacra* written
522	*In Ciceronis Topica* written (before 522); Boethius's two sons, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius and Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, made joint consuls in Rome; Boethius's encomium to Theodoric; Boethius appointed *magister officiorum* [Master of Offices] under Theodoric at Ravenna; *De topicis differentiis* written (before 523)
523	Death of Pope Hormisdas, replaced by pro-Byzantine Pope John I; Boethius arrested with Albinus and imprisoned without trial
524/525	*De consolatione philosophiae* written, *c.*524; Boethius tortured and executed in Pavia
525/526	Symmachus arrested and executed
526	Pope John I's embassy to Constantinople; arrest, imprisonment, and death of Pope John I in Ravenna; death of Theodoric
527	Accession of Justinian I as Eastern emperor
535–40	Belisarius overthrows Ostrogoths in Italy

For treatments of the chronology of Boethius's life and works, see the following list of works consulted: Arthur Patch McKinlay, "Stylistic Tests and the Chronology of the Works of Boethius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 18 (1907), 123–56; L.M. de Rijk, "On the Chronology of Boethius' Works on Logic," *Vivarium* 2 (1964), 1:1–49, 2:125–62; John Magee, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii* De Divisione Liber: *Critical Edition, Translation, Prolegomena, and Commentary* (Leiden, 1988), pp. xvii–xxxiii; Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature: From Livius Andronicus to Boethius*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1997), pp. 1839–41; P.G. Walsh, "Introduction," *The Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, trans. P.G. Walsh (Oxford, 1999), pp. xi–l; John Magee, "Boethius," *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge J.E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone (Malden, MA, 2003), pp. 217–26; Christian Meyer, *Boèce.* Traité de la Musique. *Introduction, traduction et notes* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 1–2; and, most recently, John Magee, "Boethius," in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lloyd Gerson (Cambridge, 2011), Ch. 43, pp. 788–812.

Bibliography

I. *Primary Works (listed chronologically under each heading)*

A. *Collected Works*

Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii opera omnia, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*) 63 (Paris, 1847) and 64 (Paris, 1891). [Contains the complete Latin works of Boethius in two volumes, with general prolegomena, notes, and commentaries in Latin and a life of Boethius in French; because of textual corruptions and authorial misattributions, text should be consulted only when a later, edited critical edition is unavailable; hereafter PL]

"Boethius (Anicius Manlius Seuerinus Boethius patricius)," Library of Latin Texts-Series A, Brepols Publishers, http://apps.brepolis.net/BrepolisPortal/. [Online database includes full-text editions of *De diuisione, De fide catholica, De institutione arithmetica, In Categorias Aristotelis libri IV, In librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias commentarii (editio secunda), In Porphyrii Isagogen commentorum editio prima, In Porphyrii Isagogen commentorum editio secunda, Liber contra Eutychen et Nestorium, Philosophiae consolatio, Quomodo substantiae in eo, quod sint, bonae sint ("De hebdomadibus"), Quomodo trinitas unus Deus ac non tres dii*, and *Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus de diuinitate substantialiter praedicentur*; institutional or individual subscription required for access; hereafter LLT-A]

Aristoteles Latinus (Bruges and Paris, 1961–75) [Series contains the complete corpus of medieval translations of the works of Aristotle, which constituted the main tools of study of science and philosophy in the Middle Ages; includes the standard texts of Boethius's translations of and commentaries on Aristotle and Porphyry—hereafter AL; also available online (institutional or individual subscription required for access) as the *Aristoteles Latinus Database*—hereafter ALD—through Brepols at http://apps.brepolis.net/BrepolisPortal/]

B. *Editions and Selected Translations of Individual Works*

The works of Boethius are listed below (in bold) according to their CPL number, with corresponding citations for the PL, the LLT-A (when available), and the AL [or ALD] (for the logical works), followed by individual editions of the works in chronological order of their publication. Translations of Boethius's works are usually not included unless they include the Latin text with a facing translation. References to relevant checklists of vernacular versions are provided when available.

De consolatione philosophiae [*Consolatio*] *(CPL 878; PL 63,547–862; LLT-A)*

Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolatione Philosophiæ libri V, ed. T. Sitzmannus (Hanover, 1607). [Latin text of the *Consolatio* printed in Germany from which Junius likely took the extracts he pasted into his manuscript to correspond to the OE Boethian Meters in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 12, which became the basis for Christopher Rawlinson's 1698 edition of the Alfredian *Boethius*]

Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae consolationis libri quinque: accedunt eiusdem atque incertorum opusculum sacra, ed. Rudolf Peiper, (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teuberiana) (Leipzig, 1871). [Latin edition of the *Consolatio* and the *Opuscula sacra*]

Anici Manli Severini Boethi De Consolatione Philosophiae Libri Quinque, ed. Adrian Fortescue (London, 1925; repr. New York, 1976) [Annotated edition with valuable notes and apendices, though all in Latin]

Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolationis libri quinque, ed. Guilelmus Weinberger, (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum) 67 (Leipzig, 1934). [A reliable and long-used edition of the Latin text, with prolegomena, textual notes, and six indices in Latin]

Boethius: Philosophiae libri quinque, ed. K. Büchner (Heidelberg, 1947; 3rd ed., 1977). [Latin edition; contains a metrical index, but no critical apparatus]

Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolatio, ed. Ludwig Bieler, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 94. *Boethius, Opera*, 1 (Turnhout, 1957; rev. ed. 1984). [Widely used critical edition based on early manuscripts; Latin text superior to Weinberger in some respects, but superseded by that of Moreschini (2005); introduction in Latin with a useful, but now dated, bibliography]

Boethii Consolatio Philosophiae, ed. Eberhard Gothein (Zurich, 1969). [Latin edition of the *Consolatio*]

Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. and ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973). [Translation of the *Consolatio* by Tester; Latin text with facing modern English translation; the most readily available, generally reliable, and affordable Latin text; the earlier 1918 edition includes Latin text with facing English translation by H. F. Stewart and E.K. Rand and a revised version of the "I.T." (1609) English translation of the *Consolation*]

Boethius, Trost der Philosophie, ed. E. Gegenschatz and O. Gigon (Zurich-Munich, 1969; new edition, 1981). [Latin text and facing German translation; includes introduction and notes]

Boethius Consolatio Philosophiae, ed. James J. O'Donnell, 3 vols, (Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries) (Bryn Mawr, 1984; 1990). [Vol. 1 (Books 1–3) and vol. 2 (Books 4–5) contain the Latin text based upon Wilhelm Wienberger, from vol. 67 of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Lationorum*; Vol. 3 provides a valuable commentary on grammar and text of the *Consolatio*, with brief biographical and metrical introduction; highly recommended for the student-translator; a hypertext version of the Latin text dervived from Weinberger, O'Donnell's commentary, W.V. Cooper's English translation (London, 1902), and a concordance are all available online (with free access) at http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/boethius/jkok/list_t.htm]

Cicero, On Fate, and Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy IV 5–7, V, ed. R.W. Sharples (Warminster, 1991). [Provides parallel Latin texts, taken from existing editions, and English translations of *Consolatio* 4.5–7 and 5; includes and introduction as well as helpful notes and commentary on the texts; the translation seeks to provide an accurate and consistent rendering of the technical, philosophical vocabulary, primarily for the benefit readers interested in the philosophical arguments and concepts in the selection; the translation does not aim to preserve the literary features of the work, which is most evident in the renderings of the Boethian meters, whose meaning can be obscured by the strictly literal approach taken]

Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus, *La consolazione della filosofia di Severino Boezio*, trans. Claudio Moreschini, (UTET) (Turin, *c.*1994). [Latin text of Bieler with facing Italian translation by Moreschini]

Boezio, Severino, *Consolazione della filosofia*, ed. and trans. Luca Obertello, (Testi a fronte) 34 (Milan, 1996). [Latin text of the *Consolatio* from L. Bieler with facing Italian translation; includes introduction, chronology of the life and works of Boethius, notes, bibliography, and index]

Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005). [The second edition (2005) is the latest and most reliable Latin text of the *Consolatio*, with introduction and notes in Latin; also includes the *Opuscula sacra*]

Translations of the Consolatio

For a comprehensive checklist of the English translations of the *Consolatio*, including complete, partial, and occasional renderings from the 9th-century Old English *Boethius* traditionally attributed to Alfred the Great through the 21st-century verse and prose translation of David R. Slavitt, see Philip Edward Phillips, "The English *Consolation of*

Philosophy: Translation and Reception," *Carmina Philosophiae* 17 (2009), 97–126; for a checklist and discussion of the English translations from the 16th–18th centuries, see Brian Donaghey, "The Post-Medieval English Translations of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, 1500–1800," in *The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Age*, vol. 5, ed. Roger Ellis and René Tixier (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 302–21.

For other medieval vernacular renderings (including English) of the *Consolatio*, see Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., *The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1992), passim; Ludwig Bieler, "Bibliographica Selecta," in *Anicii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 94 (Turnholt, 1984), pp. xviii–xxxvii; and A. Van de Vijver, "Les Traductions du *De consolatione Philosophiae* en littérature comparée," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6 (1939), 247–73.

The Consolatio in the English Literary Tradition

Readers with an interest in the Old English *Boethius* attributed to King Alfred the Great (890), the Middle English prose translation of Geoffrey Chaucer (1380–85), and the Early Modern verse and prose rendering of Queen Elizabeth I (1593) may wish to consult the following standard editions:

The Old English Boethius*: An Edition of the Old English Version of Boethius's* De Consolatione Philosophiae, 2 vols, ed. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine (Oxford, 2009).

Boece, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, 1987), pp. 395–469.

The Consolation of Queen Elizabeth I: The Queen's Translation of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (MRTS) 366 (Tempe, 2009).

Recommended Standard Modern English Editions of the Consolatio

The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. P.G. Walsh (Oxford, 1999) and *Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Joel Relihan (Indianapolis, 2001), are best for accuracy, and both are readily available in paperback (the introduction and notes in Walsh are especially useful); also recommended is the translation of Victor Watts (New York, 1969; rev. ed. 1999), in the Penguin Classics series; Richard H. Green's reliable prose translation (Indianapolis, 1962) has been reprinted recently in the Norton Critical Edition of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. Douglas C. Langston (New York, 2010), which also includes selection of reprinted critical essays.

The Loeb Classical Library edition with a translation by S.J. Tester (Cambridge, MA, 1973) remains the best general-purpose edition of the *Consolatio* for humanities students wishing to have access to the Latin text with a facing English translation.

De institutione arithmetica [*De arithmetica*] *(CPL 879; PL 63,1079–1168; LLT-A)*

Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo; De institutione musica libri quinque; accedit geometria quae fertur Boetii, ed. Godfredus Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867; repr. Frankfurt, 1966). [Text of *Geometria* previously attributed to Boethius; perhaps includes some Boethian remnants]

Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica lib. I, cap. 1; lib. II., cap. 54, III*, ed. Tilman Krischer. Frieder Zaminer (Hrsg.). Geschichte der Musiktheorie, III. Rezeptionen des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter (Darmstadt, 1990), pp. 202–17. [Dutch]

Boethius: De institutione arithmetica, trans. and ed. Jean-Yves Guillaumin, (Collection des Universités de France Série latine) 329 (Paris, 1995). [Latin text with facing French translation; includes an introduction to the life and works of Boethius, with an emphasis on the *De institutione arithmetica* and its place within the *quadrivium* and an up-to-date list of manuscripts]

Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, ed. H. Oosthout and J. Schilling, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 94a (Turnhout, 1999). [The standard Latin edition of the *De arithmetica* based on about 40 manuscripts from the 9th to the 10th centuries, 20 of which were collated; introduction in Latin covers Boethius's indebtedness to the neo-Pythagorean tradition, especially Nichomachus of Gerasa; includes a detailed analytical index of mathematical concepts, definitions, and technical terms]

English Translations

Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the "De institutione arithmetica," trans. and ed. Michael Masi (Amsterdam, 1983). [Standard English translation of Boethius's *De arithmetica* with an introduction on Boethian number theory, additional essays on the reception and influence of the *De arithmetica*, a list of manuscripts, and a bibliography]

De institutione musica [*De musica*] *(CPL 880; PL 63,1167–1300)*

Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo; De institutione musica libri quinque, ed. Godfredus Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867). [Edited Latin text]

Boèce, *Traité de la Musique*, ed. and trans. Christian Meyer (Turnhout, 2004). [Latin text from Freidlein's Latin edition of 1867 with facing modern French translation]

English Translations

Boethius: Foundations of Music, trans. Calvin M. Bower and ed. C.V. Palisca (New Haven, 1989). [Standard English translation of *De musica* with introduction and notes]

The Logical Works (CPL 881–89)

In Porphyrii Isagogen commentorum editio duplex (CPL 881; PL 64,71–158; LLT-A; AL I,6–7)

Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii In Isogogen Porphyrii Commenta, ed. Samuel Brandt, (Corpus Scriptorium Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum) 48 (Leipzig, 1906). [Latin text with prolegomena, notes, and index in Latin]

Categoriarum supplementa. Porphyrii Isagoge, Translatio Boethii, et Anonymi Fragmentum vulgo vocatum "Liber sex principiorum," Aristoteles Latinus 1.6–7, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruge and Paris, 1966) [Contains Boethius's translation of Porphyry's *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories* along with fragments quoted by Boethius from an older Latin version of Porphyry's *Introduction*]

In categories Aristotelis libri iv (CPL 882; PL 64,159–294; LLT-A; AL I,1–5)

Categoriae vel Praedicamenta. Translatio Boethii, Editio Composite, Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, Lemmata e simplicii commentario decerpta, Pseudo-Augustini Paraphrasis Themistiana, Aristoteles Latinus 1.1–5, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges and Paris, 1961) [Includes Boethius's first draft, a lemmata for his commentary, and a polished version (reconstructed by Minio-Paluello) that was influential throughout Europe during the Middle Ages]

Priora analytica Aristotelis (duplex recensio Boethii translationis) (CPL 882a; PL 64,639–712; AL III,1–4)

Analytica priora. Translatio Boethii (recensiones duae), Translatio anonyma, Pseudo-Philoponi aliorumque Scholia, Aritoteles Latinus 3.1–4, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges and Paris, 1962; repr. with a supplement composed by J. Shiel [Leiden, 1998]) [Boethius's dual version, one rougher and the other more polished, of the *Prior Analytics*]

In librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias commentarii editio duplex (CPL 883; PL 64,293–392, 393–638; LLT-A; AL II,1–2)

Commentaries on Aristotle's De interpretatione [*Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias*], 2 vols, ed. C. Meiser, (Greek & Roman Philosophy) 5 (1877–80; repr. New York, 1987). [Latin edition with index]

De interpretatione vel Periermenias. Translatio Boethii, Aristoteles Latinus 2.1–2, ed. L. Minio-Paluello and G. Verbeke (Bruges and Paris, 1965), pp. 5–38. [Contains the vulgate text of the *Peri Hermeneias*, which stems from Boethius (1), and the version composed with the lemmas of the Aristotelian text in William of Moerbeke's translation of Ammonius's commentary (2)]

De syllogismo categorico (CPL 884; PL 64,793–832)

Anicii Manlii Seuerini Boethii De syllogismo categorico, ed. Chistina Thomsen Thörnqvist, (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia) 68 (Göteborg, 2008). [The first of two treatises by Boethius on the categorical syllogism; critical edition of the *De syllogismo categorio*, divided into two books, based on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* and *Analytica priora* and influenced by the Greek commentary tradition; includes an introduction in English, the Latin text with critical apparatus, a bibliography, an English translation of the treatise, notes, and indexes; may be regarded as a companion to the *De Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos* (below)]

Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos (CPL 885; PL 64,761–94)

Anicii Manlii Seuerinus Boethii Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos, ed. Chistina Thomsen Thörnqvist, (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia) 69 (Göteborg, 2008). [Like the *De syllogismo categorio*, the *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos* serves as an introduction to Aristotle's syllogistics; an unfinished revision of the *De syllogismo categorico* that omits the final section, the second book, which was either lost or never completed; critical edition includes an Introduction, the reconstituted Latin text with critical apparatus, a bibliography, a commentary, and indexes; may be regarded as a companion to the *De syllogismo categorio* (above)]

De syllogismo hypothetico (CPL 886; PL 64,831–76)

De hypothetico syllogismis, ed. Luca Obertello (Brescia, 1969). [Latin text with facing translation in Italian; includes introduction and commentary]

De divisione (CPL 887; PL 64,875–92; LLT-A)

Magee, John, "The Text of Boethius' *De divisione*," *Vivarium* 32 (1994), 1–50. [Provides an analysis of the textual tradition of Boethius's *De divisione*, with an eye to the best archetype and Cassiodorus's role in preserving the text]

Magee, John, ed. and trans., *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii "De divisione liber,"* (Philosophia Antiqua) 77 (Leiden, 1998). [First critical edition of Boethius's *De divisione* with a facing-page English translation, prolegomena, and commentary; contributes significantly to our understanding of the transitional phase between ancient and medieval thought]

Interpretatio Topicorum Aristotelis (CPL 887a; PL 64,909–1008)

English Translations

Ammonius: On Aristotle's On Interpretation 9; with Boethius: On Aristotle's On Interpretation 9, first and second commentaries, trans. David Blank and Normann Kretzmann (Ithaca,

NY, 1998. [A volume on "determinism" containing English translations of Ammonius's and Boethius's commentaries (the former influential on the Islamic Middle Ages, the latter on the Western Middle Ages) on Aristotle's *On Interpretation*, Chapter 9, in which Aristotle presents the sea battle argument to demonstrate that it is not truth, but definite truth, that implies determinism; texts are presented together to show that Boethius's text was not influenced by Ammonius's text but rather by much earlier controversies between Stoic and Aristotelian philosophers as recorded by Alexander of Aphrodesias and Porphyry; includes an Introduction in the form of essays by Richard Sorabji, Norman Kretzmann, and Mario Mignucci on deterministic arguments opposed by Ammonius, Boethius's and Ammonius's different Greek backgrounds, Boethius on the sea battle, and Ammonius on the sea battle; includes useful notes on the texts, bibliography, English-Greek, Greek-English, English-Latin, and Latin-English glossaries, Latin-English Index, and subject index]

Interpretatio Elenchorum Sophisticorum (CPL 887b; PL 64,1007–40; AL VI,1–3)

De sophisticis elenchis. Translatio Boetii, Fragmenta Translationis Iacobi et Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeke, *Aristoteles Latinus* 6.1–3, ed. B.G. Dod (Bruxelles-Paris, 1975), pp. 5–60. [Includes the vulgate text of the *De sophisticis elenchis* that stems from Boethius, fragments of another version attributed to James of Venice, and William of Moerbeke's revision of Boethius's translation]

Commentaria in Ciceronis Topica (CPL 888; PL 64,1039–74)

Ciceronis Opera, ed. J.C. Orelli and J.G. Baiter (Zurich, 1833), 5.1.270–388; repr. in PL 64:1039–174. [*Quasi*-critical edition of the Latin text]

English Translations

Boethius's In Ciceronis Topica, trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1988). [English translation with valuable notes and introduction]

De topicis differentiis (CPL 889; PL 64,1173–1218)

Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, in *De topicis differentiis und die byzantinische Rezeption dieses Werkes: Anhang, Eine Pachymeres-Weiterbearbeitung der Holobolos-Übersetzung*, ed. D.Z. Nikitas, (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi Philosophi Byzantani) 5 (Athens, 1990). [Complete critical edition of *De topicis differentiis* on pp. 1–92]

Nikitas, Dimitrios Z., "Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*. Eine Pachymere-Weiterbearbeitung der Holobolos-Übersetzung," *Classica et mediaevalia* 38 (1987), 267–86. [A preview of the book/edition (Athens, 1990), above, with discussion of the seven MSS and of the question of Pachymeres's authorship, which Nikitas supports]

English Translations

Boethius's De topicis differentiis, trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1978). [English translation of *De topicis differentiis* with valuable notes and essays on the text; reissued in paperback by Cornell]

The Theological Works (CPL 890–94)

Opuscula sacra (CPL 890–94; PL 64,1247–1354; LLT-A)

Boethius: The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. and ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, (Loeb Classical Library) 74 (Cambridge, MA, 1973). [Latin

text with facing modern English translation; the most readily available edition of these works; a generally reliable Latin text]

Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005). [The second edition (2005) is the standard Latin text of the *Opuscula sacra*, with introduction and notes in Latin; also includes the *Consolatio*]

Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus ac non tres dii (CPL 890; PL 64,1247–1300; LLT-A)

De sancta trinitate, *Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 165–81.

Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur (CPL 891; PL 64,1299–1302 [*Gilberti Porretae commentarius: PL 64,1301–10*]*; LLT-A)*

Utrum pater et filius et spiritus sanctus de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur, *Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 182–85.

Quomodo substantiae in eo, quod sint, bonae sint sive De hebdomadibus (CPL 892; PL 64,1311–14 [*Gilberti Porretae commentarius: PL 64,1313–34*]*; LLT-A)*

Quomodo substantiae in eo quod sint bonae sint cum non sint substantialia bona, *Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 186–94.

De fide catholica (CPL 893; PL 64,1333–38; LLT-A)

De fide catholica, *Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 195–205.

Liber contra Eutychen et Nestorium (CPL 894; PL Liber de persona et duabus naturis, PL 64,1337–54 [*Gilberti Porretae commentarius: PL 64,1353–1412*]*; LLT-A)*

Contra eutychen et nestorium, *Boethius: De consolatione philosophiae; Opuscula theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Munich, 2000; 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 206–41.

Works Attributed to Boethius (CPL 895)

Pseudo-Boethius, Ars geometriae et arithmeticae (CPL 895, PL 63, 1352 ff.)

Folkerts, M., "Boethius," *Geometrie, ii* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 113–71. [Quadrivial works attributed to Boethius]

C. *Selected Critical Editions of Boethian Commentaries*

Clarembald of Arras

George, David B., and John R. Fortin, O.S.B., eds., *The Boethian Commentaries of Clarembald of Arras*, (Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture) 7 (Notre Dame, 2002). [Translation and critical edition of Clarembald's glosses on Boethius's *De Trinitate* and *De Hebdomadibus*, with a Translator's Note, outlines of the glosses, and copious notes]

Gilbert of Poitiers

Häring, Nikolaus M., ed., *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers* (Toronto, 1966).

Thierry de Chartres

Häring, Nikolaus M., ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry de Chartres* (Toronto, 1971).

St Thomas Aquinas

Schultz, J.L., and E.A. Synan, eds., An *Exposition of the "On the Hebdomads" of Boethius* (Washington, DC, 2001).

William of Conches

Nauta, Lodi, ed., *Guillelmi de Conchis Glossae super Boethium* (Turnhout, 1999).

II. *Secondary Works (listed alphabetically under each heading)*

A. *Monographs*

Astell, Ann W., *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth* (Ithaca, NY, 1994). [Argues for a continuous epic tradition based not on generic form but on "epic truth" from antiquity through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance; critically examines "heroic works" from the Book of Job to *Paradise Lost*, all depicting the trials of the "true man" on the pathway to self-knowledge; Astell effectively argues that both Job and Boethius take a journey *ad patrem*, the end of which signifies "the heroic recognition and acceptance of one's own final cause" (49); an insightful and persuasive reevaluation and reexamination of literary history and Boethius's place within it]

Balint, Bridget K., *Ordering Chaos: The Self and the Cosmos in Twelfth-Century Prosimetrum* (Leiden, 2009). [Examines Latin prosimetrical texts in vogue from *c.*1100–*c.*1170 that were characterized by dialogue, allegory, and philosophical speculation and inspired by Boethius's *Consolatio*]

Barnish, S.J.B., trans., *Cassiodorus: Variae* (Liverpool, 1992). [Reliable English translation of a major source text for late Roman government and culture by Boethius's contemporary and successor as *magister officiorum* under Theoderic]

Barrett, Helen M., *Boethius: Some Aspects of his Times and Work* (Cambridge, 1940; repr. New York, 1965). [The first modern "biography" of Boethius, "written as an attempt to rescue Boethius from being generally forgotten"; this study of Boethius's life and work, heavily indebted to the scholarship of H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand, is intended for the general educated reader; this classic work, which refers directly to the original source material, remains a highly readable introduction to Boethius, his times, his writings, and his contributions western intellectual history, that accounts for Boethius's popularity in the Middle Ages]

Carpenter, Nan Cooke, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK, 1958). [Indispensible study of music in the medieval curriculum; often identifies where Boethius's *De musica* was taught as a primary text and where condensed versions by theorists such as Jean de Muris were used instead]

Chadwick, Henry, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981). [The first major study of Boethius's life and complete corpus, including the mathematical, musical, logical, and theological works, in addition to the *Consolatio*; considers as well Boethius's Christianity and his use of scriptural allusions; an essential book for the study of Boethius]

Cherniss, Michael D., *Boethian Apocalypse: Studies in Middle English Vision Poetry* (Norman, OK, 1987). [Argues that Boethius created his own kind of "apocalyse"—one that is "rational," "secular," and "practical"—that includes a dream narrator, a complaint, a dialogue, and an eventual consolation meant to provide "instruction for living"; having established the "Boethian model" in the chapter on the *Consolatio*, Cherniss uses that generic model to analyze eight works from the 12th to the 15th centuries]

Classen, Jo-Marie, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius* (Madison, 1999). [An examination of the major Roman literary representations of exile and the genre of exilic literature, with particular focus on Ovid; good discussion of the literary *personae*—the narrator and Lady Philosophy—in the *Consolatio*, although the treatment of Boethius is comparatively limited in scope]

Copeland, Rita, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature) 11 (Cambridge, 1991; pbk. repr. 1995). [An important study of the ideologies and practices of medieval translation; includes a chapter on "Translation and Interlingual Reception: French and English Traditions of Boethius' *Consolatio*," pp. 127–50]

Courcelle, Pierre, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967). [Influential study of the Latin commentaries on the *Consolatio* and the influence of those commentaries on later translations of the *Consolatio*]

——, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry Wedeck (Cambridge, MA, 1969). [Examines the influence exercised by writers using the Greek language on the Latin scholars who wrote in the West or for the public in the West; according to Courcelle, it is necessary to determine how these writers had a knowledge of Greek books, either directly in the original or through translations and adaptations, and to what extent they themselves knew Greek; Courcelle contends that certain schools, such as Greek and Oriental schools, exercised a profound influence even on the West, and whenever a period of political tranquility inspired people in the West with the hope of rebuilding their civilization, of reviving their culture, it was towards the East, toward the educational methods of the contemporary Greek commentators that they turned their eyes; contains an important chapter on Boethius, pp. 273–330]

Crocco, Antonio, *Introduzione a Boezio*, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1975). [General introduction to Boethius's thought, including the logical works and the *Consolatio*]

Discenza, Nicole Guenther, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English* Boethius (Albany, 2005). [A thorough examination of Alfred's adaptation of Boethius's *Consolatio* into Old English within the context of the king's educational and ecclesiastical reform program; applies the theories of Pierre Bordieu to elucidate the ways in which Alfred's strategies of translation "mediated" the Boethian source text and its traditions and Alfred's Anglo-Saxon culture that received the vernacular translation; fine attention to the primary works and a good introduction to the vast range of secondary literature on the Alfredian *Boethius*]

Dronke, Peter, *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form* (Cambridge, MA, 1994). [Explores the ways in which mixed forms were used in Europe from antiquity through the 13th century; examines the satirical works of Menippus, the allegorical writing of Boethius, as well as several lesser-known writers of mixed form literature]

Dürr, Karl, *The Propositional Logic of Boethius*, (Studies in Logic and the Foundations of Mathematics) (Amsterdam, 1951). [Applies modern mathematical and logistic principles to Boethius's *De syllogismo hypothetico* and Book 5 of his commentary on Cicero's *Topics*]

Dwyer, Richard A., *Boethian Fictions: Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the* Consolatio Philosophiae (Cambridge, MA, 1976). [Examines the narratives in the late-medieval French versions of Boethius's *Consolatio*—namely the versions of the *Consolatio* that freely diverge from the Latin text and specifically those versions showing significant narrative interpolations—and the ways in which the later translators attempted to "medievalize" or "universalize" Boethius's work]

Folkerts, Menso, *Essays on Early Medieval Mathematics* (Surrey, UK, 2003). [Contains chapters in German and English; three chapters treat aspects of the *Pseudo*-Boethian *Geometria*]

Frakes, Jerold C., *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages: The Boethian Tradition*, (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters) 23 (Leiden, 1988). [Explores

the significance of *Fortuna* by identifying and examining her various manifestations through the 11th century]

Green-Pedersen, Niels Jørgen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages: The Commentaries on Aristotle's and Boethius'* Topics (Munich, 1984). [Examines the medieval tradition of the topics; the appendices contain useful selections of Latin commentaries and lists of commentaries of Aristotle's *Topics* and Boethius's *De differentiis topicis*]

Gruber, Joachim, *Boethius: Eine Einführung*, (Standorte in Antike und Christentum) 2 (Stuttgart, 2011). [A judicious introductory survey of the extant corpus, with chapters on Boethius's life and medieval influence as well; bibliographical information is carefully selected, and the analyses of individual works make it a useful reference work not only for those approaching Boethius for the first time but for those already well acquainted with his works]

——, *Kommentar zu Boethius*, De consolatione philosophiae [*Commentary to Boethius'* De consolatione philosophiae], (*Text Kommentare: Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe*) 9 (Berlin, 1978; repr. 2006). [Scholarly commentary in German on Boethius's *Consolatio*; includes an introduction, a detailed philological and philosophical key to Boethius's work, fully documented references to related texts, and a bibliography; now back in print in a fully revised and expanded edition; remains an indispensible commentary on the *Consolatio*]

Hall, Douglas C., *The Trinity: An Analysis of St Thomas Aquinas'* Expositio *of the* De Trinitate *of Boethius*, (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters) 33 (Leiden, 1992). [Provides an historical analysis of the methods and contents of Boethius's *De Trinitate* and Thomas Aquinas's *Expositio*]

Heilmann, Anja, *Boethius' Musiktheorie und das Quadrivium. Eine Einführung in den neuplatonischen Hintergrund von "De institutione musica,"* (Hypomnemata) 171 (Göttingen, 2007). [An important study of the neo-Platonic background to Boethius's music theory]

Hehle, Christine, *Boethius in St Gallen: Die Bearbeitung der "Consolatio Philosophiae" durch Notker Teutonicus zwischen Tradition und Innovation* (Tübingen, 2002). [Surveys the early medieval reception of Boethius's *Consolatio* to *c.*1000 and provides a comprehensive analysis of the bilingual (Latin-Old High German) adaptation of the *Consolatio* written by Notker III of St Gall; takes into account the traditions of the *artes*, of glossation and commentary, and demonstrates Notker's didactically innovative method, his linguistical and formal devices, as well as his lines of interpretation]

Hodgkin, Thomas, *Italy and Her Invaders: 376–814*, 8 vols (1880–89; repr. New York, 1969). [A comprehensive history of the invasions of Italy from Roman times through the final Germanic incursions into Italy]

Jefferson, Bernard L., *Chaucer and "The Consolation of Philosophy"* (Princeton, 1917). [Classic study of the influence of Boethius's *Consolatio* on Chaucer's thought and works]

Klingner, Fritz, *De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae*, (Philologische Untersuchungen) 27 (Berlin, 1921). [A "reading" of the *Consolatio* with particular attention given to its sources and the works that influenced it]

Lerer, Seth, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton, 1985). [A detailed, book-by-book, literary analysis of the *Consolatio* within the dialogue tradition that applies reader-response theory (indebted to Stanley Fish) to the role of the narrator and to the reader of the text, who both begin in lethargic silence, regain a voice, and ultimately embrace silent prayer in the pursuit of truth]

Lewis, C.S., *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 75–90. [Provides an introduction to Boethius, his place in what Lewis calls the "Seminal Period," and his conception of the universe that profoundly influenced medieval thought; discusses the dominant ideas and themes in the *Consolatio*; famously addresses the issue of Boethius's Christianity]

Magee, John, *Boethius on Signification and Mind*, (Philosophia Antiqua) 52 (Leiden, 1989). [A study of Boethius's contribution to the problem of signification as demonstrated in

the linguistic sections of Boethius's *Peri Hermeneias* commentaries; includes a philosophical and philological analysis of the opening lines of Aristotle's text as well as a detailed study of Boethius's translation of and his commentaries on those lines]

Marenbon, John, *Boethius*, (Great Medieval Thinkers) (Oxford, 2003). [Philosophical approach to Boethius's major writings (excluding the *De arithmetica* and *De musica*), the commentaries on logic and the theological treatises, and the *Consolatio*; Marenbon gives serious consideration to Boethius as an original philosopher, not merely as an important transmitter of classical knowledge; an important study of Boethius's thought and works]

McInerny, Ralph, *Boethius and Aquinas* (Washington, DC, 1990). [Considers the relationship between Boethius and St Thomas Aquinas, in particular, the Thomistic commentaries on Boethius's *De Trinitate* and *De hebdomadibus*; McInerny argues that Thomas Aquinas interpreted Boethius correctly and sought to "show the harmony of faith and reason," which profoundly influenced the course of Western theological and philosophical thought]

Minnis, Alastair J., *Chaucer's* Boece *and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius* (Cambridge, 1993). [A study of Nicholas Trevet's commentary on Boethius and how Chaucer relied upon it when translating the *Consolatio*; includes an essay re-examining Trevet's dependence on William of Conches, Latin texts and translations of extracts from Trevet's commentary on Boethius's *Consolatio* 3m9 and 3m11, an essay concerning Chaucer's debt to Trevet in the preparation of his *Boece*, and an overview of the *Boece*, as well as appendices on a 13th-century revision of William Conches's commentary on Boethius and Trevet's use of the Boethius commentary]

Moorhead, John, *Theodoric in Italy* (Oxford, 1992). [History of the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth based upon the surviving documents of the period, including those from Cassiodorus, Procopius, Jordanes, the Anonymous Valesianus, Ennodius, and Boethius himself, from the *Consolatio*; a major study of Theodoric that examines the Ostrogothic king's *magister officiorum*, Boethius, within his historical context (see especially pp. 212–35)]

Moyer, Ann E., *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY, 1992). [Chronological examination of musical scholarship in the Renaissance, including discussion of the significant influence of Boethius's *De musica*]

Nash-Marshall, Siobhan, *Participation and the Good: A Study in Boethian Metaphysics* (New York, 2000). [A study of Boethian metaphysics with chapters devoted to an examination of the doctrines of participation and the Good in the *Quomodo substantiae* and the *Consolatio*]

Obertello, Luca, *Severino Boezio, I–II*, (Academia ligure di scienze e lettere) 1 (Genoa, 1974). [Seminal study of Boethius in Italian; Vol. 1 includes: "La vita. Le opere. Le fonti. Il pensiero"; Vol. 2 includes: "Bibliografia boeziana. Bibliografia generale"; Vol. 1 analyzes Boethius's life, works, and thought; Vol. 2 provides a comprehensive annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources through 1970; an indispensable work]

O'Donnell, James J., *The Ruin of the Roman Empire* (New York, 2008). [Reassessment of the "decline and fall" of the Roman Empire in the West; argues that Boethius was interested in becoming emperor and was, in fact, guilty of treason]

O'Daly, Gerard, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill, 1991). [The first major study in English of the meters of the *Consolatio* within the context of the Latin poetic tradition; includes sections on Boethius's career, his other works, and his poetics; O'Daly explores such topics as the tyrant motif, the role of Nature, and the use of mythology]

Pabst, Bernhard, *Prosimetrum: Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter*, 2 vols, (Ordo: Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit) 4/1–2 (Cologne, 1994). [A massive and exhaustive literary-historical survey of the prosimetrun form from Menippus to Jean Gerson; includes biographical information about the authors, the formal quality of the texts in question, and their place within the prosimetrical tradition; gives serious treatment

to the philosophical-allegorical prosimetrical works of Martianus Capella and Boethius and their influence on writers from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages]

Palisca, Claude V., *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985). [Addresses the pervasive influence of Boethius's *De musica* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation]

Papahagi, Adrian, *Boethiana Mediaevalia: A Collection of Studies on the Early Medieval Fortune of Boethius'* Consolation of Philosophy (Bucharest, 2010). [Philological studies of the reception of the *Consolatio* in Carolingian and Ottoman France and Germany, and Anglo-Saxon England, consisting of chapters based on previously published essays; an essential collection that offers a fresh reexamination of the manuscripts and bibliography]

Patch, Howard Rollin, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, MA, 1927). [A philosophical and literary examination of the goddess Fortuna in medieval literature; traces the development of the cult of Fortuna and examines the literary motifs, themes, and descriptions used in giving expression to conceptions of Fortuna and her wheel]

——, *The Tradition of Boethius: A Study of His Importance in Medieval Culture* (New York, 1935). [A pioneering study of the profound literary and philosophical influence of Boethius on the Middle Ages and after, with chapters devoted to Boethius's personal reputation as revealed by popular narratives of his life, his place in the discipline of education, the translations of the *Consolatio*, and the imitations and influence of the *Consolatio*; also includes introduction, conclusion, bibliography, and illustrations]

Payne, F. Anne, *King Alfred and Boethius: An Analysis of the Old English Version of the* Consolation of Philosophy (Madison, 1968). [Interpretation of the Alfredian *Boethius* and the world view it presents premised on Alfredian authorship; critically analyzes the consistency, coherence, and unity of King Alfred's alterations of Boethius's *Consolatio*; includes chapters on "Alfred's Rejection of Boethian Order," "Alfred's Idea of Freedom," "Wyrd, Fortuna, and Fatum," "The Figures of Wisdom and Philosophy," and a conclusion on "The Relation of Thought and Style"]

Pickering, Frederick P., *Augustinus oder Boethius? Geschichtsschreibung und epische Dichtung im Mittelalter—und in der Neuzeit*, 2 vols, (Philologische Studien und Quellen) 80 (Berlin, 1967–76). [Argues that medieval historians and narrative poets were faced with two ways of viewing historical events: one approach, based on Augustine's *De civitate dei*, regarded history as teleological, and its emphasis on eschatology especially appealed to Christian historiographers; the other approach, based on Boethius's *Consolatio*, acknowledged the influence of *Fortuna* under the auspices of Divine Providence, and its emphasis on free will and chance appealed especially to secular historians and vernacular poets; includes a lengthy analysis of the *Consolatio* and some treatment of its influence on later medieval writers]

Race, William H., *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden, 1982). [Briefly treats Boethius's participation in the *priamel* tradition; important for a greater appreciation of Boethius and classical literary genres]

Reiss, Edmund, *Boethius*, (Twayne's World Authors) 672 (Boston, 1982). [A full-length study of Boethius intended to introduce students and general readers to Boethius, his achievements, and importance, taking into account the scholarship on Boethius's writing produced in the preceding 40 years; contains chapters on Boethius's early life and scientific writings, his logical treatises, his theological tractates, his later life, and its relationship to the *Consolatio*, the argument of the *Consolatio*, the form and matter in the *Consolatio*, and Boethius's legacy and his importance to Western culture; also contains a brief chronology and a selected bibliography]

Relihan, Joel C., *The Prisoner's Philosophy: Life and Death in Boethius's* Consolation (Notre Dame, 2007). [Relihan argues that the *Consolatio* is an "ironic" text that was recognized as such from the time of its composition to the present; he interprets the prayer at the end of Book 5 not as Philosophy's intended philosophical path to God but, rather, as a Christian path chosen by the prisoner whose teacher and guide has failed to deliver her

promises to him; the *Consolatio*, according to Relihan, is not a consolation but a Menippean satire that reveals the limitations of philosophy through parody and irony]

Scheible, H., *Die Gedichte in der* Consolatio Philosophiae *de Boethius*, (Bibliothek der Kalssischen Altertumswissenschaften, N.F.) 46 (Heidelberg, 1972). [Commentary on the meters of the *Consolatio*]

Scott, Jamie, *Christians and Tyrants: The Prison Testimonies of Boethius, Thomas More, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (New York, 1995). [A comparative study of the prison testimonies and the historical contexts of the respective martyrdoms of Boethius, More, and Bonhoeffer; argues that the Christians Boethius, More, and Bonhoeffer were executed by tyrants during transitional periods in Christian self-consciousness in which they "lost their lives on the precarious boundary between religious conviction and political commitment, between obedience to worldly authority and obedience to God"; Boethius's *Consolatio*, More's *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, and Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison*, according to Scott, raise important philosophical, theological, and literary questions, explored in this book, concerning the credibility of testimonies written under penalty of death]

Speca, Anthony, *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic Logic*, (Philosophia Antiqua) 87 (Leiden, 2001). [Traces the development of Aristotle's hypothetical syllogistic through antiquity, showing for the first time how it later became misidentified with the logic of the rival Stoic school; early chapters examine the original Aristotelian hypothetical syllogistic and explain how Aristotle's later followers began to conflate it with Stoic logic; the final chapters examine in detail Boethius's *On hypothetical syllogisms* and *On Cicero's Topics*, which carried this conflation into the Middle Ages]

Stewart, Hugh Fraser, *Boethius: An Essay* (Edinburgh, 1891). [Introduction to the life and works of Boethius, with major sections devoted to the question of Boethius's Christianity, Boethius and Theodoric, the *Consolatio*, the philosophy of the *Consolatio*, the Theological Tractates, vernacular translations and traces of the *Consolatio* from "Beowulf" to "Peter of Kastel," and Boethius and the "Scholastic Problem"; Appendix includes a "Synopsis of the MSS of the Theological Tracts" and an index of passages in Chaucer that seem to have been suggested by the *Consolatio*; a classic study of Boethius]

Sweeney, Eileen C., *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things* (New York, 2006.) [A study of the theory and theme of language in the logical, theological, and literary writings of Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille]

Troncarelli, Fabio, *Boethiana Aetas: Modelli grafici e tradizione manoscritta della "Consolatio Philosophiae" tra IX e XII secolo* (*Biblioteca di Scittura e Civilità*) 2 (Alessandria, 1987). [Revised edition of *Boethiana Aetas* (1986) with some changes and new bibliographical entries; continues the project begun in *Tradizioni perdute* (1981) by looking at the detailed manuscript evidence in the 30 manuscripts of the 9th–12th-century editions of the *Consolatio* that link them to Cassiodorus's works; the second part of the book is a catalogue of the MSS, excluding those in Gothic script, while the first part of the book provides a commentary on and a discussion of the information included in the catalogue, with particular emphasis on the Cassiordorian edition]

——, *Cogitatio Mentis: L'eredità di Boezio nell'Alto Medioevo*, (*Storie e Testi*) 16 (Naples, 2005). [An important study that comes back to evidence presented in *Tradizioni perdute* (1986) but adds new material, including the discovery of possible traces of a lost preface to Boethius's *De fide catholica*]

——, *Tradizioni perdute: La "Consolatio Philosophiae" nell'alto medioevo*, (*Medioevo e Umanesimo*) 42 (Padua, 1981). [Proposes a connection between the manuscript tradition of Boethius's *Consolatio* and Cassiodurus/Vivarium based on at least 30 complete or fragmentary copies of Cassiodorus's edition of the *Consolatio* dating from the 9th to the 12th centuries]

——, *Vivarium: I Libri, Il Destino*, (*Instrumenta Patristica*) 33 (Turnhout, 1998). [A fascinating codicological and paleographical study that addresses questions concerning Cassiordorus's monastic community at Vivarium, its intellectual, cultural, and religious

significance in the preservation of Greek and Roman secular and sacred works (including Boethius's *Consolatio*); builds upon his previous studies in the identification of manuscripts from Vivarium and later manuscripts copied from them; discusses Cassidorus's works, especially the *Institutiones*, both in terms of their influence on Western learning and their Greek and Latin sources]

B. *Essay Collections*

Foehr-Janssens, Yasmina, and Emanuelle Métry, eds., *La Fortune: Thèmes, répresentations, discours*, (Recherches et Rencontres) 19 (Geneva, 2003). [A collection of essays (including an introduction by the editors, pp. 7–11) concerned with the literary, linguistic, historical, art historical, theological, and philosophical representations and interpretations of *Fortuna* from Antiquity to the Renaissance; draws upon and treats aspects of Boethius's *Consolatio* throughout; essays include NICOLE HECQUET-NOTI, "*Fortuna* dans le monde Latin: Chance ou hazard?" pp. 13–29, ENRICO NORELLI, "Les avatars de Fortune dans les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres: une comparaison avec les *Métamorphoses* d'Apulée," pp. 31–58, EMMANUELLE MÉTRY, "*Fortuna* et *Philosophia*: une alliance inattendue. Quelques remarques sur le rôle de la Fortune dans la *Consolation de Philosophie* de Boèce," pp. 59–70, ANDRÉ-LOUIS REY, "*Tychè* et *Pronoia*: notes sur l'emploi de Fortune et Providence dans l'historiagraphie Byzantine ancienne," pp. 71–92, JEAN-YVES TILLIETTE, "Eclipse de la Fortune dans le haut moyen âge?," pp. 93–104, JEAN WIRTH, "L'iconographie médiévale de la roué de Fortune," pp. 105–18 (includes 16 illustrations, pp. 119–27), YASMINA FOEHR-JANSSENS, "La maison de Fortune dans l'*Anticlaudianus* d'Alain de Lille," pp. 129–44, CHRISTOPHER LUCKEN, "Les Muses de Fortune. Boèce, le *Roman de la Rose* et Charles d'Orleans," pp. 145–75, JEAN-CLAUDE MÜHLETHALER, "Quand Fortune, ce sont les homes. Aspects de la démythification de la déese, d'Adam de la Halle à Alain Chartier," pp. 177–206, and JEAN LECOINTE, "Figures de la Fortune et théorie du récit à la Renaissance," pp. 207–20]

Fuhrmann, Manfred, and Joachim Gruber, eds., *Boethius*, (Wege der Forschung) 483 (Darmstadt, 1984). [A collection of previously published essays (from the early 1900s to the early 1980s) in German, English, and Latin on Boethius, the full range of his various works, his influence, and his reception; includes an introduction, pp. 1–8, and a useful selected bibliography, especially for works in German and Italian, as well as in English, up until approximately 1982, pp. 445–60, and an index of names; essays are organized thematically: I. "Biographie": WILLIAM BARK, "Theodoric vs. Boethius: Vindication and Apology," pp. 11–32, JOHANNES MATHWICH, "De Boethi morte," pp. 33–51, HERMANN TRÄNKLE, "Philologische Bermerkungen Zum Boethiusprozess," pp. 52–61, and HOWARD PATCH, "The Beginnings of the Legend of Boethius," pp. 64–67; "II. Gesamptwerk": ALFRED KAPPLEMACHER, "Der Schriftstellerische Plan des Boethius," pp. 71–81, and FERDINAND SASSEN, "Boethius—Lehrmeister des Mittelalters," pp. 82–124; "III. Logische Schriften": FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN, "Boethius and the History of the *Organon*," pp. 127–32, JOSEPH BIDEZ, "Boethius and Porphyrius," pp. 133–45, LORENZO MINIO-PALUELLO, "Boethius als Übersetzer und Kommentator aristotelischer Schriften," pp. 146–54, and JAMES SHIEL, "Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," pp. 155–83; "IV. Theologische Schriften": MAURICE NÉDONCELLE, "Variationen über das Thema 'Person' bei Boethius," pp. 187–231, and WILLIAM BARK, "Boethius' Fourth Tractate, the So-called *De fide catholica*," pp. 233–46; "V. *Consolatio*, 1. Allgemeines und Tendenz": EDWARD KENNARD RAND, "On the Composition of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 249–77, ERNST HOFFMAN, "Griechische Philosophie und christliches Dogma bei Boethius," pp. 278–85, CORNELIA JOHANNA DE VOGEL, "The Problem of Philosophy and Christian Faith in Boethius' *Consolatio*," pp. 286–301, CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, "Some Remarks on the Language of Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 303–10, and HERMANN TRÄNKLE, "Ist die *Philosophiae Consolatio* des Boethius zum Vorgesehenen Abschluss gelangt?" pp. 311–19; "2. Erkenntnistheorie und Willensfreiheit": ERNST GEGENSCHATZ, "Die Freiheit der Entscheidung in der *Consolatio Philosophiae*

des Boethius," pp. 323–49, and GÜNTER RALFS, "Die Erkenntnislehre des Boethius," pp. 350–74; "3. Musik": DAVID S. CHAMBERLAIN, "Philosophy of Music in the *Consolatio* of Boethius," pp. 377–403; "4. Dichtung": LUIGI ALFONSI, "Boethius als Dichter," pp. 407–22; "5. Nachleben und Rezeption": PIERRE COURELLE, "Augustinus und Boethius—Über das Nachleben ihrer Meisterwerke," pp. 425–35, and PETER DRONKE, "Review of Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de la Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967)," pp. 436–44]

Gibson, Margaret, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981). [Gibson's collection of essays by leading scholars provides diverse viewpoints on the medieval scholar Boethius, occasioned by the celebration of the 15th centenary of his birth. Gibson attempts to convey the enthusiasm that drew many minds to consider the scope and value of Boethius's work: this composite volume commemorates many aspects of his mind, and so helps readers "to see him whole." The collection opens with an introduction by HENRY CHADWICK, pp. 1–12; "Part One: Boethius' Life and Circumstances" includes essays by JOHN MATTHEWS, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," pp. 15–43, and HELEN KIRKBY, "The Scholar and his Public," pp. 44–69; "Part Two: The Scholastic Writings" includes essays by JONATHAN BARNES, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," pp. 73–89, OSMUND LEWRY, O.P., "Boethian Logic in the Medieval West," pp. 90–134, JOHN CALDWELL, "The *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the *De Institutione Musica*," pp. 135–54, DAVID PINGREE, "Boethius' Geometry and Astronomy," pp. 155–61, ALISON WHITE, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," pp. 162–205, JOHN MAIR, "The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*," pp. 206–13, and MARGARET GIBSON, "The *Opuscula Sacra* in the Middle Ages," pp. 214–34; "Part Three: The *De Consolatione Philosophiae*" includes essays by ANNA CRABBE, "Literary Design in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," pp. 237–74, DAVID GANZ, "A Tenth-Century Drawing of Philosophy Visiting Boethius," pp. 275–77, JACQUELINE BEAUMONT, "The Latin Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," pp. 278–305, CHRISTOPHER PAGE, "The Boethian Metrum 'Bella bis quisnis': A New Song from Saxon Canterbury," pp. 306–11, ALASTAIR MINNIS, "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," pp. 312–61, and NIGEL F. PALMER, "Latin and Vernacular in the Northern European Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," pp. 362–409; the collection concludes with ANTHONY GRAFTON, "Epilogue: Boethius in the Renaissance," pp. 410–15, and "Bibliographical Notes," including MALCOLM GODDEN, "King Alfred's Boethius," pp. 419–24, M.B. PARKES, "A Note on MS Vatican, Bibl. Apost., lat. 3363," pp. 425–27, and DIANE BOLTON, "Illustrations in Manuscripts of Boethius' Works," pp. 428–37, followed by an "Index of Manuscripts" and a "General Index"; this comprehensive collection of essays on the whole scope of Boethius's thought and influence was the first collection of its kind; it is a seminal work, and it remains an essential resource for Boethian scholars]

Glei, Reinholt F., Nicola Kaminski, and Franz Lebsanft, eds., *Boethius Christianus? Transformationen der "Consolatio Philosophiae" in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2010). [*Boethius Christianus? The Reception of Boethius' "Consolatio Philosophiae" in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* is an important multilingual collection of essays on the reception of Boethius's *Consolatio*; content includes REINHOLD F. GLEI, NICOLA KAMINSKI, and FRANZ LEBSANFT, "Einleitung: Boethius Christianus?" pp. 1–17, ANNA MARIA BABBI, "Boezio 'Christiano' nel volgarizzamento di Bonaventura de Demena," pp. 19–34, BERND BASTERT, "Boethius unter Druck. Die *Consolatio Philosophiae* in einer Koberger-Inkunabel von 1473," pp. 35–69, GLYNNIS M. CROPP, "Le Rôle des gloses dans l'interprétation chrétienne des traductions françaises: *Del Confortement de Philosophie* et *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," pp. 71–93, YVONNE DELLSPERGER, "Die Erfurter Übersetzung der *Consolatio Philosophiae* (1465) im Spannungsfeld von Jenseitsfurcht und Sündenvergebung," pp. 95–127, MANFRED EIKELMANN, "Boethius für Laien. Konrad Humerys deutch Übersetzung (vor 1467) der *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 129–56, SUSANNA E. FISCHER, "*Boethius Christianus sive Platonicus*. Frühe mittelalterliche Kommentare zu *O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas*," pp. 157–77, REINHOLD F.

GLEI, "*Quae philosophia fuit, facta philologia est*. Der Kommentar des Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1498) zur *Consoltatio Philosophiae* des Boethius," pp. 179–216, ULRIKE HEINRICHS, "Das Zitat aus Boethius' *Philosophiae consolatio* im Breisacher Weltgericht. Zur Bedeutung des Medienwechsels in Martin Schongauers Bildkonzeption der Darstellung des Himmels der Seligen," pp. 217–46, LUUK HOUWEN, "The Beast Within. The Animal-Man Dichotomy in the *Consolation of Philosophy*," pp. 247–60, NICOLA KAMINSKI, "Hellwig—Vallinus—van Helmont / Knorr von Rosenroth: Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* im Fadenkreuz einer konfessionalisierten Philologie," pp. 261–301, FRANZ LEBSANFT, "Der Trost der Philosophie und die christliche Tugend der Demut. Reniers de Saint-Trond lateinischer Kommentar (ante 1381) und Colard Mansions französische Übersetzung (1477) der kommentierten *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 303–31, STEPHAN MÜLLER, "Boethius im Klassenzimmer. Die Bearbeitung der *Consolatio Philosophiae* durch Notker den Deutschen," pp. 333–54, MATTHIAS VOLLMER, "Das Bild vor Augen—den Text im Kopf. Das Rad der Fortuna als textsubstituierendes Zeichen," pp. 355–86, FRANCESCA ZIINO, "The Catalan Tradition of Boethius' *De consolatione*: A New Hypothesis," pp. 387–95, and MAURO ZONTA, "Le origini letterarie e filosofiche delle version ebraiche del *De Consolatione Philosophiae* di Boezio," pp. 397–429; includes a short index, but no selected or cumulative bibliography.]

Hoenen, Maarten, and Lodi Nauta, eds., *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the* Consolatio Philosophiae (Leiden, 1997). [Boethius's *Consolatio* circulated widely throughout such diverse medieval cultures as the schools and universities, the court, and religious houses, spawned a rich tradition of Latin commentaries, and was a major force in shaping vernacular literary traditions, including the works of Jean de Meun, Dante, and Chaucer. The essays in this collection address the changing perceptions of the *Consolatio* by focusing on the Latin commentary tradition (William of Conches, Nicholas Trevet, and Pierre d'Ailly) as well as the vernacular traditions (Italian, French, German, English, and Dutch). Hoenen and Nauta attempt "to redress the balance" that has been lost due to the comparative neglect, on the one hand, of the Dutch, German, and Italian vernacular traditions and, on the other hand, of the different ways in which the *Consolatio* was interpreted and employed in the Latin context of the later medieval period. The content includes LODI NAUTA, " 'The Glosa' as Instrument for the Development of Natural Philosophy. William of Conches's *Commentary on Boethius*," pp. 3–40, LODI NAUTA, "The Scholastic Context of the Boethius Commentary by Nicholas Trevet," pp. 41–68, MARGUERITE CHAPPUIS, "Le traité de Pierre d'Ailly sur la *Consolation* de Boèce, question 2. Etude Preliminaire," pp. 69–80, PAUL WACKERS, "'Latinitas' in Middle Dutch Literature," pp. 89–106, THOMAS MERTENS, "Consolation in Late Medieval Dutch Literature," pp. 107–20, MARIKEN GORIS and WILMA WISSINK, "The Medieval Dutch Tradition of Boethius' *Consolatio*," pp. 121–66, MARTEEN HOENEN, "The Transition of Academic Knowledge: Scholasticism in the Ghent Boethius (1485) and Other Commentaries on the *Consolatio*," pp. 176–216, IAN JOHNSON, "Placing Walton's Boethius," pp. 217–42, GLYNNIS CROPP, "The Medieval French Tradition," pp. 243–66, THOMAS RICKLIN, "*. . . Quello non consoscuito da molti libro de Boezio*. Hienwise zur *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Norditalien," pp. 267–86, NIGEL PALMER, "The German Boethius Translation Printed in 1473 in Its Historical Context," pp. 287–304, and VAN BREGJE DOMMELEN and DIRK-JAN DEKKER, EDS., "Edition of The Ghent Boethius, Book V Prose 3. Latin Text, Middle Dutch Translation and Commentary," pp. 305–26]

Kaylor, Noel Harold, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, eds., *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2007). [A collection of selected essays and a critical edition of a late-medieval manuscript selected from the first decade of the interdisciplinary journal, *Carmina Philosophiae*, which reflects the "new directions" in Boethian studies; the book, aimed at specialists and non-specialists alike, is divided into five major sections: Part I: Approaches to Boethius's Latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, with chapters by WILLIAM J. ASBELL, JR., "The Philosophical Background of

Sufficientia in Boethius's *Consolation*, Book 3," pp. 3–16, CHRISTINE HEROLD, "Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a Bridge Between the Classical and Christian Conceptions of Tragedy," pp. 17–31, and KRISTA SUE-LO TWU, "This is Comforting? Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, Rhetoric, Dialectic, and the '*Unicum Illum Inter Homines Deumque Commercium*,'" pp. 33–49; Part II: Vernacular Translations of the *Consolatio*, with chapters by J. KEITH ATKINSON, "A *Dit Contre Fortune*, the Medieval French Boethian *Consolatio* Contained in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 25418," pp. 53–74, GLYNNIS M. CROPP, "An Italian Translation of *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," pp. 75–82, and FRANCESCA ZIINO, "Some Vernacular Versions of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in Medieval Spain: Notes on Their Relationship with the Commentary Tradition," pp. 83–107; Part III: Boethius in Art and Literary History, with chapters by ANN W. ASTELL, "Visualizing Boethius's Consolation as Romance," pp. 111–24, CHRISTOPH HOUSWITSCHKA, "The Eternal Triangle of Writer, Patron, and Fortune in Late Medieval Literature," pp. 125–41, and MICHAEL MASI, "Boethius, the Wife of Bath, and the Dialectic of Paradox," pp. 143–54; Part IV: Boethius in Religion and Mythography, with chapters by ROMANUS CESSARIO, "Boethius, Christ, and the New Order," pp. 157–68, and GRAHAM N. DRAKE, "The Muses in the *Consolation*: The Late Medieval Mythographic Tradition," pp. 169–219; and Part V: A critical edition of *The Boke of Coumfort of Bois*, re-edited by NOEL HAROLD KAYLOR, JR., and PHILIP EDWARD PHILLIPS, "*The Boke of Coumfort of Bois* [Bodleian MS AUCT. F.3.5.]: A Transcription with Introduction," pp. 223–79]

Marenbon, John, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (Cambridge, 2009). [A collection of essays, with an introduction and appendix on the works of Boethius, by recognized scholars on the main aspects of Boethius's works and their influence; makes a case for Boethius as a "distinctive" thinker whose "arguments repay careful analysis"; an accessible and largely comprehensive guide targeted at undergraduates that emphasizes "reading Boethius whole," although the volume does not include essays on *De arithmetica* or *De musica*, based on the editor's view that those works require specialized training; the collection is divided into two major sections: "Before the *Consolation*" includes essays by JOHN MOORHEAD, "Boethius' Life and the World of Late Antiquity," pp. 13–33, STEN EBBESEN, "The Aristotelian Commentator," pp. 34–55, CHRISTOPHER J. MARTIN, "The Logical Textbooks and their Influence," pp. 56–84, MARGARET CAMERON, "Boethius on Utterances, Understanding and Reality," pp. 85–104, DAVID BRADSHAW, "The *Opuscula sacra*: Boethius and Theology," pp. 105–28, ANDREW ARLIG, "The Metaphysics of Individuals in the *Opuscula sacra*," pp. 129–54, and CHRISTOPHE ERISMANN, "The Medieval Fortunes of the *Opuscula sacra*," pp. 155–77; "The *Consolation*" includes essays by JOHN MAGEE, "The Good and Morality: *Consolatio* 2–4," pp. 181–206, ROBERT SHARPLES, "Fate, Prescience and Free Will," pp. 207–27, DANUTA SHANZER, "Interpreting the *Consolation*," pp. 228–54, LODI NAUTA, "The *Consolation*: The Latin Commentary Tradition, 800–1700," pp. 255–78, and WINTHROP WETHERBEE, "The *Consolation* and Medieval Literature," pp. 279–302; both "Appendix: Boethius' Works," by JOHN MAGEE and JOHN MARENBON, pp. 303–10, and the Bibliography are particularly useful resources for both new and seasoned Boethian scholars]

Masi, Michael, ed., *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, (Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics) 18 (Bern, 1981). [An interdisciplinary collection of essays written by established scholars devoted to Boethius and his influence upon the *artes liberalis* curriculum during the Middle Ages; contains a general introduction by MICHAEL MASI, "Boethius and the Liberal Arts," pp. 9–16, followed by groundbreaking essays by MYRA L. UHLFELDER, "The Role of the Liberal Arts in Boethius' *Consolatio*," pp. 17–34, ELEONORE STUMP, "Boethius and Peter of Spain on the Topics," pp. 35–50, FANNIE J. LEMOINE, "The Precious Style as Heuristic Device: The Function of Introductions to the Arts in Martianus Capella and Boethius," pp. 51–65, PEARL KIBRE, "The Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the Quadrivium in the Thirteenth Century University Milieu at Paris," pp. 67–80, MICHAEL MASI, "The Influence of Boethius' *De Arithmetica*

on Late Medieval Mathematics," pp. 81–95, UBALDI PIZZANI, "The Fortune of the *De Institutione Musica* of Boethius to Gerbert D'Aurillac: A Tentative Contribution," pp. 97–156, CALVIN M. BOWER, "The Role of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought," pp. 157–74, JULIA BOLTON HOLLOWAY, "The Asse to the Harpe: Boethian Music in Chaucer," pp. 175–86, MENSO FOLKERTS, "The Importance of the Pseudo-Boethian *Geometria* during the Middle Ages," pp. 187–209, and PIERRE COURCELLE, "Boethius, Lady Philosophy, and the Representations of the Muses," pp. 211–18 (with illustrations following); an indispensable introduction to the Boethian *trivial* and *quadrivial* texts and their profound influence upon medieval thought]

Minnis, A.J., ed., *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of* De Consolatione Philosophiae (Cambridge, 1987). [Collection of essays concentrating upon aspects of the English, French, and Spanish traditions of scholarly interpretations of Boethius's work; vernacular renderings are related to the Latin culture and tradition; the volume includes essays by BRIAN S. DONAGHEY, "Nicholas Trevet's Use of King Alfred's Translation of Boethius, and the Dating of his Commentary," pp. 1–31, J. KEITH ATKINSON, "A Fourteenth-Century Picard Translation-Commentary of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 32–62, GLYNNIS M. CROPP, "*Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*: From Translation to Glossed Text," pp. 63–88, MARK GLEASON, "Clearing the Fields: Towards a Reassessment of Chaucer's Use of Trevet in the *Boece*," pp. 89–105, A.J. MINNIS, "'Glosynge is a Glorious Thyng': Chaucer at Work on the *Boece*," pp. 106–24, TIM WILLIAM MACHAN, "Glosses in the Manuscripts of Chaucer's *Boece*," pp. 125–38, I.R. JOHNSON, "Walton's Sapient Orpheus," pp. 139–68, and RONALD G. KEIGHTLEY, "Boethius in Spain: A Classified Checklist of Early Translations," pp. 169–87]

C. *Published Conference Proceedings and Special Journal Issues*

Fidora, Alexander, and Andreas Niederberger, eds., "Boethius and the Middle Ages," published as a special issue of *Convenit Selecta* 5 (2000). [Includes essays by ALEXANDER FIDORA and ANDREAS NIEDERBERGER, "Boethius and the Middle Ages: Some Introductory Remarks," pp. 5–6, L. JEAN LAUAND, trans. and intro., "Boécio e o *De Trinitate* and *De Trinitate* (Boécio)," pp. 7–18, ANDREAS WAGNER, "Boethius und die *vita contemplativa* in der *Consolatio Philosophiae*: Philosoph, Politiker oder Intellektueller?" pp. 19–24, STEPHANIE VESPER, "Christliche Emanationslehre und Trinität in den Traktaten *De Hebdomadibus* und *De Trinitate* I und II des Boethius," pp. 25–36, ALEXANDER FIDORA, "'[...] in theologicis intelligentialiter versari oportet': Zur Rezeption der boethianischen Methodologie der Wissenschaften bei Dominicus Gundissalinus," pp. 37–46, ANDREAS NIEDERBERGER, "Zwischen *De Hebdomadibus* und *Liber du causis*: Einige Bemerkungen zu Form und Argumentation der *Regulae theologiae* des Alanus ab Insulis," pp. 47–52, PETER HOFFMAN, "Uber die Fahigkeit menschlicher Erkenntnis bei Thomas von Aquin anhand seiner *Schrift Expositio super librum Boethii De trinitate*," pp. 53–62, RICARDO DA COSTA and ADRIANA ZIERER, "Boécio e Ramon Llull: a Roda da Fortuna, Principio e fim dos homens," pp. 63–70, JORDI PARDO PASTOR, "L'*amore divi* en el *De consolatione philosophiae* de Boeci i en el *Llibre d'Amiche e Amat* de Ramon Llull," pp. 71–76, and JOSÉ G. HIGUERA RUBIÓ, "Del horror al ocio en el Ars luliano y el problema del vacío en la discusión Leibniz-Clarke-Principios teologicos en la epistemología de las ciencias," pp. 77–94]

Galonnier, Alain, ed., *Boèce ou la chaîne des savoirs: Actes du colloque internationale de la Fondation Singer-Polignac Paris, 8–12 juin 1999*, (Philosophes Médiéveaux) 44 (Leuven, 2003). [Published proceedings from an international, interdisciplinary colloquium devoted to examining the full range of Boethius's influence, including his trivial and quadrivial works as well as his status as the "last of the Romans and the first of the Scholastics" and the "founder of the Middle Ages"; the volume features essays—in French, English, Italian, and German—divided into two major sections. The first section, "Boethius and his Times," includes BÉATRICE BAKHOUCHE, "Boèce et le *Timée*,"

pp. 5–22, UMBERTO TODINI, "Boezio, più 'pagano' di Lucrezio?" pp. 23–31, CLAUDIO MICAELLI, "Il De Hebdomadibus di Boezio nel panorama del pensiero tardo-antico," pp. 33–53, JEAN-LUC SOLÈRE, "Bien, cercles et hebdomades: formes et raisonnement chez Boèce et Proclus," pp. 55–110, GAËLLE JEANMART, "Boèce ou les silences de la philosophie," pp. 113–29, THOMAS RICKLIN, "Femme-philosophie et hommes-animaux: essai d'une lecture satirique de la *Consolatio philosophiae* de Boèce," pp. 131–46, JOHN MAGEE, "Boethius' Anapestic Dimeters (Acatalectic), with Regard to the Structure and Argument of the *Consolatio*," pp. 147–69, MICHEL LAMBERT, "Nouveaux éléments pour une étude de l'authenticité boécienne des *Opuscula sacra*," pp. 172–91, MONIKA ASZTALOS, "Boethius on the *Categories*," pp. 195–205, LAMBERT-MARIE DE RIJK, "Boethius on *De interpretatione* (ch. 3): Is he a reliable guide?" pp. 207–27, JEAN JOLIVET, "Quand Boèce aborde Porphyre," pp. 229–40, VALENTIN OMELYANTCHIK, "Boèce et Ammonius sur la question d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise [*Peri hermeneias*, 16 a 1–2]," pp. 241–56, STEN EBBESEN, "Boethius on the Metaphysics of Words," pp. 257–75, LAURENT MITSAKIS, "Enquête sur un vrai-faux Décret: le traité des Lacédémoniens contre Timothée de Milet cité par Boèce dans le *De institutione musica*, I, 1," pp. 279–99, MAX LEJBOWICZ, "'Cassiodorii Euclides': éléments de bibliographie boécienne," pp. 301–39, JEAN-YVES GUILLAUMIN, "Boèce traducteur de Nicomaque: gnomons et pythmènes dans l'*Institution Arithmétique*," pp. 341–55, UBALDO PIZZANI, "Du rapport entre le *De musica* de S. Augustin et le *De institutione musica* de Boèce," pp. 357–77, GIULIO D'ONOFRIO, "Boezio filosofo," pp. 381–419, FABIO TRONCARELLI, "Le radici del cielo. Boezio, la Filosofia, la Sapienza," pp. 421–34, AXEL TISSERAND, "Métaphore et *translatio in divinis*: la théorie de la prédication et la conversion des catégories chez Boèce," pp. 435–63, LUCA OBERTELLO, "Ammonius of Hermias, Zacharias Scholasticus and Boethius: eternity of God and/or time?" pp. 465–79, ANCA VASILIU, "Nature, personne et image dans les traités théologiques de Boèce ou Personne dans le creux du visage," pp. 481–503, ALESSANDRA DI PILLA, "L'elemento della preghiera nella discussione su prescienza e libertà nella *Consolatio philosophiae* di Boezio," pp. 507–29, JOHN MARENBON, "Le temps, la prescience et le déterminisme dans la *Consolation de Philosophie* de Boèce," pp. 531–46, FRANÇOIS BEETS, "Boèce et la sémantique du regard," pp. 547–69, and ALAIN GALONNIER, "Boèce et la connaissance divine des futurs contingents," pp. 571–97; the second section, "La Postérité de Boèce," includes MICHAEL BERNHARD, "Die Rezeption der *Institutio musica* des Boethius im frühen Mittelalter," pp. 601–12, MICHEL LEMOINE, "Boèce modèle du philosophe?" pp. 613–24, AGNIESZKA KIJEWSKA, "Mathematics as a Preparation for Theology: Boethius, Eriugena, Thierry of Chartres," pp. 625–47, VERA RODRIGUES, "Thierry de Chartres, lecteur du *De Trinitate* de Boèce," pp. 649–63, CHRISTIAN MEYER, "Lectures et lecteurs du *De institutione musica* de Boèce au XIIIe siècle," pp. 665–78, DOMINIQUE BERTRAND, "Sur le fondement de la différence dans le *De trinitate*. Thomas d'Aquin interprète de Boèce," pp. 679–96, GRAZIELLA FEDERICI VESCOVINI, "L'exorde de l'*Arithmetica* de Boèce et le commentaire de l'averroïste Thaddée de Parme [1318]," pp. 697–711, C.H. KNEEPKENS, "The Reception of Boethius' *De consolatione* in the Later Middle Ages: The Wolfenbüttel Quaestiones and Buridan's *Quaestiones* on the Ethics," pp. 713–39, MARYVONNE SPIESSER, "L'arithmétique de Boèce dans le contexte de la formation mathématique des marchands au XVe siècle," pp. 741–65, and LODI NAUTA, "Some Aspects of Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae* in the Renaissance," pp. 767–78; another important collection of essays on Boethius by leading scholars]

Humphrey, Illo, ed., *Colloquia Aquitana II—2006: Boèce ([Boethius], Rome, ca. 480–Pavie, 524): l'homme, le philosophe, le scientifique, son oeuvre et son rayonnement*, 2 vols (Paris, 2009). [Proceedings from a colloquium on Boethius; Vol. 1 includes a prologue and introduction by ILLO HUMPHREY, a preface by ÉDITH WEBER, and the following essays: PHILIP EDWARD PHILLIPS, "Boèce, le quadrivium, et la *Consolation de la Philosophie*," pp. 183–201, GUYLÈNE HIDRIO, "Philosophie et Sagesse divine dans les premières enluminures du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce (x^e^–xie siècles): une

lecture chrétienne du traité de Boèce," pp. 203–78, ILLO HUMPHREY, "La Philosophie de l'image dans l'iconographie carolingienne (quelques observations sur la pratique iconographique en Neustrie au ixe siècle, l'exemple du scriptorium de Saint-Martin de Tours entre 830 et 851," pp. 279–313, GENEVIÈVE BRUNEL-LOBRICHON, "Boeci(s), le plus ancien texte de littérature en langue romane, inspiré de la *Consolatio philosophiae* de Boèce," pp. 315–36, ILEANA TOZZI, "L'eredità varroniana raccolta da Severino Boezio per il riordino delle Disciplinae liberals," pp. 337–62, HUH MIN-JUN, "Le premier commentaire de Boèce sur l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre : considérations générales," pp. 363–81, and PHILIPPE DUQUÉNOIS, "(Néo)Platonisme(s) et primitifs flamands: la possible source augustinienne," pp. 383–437; Volume II includes: FABIEN DELOUVÉ, "Le neoplatonisme et la musique à la Renaissance: l'influence des traductions et commentaires de Platon par Marsile Ficin (1433–1499) sur les traités de Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522) et Pontus de Tyard (1521–1605)," pp. 9–104, GHISLAINE VANDENSTEENDAM, "Le déplacement géographique des musiciens dans l'antiquité grecque," pp. 105–69, FABIEN DELOUVÉ, "Sur l'évolution des termes de *ton*, de *trope* et de *mode* de Boèce (*c.*480–524) à Salomon de Caus (*c.*1576–1626)," pp. 171–232, ILLO HUMPHREY, "Le Régime de l'Octave: ses applications chez Platon et chez Boèce d'après Nikómachos o Gerasinós," pp. 233–60, ILLO HUMPHREY, "Les 12 divisions de l'as: leur emploi chez Calcidius et chez Boèce," pp. 261–74, CLARENCE BARLOW, "On the Quantification of Harmony and Metre," pp. 275–306, JEAN-PIERRE NICOLINI, "Les schémas du manuscrit Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches 237: *Boethii De institutione musica libri quinque* Livre III, 10 et Livre III, 16," pp. 307–23, ILLO HUMPHREY, "Études codicologiques : Paris, B.n.F., Fonds grec: 1807 (ixe s.), 1853 (x^e^, xive, xve s.), 2466 (xiie s.) contenant respectivement des œuvres de Pláton (œuvres diverses), Artistotele (œuvres diverses), Euclide (*Les Eléments*)," pp. 325–67, ILLO HUMPHREY, "Études codicologiques: Paris, BnF, Fonds latin 14064 (ixe s.), Fonds latin 7200 (ixe s.), manuscrits contenant respectivement les deux traités: Boethii *De institutione arithmetica libri duo* et Boethii *De institutione musica libri quinque*," pp. 369–82, LAURENT CHARLES LEMAÎTRE MARTIN D'ARTUS, "Un Blason protohéraldique à l'hommage de Boèce l'homme, Boèce le philosophe, Boèce le scientifique," pp. 383–406, ILLO HUMPHREY, "Quelques observations sur le processus cognitif chez Pláton et chez Boèce," pp. 407–39, IÉGOR REZNIKOFF, "L'âme est-elle sonore? Mythe ou réalité," pp. 441–61, GUYLÈNE HIDRIO, "Compte rendu du Concert *Hymne à Boèce*," pp. 463–68, and ILLO HUMPHREY, "Epilogue," pp. 469–76); the volumes include an introduction, preface, and separate general indices]

Kaylor, Noel Harold, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, eds. (with guest ed., Mark Roberts), "Selected Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference on Christian Philosophy: Boethius (Franciscan University of Steubenville, Steubenville, Ohio, April 13–14, 2007)," published as a special issue of *Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society* 16–17 (2007/08). [Selected essays focusing primarily on Boethius as a Christian philosopher; Volume 16 (Part One) contains an opening address by MAX BONILLA, "Boethius and the Educated Mind," pp. v–viii, and chapters by JOHN MAGEE, "Boethius, Last of the Romans," pp. 1–22, PETER KING, "Boethius: The First of the Scholastics," pp. 23–50, STEVEN J. JENSEN, "Boethius and the Three Kinds of Good," pp. 51–70, and ANTHONY SANTAMARIA, "In Pursuit of Happiness: The Platonic and Aristotelian Harmony in *The Consolation of Philosophy*," pp. 71–99; Volume 17 (Part Two) contains essays by SIOBHAN NASH-MARSHALL, "Boethius, Scholarship, and the *Hebdomadibus*'s Axioms," pp. 1–34, ANDREW LAZALLA, "Creation, *Esse*, and *Id Quod Est* in Boethius's *Opuscula Sacra*," pp. 35–56, ROBERT PORWOLL, " 'This Indeed May Seem Strange to Some': Boethius on the Inhumanity and Non-Being of 'Evil Men,' " pp. 57–79, JASON FUKIGAWA, "The Self-Recovery of Boethius: Human Perfection in *The Consolation of Philosophy*," pp. 81–95, and PHILIP EDWARD PHILLIPS, "The English *Consolation of Philosophy*: Translation and Reception," pp. 97–126.]

Nash-Marshall, Siobhan, guest ed. "Boethius," special issue of *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 78.2 (Spring 2004). [Issue focuses primarily on problems in the *Opuscula sacra* and the *Consolatio* and features chapters written by scholars belonging

to different contemporary schools of thought, including SIOBHAN NASH-MARSHALL, "Editor's Introduction," pp. 175–79, CLAUDIO MICAELLI, "Boethian Reflections on God: Between Logic and Metaphysics," pp. 181–202, JOSEPH W. KOTERSKI, S.J., "Boethius and the Theological Origins of the Concept of Person," pp. 203–24, SIOBHAN NASH-MARSHALL, "God, Simplicity, and the *Consolatio Philosophiae*," pp. 225–46, JONATHAN EVANS, "Boethius on Modality and Future Contingents," pp. 247–72, M.V. DOUGHERTY, "The Problem of *Humana Natura* in the *Consolatio Philosophiae* of Boethius," pp. 273–92, JOHN R. FORTIN, O.S.B., "The Nature of Consolation in the *Consolation of Philosophy*," 293–308, PAUL J. LACHANCE, "Boethius on Human Freedom," pp. 309–28, and JOHN MARENBON, "Boethius and the Problem of Paganism," pp. 329–48]

Obertello, Luca A.M., ed., *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani, Pavia, 5–8 ottobre 1980* (Rome, 1981). [Collection of essays in Italian, English, and French (with a preface in Italian by Luca Obertello and Giovanni Scanavino) by leading scholars on a wide range of Boethian subjects—including Boethius and theology, Boethius in Pavia, Boethius and history, Boethius and philosophy, Boethius and the Classical tradition, Boethius and the Middle Ages, and a range of other topics—from the 1980 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Boeziani in Pavia; contains chapters by AGOSTINO TRAPÈ, "Boezio teologo e S. Agostino," pp. 15–25, COLIN J. STARNES, "Boethius and the Development of Christian Humanism: The Theology of the *Consolatio*," pp. 27–38, FAUSTINO GIANANI, " 'In agro Calventiano': il luogo del supplizio di Boezio," pp. 41–47, CATHERINE MORTON, "Boethius in Pavia: The Tradition and the Scholars," pp. 49–58, LUCA OBERTELLO, "La morte di Boezio e la verità storica," pp. 59–70, LELLIA CRACCO RUGGINI, "Nobilità romana e potere nell'età di Boezio," pp. 73–96, EMILIENNE DEMOUGEOT, "La carrière politique de Boèce," pp. 97–108, CLAUDIO LEONARDI, "La controversia trinitaria nell'epoca e nell'opera di Boezio," pp. 109–22, GIUSEPPE ZECCHINI, "La politica degli Anicii nel V secolo," pp. 123–38, LAMBERT M. DE RIJK, "Boèce logicien et philosophe: ses positions sémantiques et sa métaphysique de l'être," pp. 141–56, LUCA OBERTELLO, "L'universo boeziano," pp. 157–68, JORGE J.E. GRACIA, "Boethius and the Problem of Individuation in the *Commentaries on the* Isagoge," pp. 169–82, ALESSANDRO GHISALBERTI, "L'ascesa boeziana a Dio nel libro III della *consolatio*," pp. 183–89, CORNELIA J. DE VOGEL, "Boèce, *Consol.* II m. 8: amour grec ou amour chrétien?" pp. 193–200, FRANCESCO DELLA CORTE, "Boezio e il principio di Archimede," pp. 201–10, UBALDO PIZZANI, "Il *quadrivium* boeziano e i suoi problemi," pp. 211–26, ANTONIO QUACQUARELLI, "Spigolature boeziane," pp. 227–45, ELEONORE STUMP, "Boethius' Theory of Topics and its Place in Early Scholastic Logic," pp. 249–62, MICHAEL MASI, "Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* in the Context of Medieval Mathematics," pp. 263–72, FERRUCCIO BERTINI, "Boezio e Massimiano," pp. 273–83, BRUCE BUBACZ, "Boethius and Augustine on Knowledge of the Physical World," pp. 287–96, CLAUDIO MORESCHINI, "Boezio e la tradizione del Neoplatonismo latino," pp. 297–310, ANNA M. CRABBE, "Anamnesis and Mythology in the *De consolatione philosophiae*," pp. 311–25, CLAUDIO MICAELLI, " 'Natura' e 'persona' nel *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* di Boezio: osservazioni su alcuni problemi filosofici e linguistici," pp. 327–36, FILIPPO LUCIDI, "A proposito di *Cons.* I, II, 6–12: una nuova testimonianza sul *De instituione astronomica* di Boezio?," pp. 337–42, GIULIO D'ONOFRIO, "Agli inizi della diffusione della *Consolatio* e degli *Opuscula Sacra* nella scuola tardo-carolingia: Giovanni Scoto e Remigio di Auxerre," pp. 343–54, LETTERIO MAURO, "Il problema del fato in Beozio e S. Tommaso," pp. 356–65, and WAYNE J. HANKEY, "The *De trinitate* of St Boethius and the Structure of the *Summa theologiae* of St Thomas Aquinas," pp. 367–75; a seminal collection of essays by leading and emerging scholars that laid the foundation for modern Boethian studies, beginning with Masi (1981) and Gibson (1981)]

D. *Articles, Chapters, and Reviews*

Arlig, Andrew, "The Metaphysics of Individuals in the *Opuscula Sacra*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 129–54. [Examines Boethius's general theory of individuals found in *Opuscula* I, III, and V that attempts

to show how "Boethius defines the problems that will inspire generations of philosophers" and "gestures toward many of the solutions that subsequent philosophers will offer" (151)]

Asbell, William J., "The Philosophical Background of *Sufficientia* in Boethius's *Consolation*, Book 3," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 3–16. [Explores the linguistic and philosophical background of the Latin term, *sufficientia*, or "sufficiency," provides a close examination of the contexts and possible meanings of *sufficientia* in the *Consolatio*, and examines the extent to which Boethius's unique use of the term corresponds to meanings in Greek and Latin philosophical works, the Bible, and patristic literature]

Astell, Ann W., "Visualizing Boethius's *Consolation* as Romance," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 111–24. [Investigates the mental images and related manuscript illuminations, comparing Boethius's *Consolatio* to its amatory literary parodies, Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose* as well as Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*; the illuminations discussed allow readers to imagine different ways of visualizing the relationship of philosopher to philosophy itself]

Asztalos, Monika, "Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West: The *Categories*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993), 367–407. [Examines Boethius's commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories* with particular attention to Boethius's working methods; makes suggestions on dating the chronology of the composition of the two works]

Atkinson, J. Keith, "A *Dit contre Fortune*, the Medieval French Boethian *Consolatio* Contained in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 25418," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 53–74. [Examines textual issues concerning a French parchment manuscript from the early 14th to early 15th century]

Barassi, Elena Ferrari, "I Modi Ecclesiastici Nei Trattati Musicali Dell'Età Carolingia. Nascita e Crescita di una Teoria," *Revue Gregorienne* 4 (1975), 3–56. [Boethius's *De musica* appears in several important contexts in Barassi's treatment of the development of modality in the Carolingian era, notably in the areas of the *tonoi*, the conjunct vs. disjunct systems, and the development of letter notation to represent discrete pitch]

Bark, William, "The Legend of Boethius' Martyrdom," *Speculum* 21 (1946), 312–17; repr. in Fuhrmann, Manfred, and Joachim Gruber, eds., *Boethius*, (Wege der Forschung) 483 (Darmstadt, 1984). [Makes a case for abandoning the theory of Boethius as martyr; looking at the relative mildness of Boethius's statements on Arianism within the religious and historical context of the period, suggests that Boethius's death was not an act of religious persecution]

——, "Theodoric vs. Boethius: Vindication and Apology," *American Historical Review* 49 (1944), 410–26; repr. in Fuhrmann, Manfred, and Joachim Gruber, eds., *Boethius*, (Wege der Forschung) 483 (Darmstadt, 1984). [Focuses upon contemporary theological evidence and writings on Boethius's fall from favor in Theodoric's government; addresses issues of religious martyrdom and treason; argues that Boethius's theological activities were connected to political programs contrary to Theodoric's agenda]

Barnes, Jonathan, "Boethius and the Study of Logic," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 73–89. [Discusses Boethius's logical works, including his translations, commentaries, and treatises; argues that Boethius is significant not only as an original logician but as a transmitter of Greek thought to the Latin world]

Barnish, S.J.B., "The *Anonymous Valesianus* II as a Source for the Last Years of Theoderic," *Latomus* 42.3 (1983), 572–96. [Examines the bias and credibility of the *Anonymous Valesianus* II, which gives accounts of Theoderic's reign in Italy and Boethius's trial and execution; attempts to rehabilitate the text from the criticisms presented in R. Cessi's

edition of *Anonymous Valesianus*; Barnish sees the text as having "greater unity" than earlier supposed (573) and that "the defects of the *Anonymous* in this area are due not to incompetence, but to calculated omission, and well judged compression" (595)]

Barry, Barbara, "Heavenly Harmony and the Tradition of Mediaeval Number Theory," *The Consort* 36 (1986), 361–64. [A brief, general introduction to *musica mundana*, focusing mainly on Greek primary sources important to Boethius's later work on the subject]

Bately, Janet, "Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisted," *Medium Ævum* 78.2 (2009), 189–215. [Bately is unconvinced by the arguments of Godden and Treschow, et al., who question the the Alfedian authorship of the "Alfredian" canon; Bately maintains that "it is reasonable to conclude" that there was "one mind" behind the translations or renderings of *Pastoral Care, Consolatio, Soliloquies*, and *Psalms*, "and that that mind was King Alfred's" (209)]

Beaumont, Jacqueline, "The Latin Tradition of *De Consolationae Philosophae*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 278–305. [Examines the Latin reception of Boethius's *Consolatio* primarily through the Latin commentaries, ranging from Remegius to William of Conches]

Benedict XVI, "On Boethius and Cassiodorus," catechesis given at St Peter's Basilica at the weekly general audience in Paul VI Hall on March 12, 2008; *Zenit.org*, 13 March 2008. [Pope Benedict XVI's assessment of both Boethius and Cassiodorus as ecclesiastical writers whose lives and works provide positive examples of hope and reconciliation; a full-text version of the catechesis is available online at http://www.zenit.org/article-22041?l=english]

Bernhard, Michael, "Glosses on Boethius' *De Instutione Musica*," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Andre Barbera (Notre Dame, 1990), pp. 136–49. [Lists more than 60 glossed sources of the *De musica* and posits that Charlemagne's librarians were the source of all surviving manuscript traditions of the work and that the glosses, whose subject matter is largely mathematical and philosophical rather than musical, stem from this period]

Boissier, G., "Le Christianisme de Boèce," *Journal des Savants* (1889), 449–62. [An early article that explores questions concerning Boethius's Christianity]

Bolton, Diane K., "Illustrations in Manuscripts of Boethius' Works," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 428–37. [Provides additional commentary on the illuminations identified and discussed by Courcelle (1967)]

——, "The Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 44 (1977), 33–78. [An account of the history and influence of the *Consolatio* after its revival by the Carolingian Renaissance; discusses the significance of Alfred's Old English translation and examines the revisions and additions made to the text by later Anglo-Saxon commentators; contains two appendices, one giving descriptions of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and another listing mythological glosses in Remigian manuscripts]

Bonnaud, R., "L'education scientifique de Boèce," *Speculum* 4 (1929), 198–206. [Argues the controversial position that Boethius studied in Athens, where he was influenced by neo-Platonic philosophy]

Bowen, Alan C. and William R. Bowen, "The Translator as Interpreter: Euclid's *Sectio Canonis* and Ptolemy's *Harmonica* in the Latin Tradition," in *Music Discourse from Classical to Early Modern Times: Editing and Translating Texts/Papers*, ed. Maria Rika Maniates (Toronto, 1990), pp. 97–148. [Argues that Boethius distorts Euclid and Ptolemy to his own Pythagorean ends in *De musica*]

Bower, Calvin, "Boethius and Nichomachus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of *De institutione musica*," *Vivarium* 16 (1978), 1–45. [Argues that *De musica* is largely a translation of Nicomachus, with more precise implications for the actual lifetime of Nicomachus, and proposes that Boethius planned a large, seven-part treatise consisting of four books translated from a lost work of Nicomachus and three books from the *Harmonica* of Ptolemy]

——, "The Role of Boethius' *De Institutionae Musica* in the Speculative Tradition of Western Musical Thought," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 157–74. [Argues that Boethius's *De musica* played a significant and clearly definable role in shaping the language and concepts with which the West sought to understand and articulate music in the 9th through the 11th centuries.]

——, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, (The Cambridge History of Music) (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 136–67. [A chronological survey of the topic that includes a discussion of Boethius]

Bradshaw, David, "The *Opuscula Sacra*: Boethius and Theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 105–28. [By examining how Boethius uses "a purely philosophical method" to discuss issues concerning revealed theology in his *Opuscula sacra* (125), Bradshaw emphasizes how "developments and issues in Greek theology at the time [of Boethius] are used to throw light on" his writing (4)]

Caldwell, John, "The *De Institutionae Arithmetica* and the *De Institutionae Musica*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 135–54. [Discussion of possible sources for Boethius's quadrivial works; *De arithmetica* probably comes from Nichomachus of Gerasa and *De musica* comes from the Pythagoreans; argues that Boethius was likely not a performer but a music theorist]

——, "The Concept of Musical Judgement in Late Antiquity," in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett et al. (London, 1991), pp. 161–68. [Discusses Boethius's definition of the *musicus*, a definition that rests upon the ambiguous term *disciplina*; finds the lack of practical music striking because of the documented cases where Boethius himself exercised expert musical judgment for Theordoric's court]

Cameron, Margaret, "Boethius on Utterances, Understanding and Reality," *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 85–104. [Provides an overview of Boethius's theory of signification, which deals with utterances, understanding, and reality, as found in his commentaries on logic; discusses how Boethius's theories were "variously interpreted from medieval and contemporary perspectives" (85).]

Carpenter, Nan Cooke, "The Study of Music at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 2.2 (1954), 119–33. [Gives evidence for the study of music as a liberal art at the University of Paris and presents descriptions of the various types of musical practices and the texts used at the Sorbonne; situates Boethius in the development of musical studies in Paris]

Cessario, Romanus, "Boethius, Christ, and the New Order," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 157–68. [Argues for the centrality of Boethius's Christianity to his life and works in its discussion of the *Consolatio* and the theological tractates]

Chadwick, Henry, "Theta on Philosophy's Dress in Boethius," *Medium Aevum* 49.2 (1980), 175–79. [By comparing descriptions of medieval prison clothing which bore the Greek letter Theta to signify one condemned to death, Chadwick presents an interpretation of Philosophy's clothing informed by Boethius's experience in prison]

Chamberlain, David S., "Philosophy of Music in the *Consolatio* of Boethius," *Speculum* 45.1 (1970), 80–97. [Examines the various musical aspects of the *Consolatio*, tracing Boethius's three types of *musica* (*mundana, humana*, and *instrumentalis*) and their role in the author's musical philosophy and focusing on neo-Platonic musical and cosmological influences on the *Consolatio*, drawn largely from the *Timeaus* tradition]

——, "The Nun's Priest's Tale and Boethius's *De Musica*," *Modern Philology* 68.2 (1970), 188–91. [Argues against Peter Dronke, who interpreted Chaucer's phrase, "*Than had Boéce, or any that kan synge* [...]," as a slight to Boethius as the opposite of those with practical knowledge and skill in music; rather, his view is that this phrase should be

understood to include Boethius as a musician who indeed could sing, and therefore an exemplar of good musicianship; also examines passages from *De musica* and *Consolatio* in relationship to the actions and character of Chaucer's Chauntecleer]

Coster, Charles H., "The Rise and Fall of Boethius: His Character," *Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 12 (1952); (*Mélanges Henri Grégoire*) 4 (Brussels, 1953), pp. 45–81 [Re-examines the circumstances of Boethius's arrest, imprisonment, and death]

Courcelle, Pierre-Paul, "Boèce et l'école d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges de l'École Français de Rome* 52 (1935), 185–223. [Argues that Boethius studied in Alexandria and would have made use of the texts found there, including Ammonius's commentaries; provides an anlysis of Ammonius's possible influence on the logical and philosophical works of Boethius]

——, "The East to the Rescue," in *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry Wedeck (Cambridge, MA, 1969), pp. 273–330. [Concerns Boethius's Greek learning and his efforts to inroduce Greek learning to his Roman contemporaries; drawing proof from Boethius's letter to Symmachus, Courcelle argues that Boethius translated Aristotle's *Logic* and paraphrased Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Arithmetic* because he believed that Hellenic culture alone could help raise the level of studies in the West; to that end, Boethius tried to establish a Latin scholasticism similar to that which prevailed in the Hellenic East; Courcelle not only argues the controversial position that Boethius studied in Alexandria but also that his principal influence was Ammonius]

——, "Le Personnage de la Philosophie dans la litérature latine," *Journal des Savants* (1970), 209–52. [Discusses the representation and significance of Lady Philosophy in Latin literature]

Cropp, Glynnis M., "An Italian Translation of *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion*," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 35 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 75–82. [Examines an Italian version of the most widely known medieval French translation of the *Consolatio*, arguing Books I–IV to be a translation of the un-glossed version of *Le Livre de Boece*, with abridgements and omissions, and with little amplification]

Curley, T.F., "*The Consolation of Philosophy* as a Work of Literature," *American Journal of Philology* (1987), 343–67. [Examines the *Consolatio* as a literary work and an example of Menippean Satire; goes beyond examining Boethius's literary influences and the influence of the *Consolatio* upon later authors to demonstrate Boethius's literary purposes and their effects upon philosophical content]

——, "How to Read the *Consolation of Philosophy*," *Interpretation* 14 (1986), 211–63. [Examines the *Consolatio* as a work of literature rather than philosophy; shows the necessity of clarifying the structure and purpose of the philosophical content, examines the *Consolatio* as dialogue, and speculates on Boethius's use of Menippean Satire]

De Rijk, Lambert M., "On the Chronology of Boethius' Works on Logic. I and II," *Vivarium* 2 (1964), 1–49; 125–62. [A detailed examination of the referential and terminological data informing the chronology of Boethius's works on logic; surveys past contributions on the subject and mediates between disparate theories]

De Vogel, Cornelia J., "Amor, quo caelum regitur," *Vivarium* 1 (1972), 2–34. [Examines Christian and neo-Platonic views of love in Boethius's *Consolatio* 2m8; makes connections to the works of *pseudo*-Dionysius and Proclus and discusses possible ties among the authors]

——, "Boethiana I," *Vivarium* (1971), 59–66; "Boethiana II," *Vivarium* (1972), 1–40. [A continuation of the debate on whether Boethius studied solely in Rome and Athens or also in Alexandria; in this two-part essay, De Vogel first tests the arguments held by J. Shiel, L.M. de Rijk, and Minio-Paluello against the argument made by Courcelle; in the second part, De Vogel applies her conclusions in an examination of the Christian and pagan elements of the *Consolatio* and what they may reveal about Boethius's character and beliefs]

Dehnert, Edumund John, "Music as Liberal in Augustine and Boethius," in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie Au Moyen Âge: Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale* (Montréal, 1967), pp. 987–91. [Compares and contrasts the relationship of musical learning to material experience, seeing a sharp distinction between Augustine and Boethius; views Boethius's three kinds of being as analogous to the three categories of music, and considers his Platonic idealism to be less concerned with human affairs than Augustine's more physically limited metaphysics]

Donaghey, Brian, "The Post-Medieval English Translations of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, 1500–1800," in *The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Age*, vol. 5, ed. Roger Ellis and René Tixier (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 302–21. [Provides a "preliminary survey" of the major trends in the post-medieval English translations of Boethius's *Consolatio*, including descriptions of the translations and discussions of their composition and general literary-historical significance; includes a valuable appendix containing checklists of translations of the *Consolatio* in Continental Europe, English editions of Boethius, English translations of the *Consolatio*, 1500–1800, occasional or minor renderings, and examples of printings of the individual meters]

Drake, Graham N., "The Muses in the *Consolation*: The Late Medieval Mythographic Tradition," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 169–219. [Explains how different commentators have reacted to Boethius's references to the Muses through the centuries]

Dronke, Peter, "L'amor Che Move Il Sole E L'altre Stelle," *Studi medievali* 6.1 (1965), 389–422. [Dronke's classic treatment of love as a driving force unites Boethius with other emanationist systems, most notably Dante's construction of Heaven in *Paradiso*]

Ebbesen, Sten, "The Aristotelian Commentator," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 34–55. [Examines Boethius as Aristotelian commentator and discusses the significance of Boethius's choice to make Porphyry his primary source; good introduction to the subject]

——, "Boethius as an Aristotelian Commentator," in *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, ed. Richard Sorabji (Ithaca, NY, 1990), pp. 373–92. [A descriptive assessment of Boethius as Aristotelian commentator; examines Boethius's role in transmitting a fundamental and understandable commentary tradition to posterity and theorizes about Boethius's intentions for his commentaries; to analyze Boethius's linguistic and theoretical choices, the chapter focuses upon Boethius's commentaries in relationship to his immediate source and predecessor, Porphyry]

Edmiston, Jean, "Boethius on Pythagorean Music," *Music Review* 35.3–4 (1974), 179–84. [Reviews the mythological and cosmological aspects of Boethius's harmonics and discusses the basic acoustics of sound in *De musica*]

Ellinwood, Leonard, "Ars Musica," *Speculum* 20.3 (1945), 290–99. [Contrasts the *ars musica* tradition, stemming from Boethius, with the choir-school treatises, showing similarities and differences in topics found in the treatises of academicians (*ars musica*) and theorists (*cantus* treatises); notes the lack of practical instruction in music in university settings from *c.*1300 onward.]

Erickson, Raymond, "Eriugena, Boethius, and the Neoplatonism of *Musica* and *Scolica Enchiriadis*," in *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff, Hanning Baker, and Barbara Russano (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), pp. 53–78. [Refutes the traditional view that Eriugena's neo-Platonism inspired the Enchiraidis treatises, determining that the source of this information is found in Boethius]

Erismann, Christophe, "The Medieval Fortunes of the *Opuscula Sacra*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 155–77. [Examines the reception of the *Opuscula sacra* and their influence on medieval thought]

Gibson, Margaret, " 'Tradizioni perdute' of the *De Consolatio philosophiae*: Comments on a Recent Book," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984), 274–78. [Disputes Troncarelli's

claim that Cassiodorus produced an edition of Boethius's *Consolatio*; argues instead that the book was produced in the 8th century, in northern Italy, where classical culture was still partially alive]

Godden, M.R., "Did King Alfred Write Anything?" *Medium Ævum* 76.1 (2007), 1–23. [Reviews the much-debated issue of Alfred's personal "authorship" of the texts attributed to him, concluding that Alfred "did not 'write' anything"; although Godden admits that the answer to the question of authorship must remain uncertain for now, his personal view is that the Preface to the *Pastoral Care* was done in Alfred's name by someone else and issued with his authorization, the translations of the *Consolatio* and *Soliloquies* were likely not connected to the king but rather posthumously attributed to him, and the law code was written by others in Alfred's name; as for the *Psalms*, Godden writes, "there is no real evidence for authorship"; this is an important article in the debate over Alfredian "authorship" that seriously calls into question the assumptions that have been made by and that have shaped scholars' interpretations of these texts]

Green-Pedersen, N.J., "William of Champeaux on Boethius's *Topics* According to Orleans Bibl. Mun. 266," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 13 (1974), 13–30. [Comparative study of fragments from three anonymous commentaries found in Orléans Bibliothèque municipale 266 that makes conclusions regarding their connections to William of Champeaux and school surrounding Peter Abelard]

Gualtieri, Angelo, "Lady Philosophy in Boethius and Dante," *Comparative Literature* 23.2 (1971), 141–50. [Emphasizing Dante's debt to Boethius, Gualtieri examines some similarities between depictions of Lady Philosophy in Boethius's *Consolatio* and Dante's *Convivio*; focuses upon resemblances in "the intention[s] of the author[s], the profitableness and the arrangement of the work[s]" as well as "the title[s], the genuineness, and the overall field of knowledge involved in the process of composition" for the two works (142)]

Guillaumin, Jean-Yves, "Le term *quadriuium* de Boèce et ses aspects moraux," *L'Antiquité classique* 59 (1990), 139–48. [Concerns the moral implications of the "quadrivium" in Boethius's works]

Herold, Christine, "Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a Bridge between Classical and Christian Conceptions of Tragedy," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 17–31. [A philosophical approach to the *Consolatio* as it mediates Platonic and Senecan views of tragedy, demonstrated by the interaction between the metrical and prose passages, which dramatize the debate between poetry and philosophy]

Holloway, Julia Bolton, "'The Asse to the Harpe': Boethian Music in Chaucer," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 175–86. [The common trope of the harping ass, an inversion of the divine strings played by the kithara players of old, is used by Chaucer, with the direct influence of a passage in Boethius's *Consolatio*, to signify an inversion of the Boethian true accord between *musica humana* and *musica mundana*; Holloway traces the emergence of this ideal and Chaucer's application of this image to Pandarus in *Troilus and Criseyde*]

Houswitschka, Christoph, "The Eternal Triangle of Writer, Patron, and Fortune in Late Medieval Literature," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 125–41. [Considers the problem of Fortune in the works of many medieval writers, including Christine de Pizan; argues that a writer's position regarding Fortune can be best understood within the context of his or her political situation and the relationship that the writer wishes to establish and maintain with his or her patron]

Hübner, W., "Die Begriffe 'Astrologie' und 'Astronomie' in der Antik. Wortgeschichte und Wissenschaftssystematik mit einer Hypothese zum Terminus 'Quadrivium,'" *Abhandlungen der Akadmie der Wissenschaften in Mainz* 7 (1989), 49–67. [Concerns the term *quadrivium* and its meaning and significance in late antique and medieval culture]

Huglo, Michel, "The Study of Ancient Sources of Music Theory in the Medieval Universities," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Andre Barbera (Notre Dame, 1990), pp. 150–72. [Charts the use of various ancient sources (Martianus Capella, Boethius, etc.), across the surviving manuscript copies of their works, finding that Boethius's quadrivial works were the basis of cathedral school and early university musical *curricula* and that the use of his texts continued in some centers even during the Aristotelian dominance of the 13th and 14th centuries]

Huot, Sylvia, "Re-fashioning Boethius: Prose and Poetry in Chartier's *Livre de L'Esperance*," *Medium Aevum* 76:2 (2007), 268–84. [Examines Boethian passages in Chartier, as well as the role of reading in light of the reader's inner receptivity, a test of Boethian *musica humana*, bringing Boethian *musica* into the natural music of 15th-century poetry]

——, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," *Modern Philology* 100.2 (2002), 169–95. [Examines the influence of Boethius's *Consolatio* on several of Machaut's poetic works, including the *Remede de Fortune* and *Confort d'Ami*; examines Machaut's reworking of his source material in the service of courtly rhetoric]

Jensen, Steven J., "Boethius and the Three Kinds of Good," *Carmina Philosophiae* 16 (2007), 51–70. [Based on Boethius's *De Hebdomadibus*, argues that Boethius has three distinct notions of the good: a "participated goodness," an "unparticipated goodness," and a "goodness in creatures arising from some relationship to God"; the essay seeks to elucidate these three kinds of goodness, especially third, through an examination of Boethius's representation of the good in the *Consolatio*]

Kárpáti, András, "Translation or Compilation? Contributions to the Analysis of Sources of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica*," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29.1/4 (1987), 5–33. [Kárpáti argues that Boethius's work is a compilation of sources with an overall Ptolemaic bent, versus Bower's view that Boethius relies on the translation of a single source of Nicomachus]

Kaylor, Noel Harold, Jr., "Euclid in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and Some English Translations," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2010), 70–79. [Considers the influence that Boethius's earlier work on translating Euclid's *Elements* appears to have had on concepts developed in the *Consolatio*, particularly with reference to the concept of *Deus*, which exists outside time and space]

——, "John Walton's 1410 Verse Translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Context of Medieval Tradition," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 6 (1983), 121–48. [Examines Walton's translation of the *Consolatio* within the context of the medieval vernacular tradition]

Kibre, Pearl, "The Boethian *De Institutione Arithmetica* and the *Quadrivium* in the Thirteenth Century University Milieu at Paris," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 67–80. [Examines evidence reflecting and exemplifying the continuity of interest in Boethius's *De arithmetica* and the quadrivium in the university culture of 13th-century Paris]

King, Peter, "Boethius: The First of the Scholastics," *Carmina Philosophiae* 16 (2007), 23–50. [Examines the "neglected history" of glosses on Boethius's *Consolatio* in the Middle Ages by focusing on the reception of Boethius's masterpiece as a philosophical text; provides a useful bibliography that includes seven extensive medieval philosophical treatments of the *Consolatio* from the 9th to the 15th centuries, all of which are available in edited editions]

Leff, Michael C., "Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, Book IV," in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 3–24. [Explains that, despite Boethius's attempt to synthesize the theory of rhetorical and dialectical topics, the fourth book of the *De differentiis topicis* "was isolated from its context and used as a sort of rhetorical textbook" (5); also examines the structure of the book, Boethius's theory of topics, and how his theory was ignored or adapted in later medieval rhetorical theory]

——, "The Topics of Argumentative Invention in Latin Rhetorical Theory from Cicero to Boethius," in *Rhetorica* 1.1 (1983), 23–44. [Examines the developments of the complex theory of Latin rhetorical topics "associated with the person and with the act" (24); first, places the Latin topics tradition in a theoretical context, recounting its origins in Greek rhetoric and its adaptations with Cicero and Quintilian; culminates in an explanation of Boethius's variation of the theory in *De differentiis topicis*]

Lewry, Osmund, "Boethian Logic in the Medieval West," in Margaret Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 90–134. [Traces the reception and influence of Boethius's logical works through the great schools from the Middle Ages through the 1500s; also treats Boethius's sources]

Liebeschuetz, H., "Boethius and the Legacy of Antiquity," in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A.H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 538–64. [An overview of Boethius's pursuit of philosophical and theological learning; presents Boethius in relationship to the classical tradition, religious dogma, the *Consolatio*, religious and political allegiances, and Isidore of Seville]

Magee, John, "The Boethian Wheels of Fortune and Fate," *Medieval Studies* 49 (1987), 524–33. [Responds to H.R. Patch's suggestion that Boethius confuses the works of Fate with those of Fortune's wheel in the *Consolatio*; by examining the tradition of Fortune and Fate in Presocratic, Platonic, and neo-Platonic writings and refuting the arguments that Boethius's treatment of Fortune and Fate is borrowed solely from Plotinus and Proclus, Magee suggests that "rather than confusing Fortune and Fate, Boethius regarded both as reducible to Providence" (525)]

——, "Boethius' Anapestic Dimeters (Acatalectic), with Regard to the Structure and Argument of the *Consolatio*," in *Boèce ou la chaîne des Savoirs*, ed. A. Galonnier (Louvain-Paris, 2003), pp. 147–69. [Traces a philosophical "argument" in four strategically placed poems (1m5, 3m2, 4m6, and 5m3) written in the same meter, noting their correspondences and implications for the broader argument of the *Consolatio*; companion piece to "Boethius' *Consolatio* and the Theme of Roman Liberty" (2005), below]

——, "Boethius' *Consolatio* and the Theme of Roman Liberty," *Phoenix* 59 (2005): 348–64. [Seeks to elucidate the broader philosophical argument as manifested in the *Consolatio*'s literary structure; the essay takes as its starting point *Consolatio* 1p4/1m5 and 5p3/5m3, noting their correspondences and implications for the theme of *libertas* as developed over the course of the dialogue; companion piece to his essay, "Boethius's Anapestic Dimeters (Acatalectic), (…)," in *Boèce ou la chaîne des Savoirs*, ed. A. Galonnier (Louvain-Paris, 2003)]

——, "Boethius, Last of the Romans," *Carmina Philosophiae* 16 (2007), 1–22. [Considers Boethius within his cultural and intellectual context; argues that Boethius, under Theodoric, "nourished hopes of both Romanizing the Ostrogoths and Hellenizing the Romans" (3), hopes that were not meant to be realized; a fascinating and engaging assessment of Boethius's milieu]

——, "The Good and Morality: *Consolatio* 2–4," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 181–206. [Examines Boethius's argument about the Good in Books 2–4 of the *Consolatio* and "pay[s] especial attention to the way that Boethius's means of presentation deepens the philosophical position he is proposing" (5)]

——, "Note on Boethius, *Consolatio* I.1.5; 3,7: A New Biblical Parallel," *Vigiliae Christianae* 42 (1988), 79–82. [Closely examines passages from the Vulgate that shed new light on the description of the rending of Lady Philosophy's gown in *Consolatio* 1, traditionally interpreted as representing the strife between rival philosophical schools; suggests that the image could also signify the heresies that tear apart the Church, and that it might be a veiled "reproach" aimed at the Arian Theodoric, "whose policy of religious toleration was lately strained by Constantinople's increasing hostility towards unorthodoxy" (80); concludes that Boethius would have identified himself not only with the "martyrs" of

pagan philosophy but also with the martyrs of the Church, although he stops short of identifying Boethius as a Christian martyr]

——, "On the Composition and Sources of Boethius' Second *Peri Hermeneias* Commentary," *Vivarium* 48 (2010), 7–54. [Concerns the text of the *Peri Hermenias* as it was known to and commented on by Boethius and Ammonius, the organizational principles behind Boethius's second commentary on the work, and the source(s) behind the work; demonstrates that while Boethius's and Ammonius's commentaries belong to a common tradition, they are nevertheless independent of one another; concludes by giving special attention to Boethius's debt to Porphyry; a significant and clearly presented treatment of Boethius's logical translations and commentaires]

Marenbon, John, "Boethius: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Philosophy*, ed. John Marenbon, (Routledge History of Philosophy) 3 (London, 1998), pp. 11–28. [Treats the logical works, theological treatises, and the *Consolatio*, including discussions of such central issues as the *summum bonum*, divine prescience and human free will, and neo-Platonism and Christianity; establishes Boethius's importance to later medieval philosophers in the West; includes a seelect bibliography of primary and secondary sources]

Martin, Christopher J., "The Logical Textbooks and Their Influence," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 56–84. [Focuses on Boethius's *De hypotheticis syllogismis* and his other works on logic to suggest that, while Boethius "provided most of what [medieval philosophers] knew about ancient logic" (56), his approach to logic limited "his capacities as a logical innovator" (4)]

Masi, Michael, "Boethius, the Wife of Bath, and the Dialectic of Paradox," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 143–54. [Discusses the Wife of Bath's logical method, consisting of contrasting opposites and reminiscent of Boethius's philosophical method in the *Consolatio*]

——, "The Influence of Boethius *De Arithmetica* on Late Medieval Mathematics," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 81–96. [Proposes to extend Ubaldo Pizzani's survey (a study of Boethius's *De musica* and how it was disseminated throughout Middle Ages, included in this collection) to the late history of the *De arithmetica* and to examine how the history of Boethian number theory underwent various changes]

——, "Manuscripts Containing the *De Musica* of Boethius," *Manuscripta* 15.2 (1971), 89–95. [Catalogue of all known significant manuscript sources of *De musica*]

——, Review of *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius. Fundamentals of Music* [*De institutione musica*], trans. Calvin M. Bower and ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, 1989), *Carmina Philosophiae* 2 (1993), 105–109. [Favorable review of Bower's translation of Boethius's *De institutione musica* that discusses the treatise as a companion piece to *De institutione arithmetica*, which Masi translated (1983), and the significance of both works as part of the medieval *quadrivium*]

McKinlay, Arthur Patch, "The *De syllogismis categoricis* and *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos* of Boethius," *Classical and Mediæval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. Leslie W. Jones (Freeport, NY, 1968), pp. 209–20. [Noting the confusion of the titles *De syllogismis categoricis* and *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos* in early manuscripts, McNabb investigates the interrelations of the two works; containing stylistic tests and a survey of "all the works of Boethius that are related to the works in questions [. . . and] the theories that deal with them" (210), the chapter attempts to date *De syllogismis categoricis* in relationship to Boethius's other works and calls for a renaming of the two documents]

Minio-Paluello, L., "A Latin Commentary (? Translated by Boethius) on the *Prior Analytics*, and Its Greek Sources," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957), 93–102. [Hypothesizes that Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi, J.VI.34 contains the second edition of Boethius's translation of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* "in its purest form,

and the only one which contains the 'corpus' of Greek scholia translated into Latin" (102); contains an extensive examination of the accompanying Latin and Greek *scholia*, which is heavily reprinted in the essay, and suggests that Boethius is the translator of the Latin *scholia*]

Moorhead, John, "Boethius and the Romans in Ostrogothic Service," *Historia: Zeitschrift fur Alte Geschichte* 27.4 (1978), 604–12. [Based on the documented views of Cassiodorus and Ennodius on Theodoric's reign, Moorhead examines Boethius's role in the Ostrogothic government, revealing how intense a commitment was needed for Romans to ally themselves with the Goths; provides useful insight into how the Ostrogothic government functioned]

——, "Boethius' Life and the World of Late Antiquity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 13–33. [Provides a highly accessible overview of Boethius's social milieu and introduces key ideas of late antique philosophy]

Nauta, Lodi, "The *Consolation*: The Latin Commentary Tradition, 800–1700," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 255–78. [An informative, "provisional" survey of the massive commentary tradition on the *Consolation*]

Papahagi, Adrian, "From Boethius's *Orbes* simile to the Wheel of Fate Metaphor in the Old English Version of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* (IV, Prose 6.15)," *Scriptorium* 63.1 (2009), 3–29. [Through an analysis of this passage, which explains the relationship between fate and divine providence, the article evaluates the debt of the Old English *Boethius* to the iconography present in the margins of the Latin manuscripts of the *Consolatio*.]

——, "The Transmission of Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae* in the Carolingian Age," *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009), 1–15. [Argues that Theodulf of Orleans and Fleury stand at the beginning of Carolingian transmission of the *Consolatio* rather than Alcuin of York]

Patch, H.A., "Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists," *Speculum* 4 (1929), 62–72. [A brief study of how Boethius's ideas on Fate and Fortune in the *Consolatio* were primarily influenced by the works of Proclus yet supplemented by the works of Plotinus]

——, "Necessity in Boethius and the Neoplatonists." *Speculum* 10 (1935), 393–404. [Surveys the history of "necessity"; shows that Boethius's originality in the development of the concept is not in invention but rather in the adaptation of it in the *Consolatio*; also traces Boethius's methods of composition based on the concept of necessity]

Pepe, L. "La metrica di Boetio," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* (1954), 227–43. [Examines the various metrical patterns employed by Boethius in the meters of the *Consolatio*]

Phillips, Philip Edward, "Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the *Lamentatio*/*Consolatio* Tradition," *Medieval English Studies* 9.2 (2001), 5–27. [Interprets Boethius's *Consolatio* not as a Menippean satire but primarily as a *consolatio* that employs the classical *topoi* of the *lamentatio*/*consolatio* tradition in order to dramatize the narrator's educational journey from despair to hope]

——, "The English *Consolation of Philosophy*: Translation and Reception," *Carmina Philosophiae* 17 (2008), 97–126. [Surveys the English translations of Boethius's *Consolatio*, published and unpublished, from the 9th through the 21st centuries, and provides a definitive checklist of the translations of the Latin *Consolatio* organized into the following categories: Complete and Near Complete English Translations, Partial English Translations, and Occasional English Translations, as well as the Modern English Translations of the Old English *Boethius* traditionally attributed to Alfred; analyzes sample passages from Geoffrey Chaucer, Elizabeth I, Alexander Pope, and H.R. James, placing these translations and others within their cultural and literary-historical contexts]

——, "King Alfred the Great and the Victorian Translations of his Anglo-Saxon *Boethius*," in *Global Perspectives on Medieval English Literature, Language, and Culture*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Richard Scott Nokes (Kalamazoo, 2007), pp. 155–73. [Places the Modern English translations of the Old English *Boethius* into the historical circumstances in which they were produced and discusses the interrelatedness of those translations]

——, "Lady Philosophy's Therapeutic Method: The 'Gentler' and the 'Stronger' Remedies in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," *Medieval English Studies* 10.2 (2002), 5–26. [Explores Boethius's knowledge of Greek and Roman medical theory and identifies ways in which Boethius applied the symptoms and the methods discussed by such writers as Galen and Caelius Aurelianus to his presentation of the narrator's sickness and Lady Philosophy's therapeutic method in the *Consolatio*]

Pingree, David, "Boethius' Geometry and Astronomy: The *De Instiutione Arithmetica* and the *De Institutione Musica*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 155–61. [Attempts to trace Boethius's *Geometry* and *Astronomy* (texts implied by a letter of Cassiodorus) through anonymous manuscripts that seem to stem from lost *exempla*; concludes that Boethius was not alone in his project to rescue Greek thought from obscurity *via* translation]

Pizzani, Ubaldo, "The Influence of *De Institutionae Musica* of Boethius up to Gerbert D'Aurillae: A Tentative Contribution," in *Boethius and the Liberal Arts: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Masi (Bern, 1981), pp. 97–156. [Examines the influence of the didactic applications of *De musica*—as a part of the *quadrivium*—on medieval scholasticism]

——, "Studi sulle fonti del *De Institutione Musica* di Boezio," *Sacris Erudiri* 16 (1965), 5–164. [Provides a detailed study of the sources of Boethius's *De musica*]

Radding, Charles M., "Fortune and Her Wheel: The Meaning of a Medieval Symbol," *Mediaevistik* 5 (1992), 127–38. [Questions the premise that *Fortuna* and her wheel were seen as symbols of social mobility in the 11th and 12th centuries based on medieval artistic renderings; the article, which approaches the *Consolatio* as the text which "crystallized this idea of a Wheel of Fortune" (128), posits that the two symbols were understood during the central Middle Ages to represent the general operations of chance in individual careers rather than God's justice in society]

Rand, E.K., "Boethius, the First of the Scholastics," in *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1928; repr. New York, 1957), pp. 135–80) [Chapter 5 provides an excellent introduction to Boethius, his life, thought, and works; a seminal essay on Boethius]

Robinson, Phoebe, "Dead Boethius: Sixth-Century Accounts of a Future Martyr," *Viator* 35 (2004), 1–19. [A fresh examination of the last days of Boethius and, more significantly, the various political and religious ways in which his imprisonment and execution were interpreted over the course of the 6th century]

Schmid, W., "Philosophisches und Medizinisches in der *Consolatio* des Boethius," *Festschrift für Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 113–44. [Detailed treatment of Boethius's use of classical medical terminology in the *Consolatio*]

Shanzer, Danuta, "The Death of Boethius and *The Consolation of Philosophy*," *Hermes* (1984), 352–66. [Reexamines the literary features of the *Consolatio* in order to show that it was indeed Boethius's last work; also addresses arguments made by Henry Chadwick and Edmund Reiss concerning the date and place of the *Consolatio*'s composition]

——, "Interpreting the *Consolation*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 228–54. [Examining the "generic markers, sources, allusions and narrative patterns and structures" of the *Consolatio*, the essay is concerned not only with literary interpretation but also with the methods of interpretation employed by more recent critics]

Sharples, Robert, "Fate, Prescience and Free Will," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 207–27. [Discusses Boethius's views of divine foreknowledge presented his commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* and his own *Consolatio*]

Shiel, James, "Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 217–44; repr. in *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, ed. Richard Sorabji (Ithaca, NY, 1990), pp. 349–72. [Examines Boethius's treatise on the syllogism and commentaries on Aristotle in relationship to his promise to translate and comment upon the complete works of Aristotle; argues that Boethius's commentaries are merely translations]

——, "A Recent Discovery: Boethius' Notes on the *Prior Analytics*," *Vivarium* 20.1 (1982), 128–41. [An argument for identifying the *Pseudo-Philoponi Aliorumque Scholia* as Boethius's notes on the *Prior Analytics*; discusses the possible advancements in Boethian studies resulting from the compilation of the *Aristoteles Latinus*]

Silk, Edmund Taite, "Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a Sequel to Augustine's *Dialogues* and *Soliloquia*," *Harvard Theological Review* 32 (1939), 19–39. [Explores the literary implications of Gaston Boissier's suggestion that Augustine's *Dialogues* are reminiscent of Boethius's *Consolatio*; suggests that Boethius recalled and was inspired by Augustine's *Dialogues* and *Soliloquia* during his exile]

Silvestre, H., "Review of F. Troncarelli, *Tradizione perdute*," *Scriptorium* 38 (1984), 170–72. [Responds positively to Troncarelli's claims concerning the existence of a Cassiodorian edition of Boethius's *Consolatio*, stating that they are supported with strong evidence]

Solmsen, Friedrich, "Boethius and the History of the *Organon*," *The American Journal of Philology* 65.1 (1944), 69–74; repr. in Fuhrmann, Manfred, and Joachim Gruber, eds., *Boethius*, (Wege der Forschung) 483 (Darmstadt, 1984). [Examines the chronological order of Boethius's translations of Aristotle's logical treatise and Porphyry's *Isagoge*]

Stump, Eleonore, "Boethius's Work on the Topics," *Vivarium* 12 (1974), 77–93. [Provides an historical overview of Cicero's *Topics* and the literature on it; rejects the position of Shiel (1958) that Boethius's logical works are merely translations, arguing instead for the originality of Boethius's treatise on the *Topics*]

——, "*Hamartia* in Christian Belief: Boethius on the Trinity," in *Hamartia: The Concept of Error in the Western Tradition: Essays in Honor of John M. Crossett*, ed. Donald V. Stump and John M. Crosset, (Texts and Studies in Religion) 16 (New York, 1983), pp. 131–48. [Explores Boethius's explanation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in *De Trinitate* and argues that Boethius does not provide a single-minded logical explanation, instead calling for a type of double-minded *hamartia* that reveals, rather than obscures, truth]

——, "Boethius's *In Ciceronis Topica* and Stoic Logic," in *Studies in Medieval Philosophy*, ed. John F. Wippel, (Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy) 17 (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 1–22. [Examines Boethius's *In Ciceronis Topica* 5 and its place in the history of Stoic logic; suggests that the commentary shows Boethius as an original and important contributor to Stoic dialectic and therefore an essential tool in defining it]

——, "Dialectic and Boethius's *De topicis differentiis*," in *Boethius's* De topicis differentiis, trans. Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1978), pp. 179–204. [Companion essay to Stump's translation of *De topicis differentiis*; presents a detailed analysis of Boethius's understanding of dialectical Topics and how they function in supporting and finding arguments; distinguishes between maximal propositions and *differentiae*]

Sulowski, J., "The Sources of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," *Sophia* 29 (1961), 67–94. [Suggests that Porphyry's *Commentary on Timaeus* is the main, if not the only, source of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* based upon comparisons of philosophical problems contained in the *Consolatio* and Chalcidius's *Commentary on Timaeus*, "a translation or an adaption of Porphyry's commentary" (68); includes a brief description of earlier theories explaining Boethius's sources and an overview of the circumstances of composition of the *Consolatio*]

Troncarelli, Fabio, "Boezio a Constantinopoli: testi, contesti, editione," *Litterae Caelestes* 3 (2008–09), 191–225. [Continues Troncarelli's project connecting the manuscript tradition of Boethius's *Consolatio* to Cassiodorus's Vivarium based upon paleographical and codicological evidence; see also *Tradizioni Perdute* (1981), *Boethiana Aetas* (1986), and *Cogitatio Mentis* (2005) in Section II.A, above]

Twu, Krista Sue-Lo, "This is Comforting? Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, Rhetoric, Dialectic, and 'Unicum Illud Inter Homines Deumque Commercium,' " in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 33–49. [Explores the prisoner's journey in the *Consolatio* from despair to hope under the tutelage of Philosophy, who educates

her pupil in his proper identity and the nature of the *summum bonum* by means of dialectic and prayer]

Van de Vyer, A., "Les Traductions de *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce en littéraire comparée," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6 (1939), 247–73. [Lists and describes all known European translations of the *Consolatio*, including the French, English, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch traditions]

Wetherbee, Winthrop, "The *Consolation* and Medieval Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 279–302. [Examines the literary reception and influence of the *Consolatio* on authors such as Chaucer and Dante through the medieval period up to the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance]

White, Allison, "Boethius in the Medieval Quadrivium," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), pp. 162–205. [Traces Boethius's works within the medieval *curricula*, noting that by the 12th century Boethius's two quadrivial treatises seemed to be the dominant sources, but that by the 13th century his theories had been relegated to speculative treatises because of the rise of mensuration and discant practices and the domination of Aristotelian texts; by the 14th century, Boethius's quadrivial works tended to be condensed into summaries]

Wiltshire, Susan Ford, "Boethius and the *Summum Bonum*," *The Classical Journal* 67 (1972), 216–20. [A classic and frequently cited discussion of the *summum bonum*, or the "highest good," as presented by Boethius in *Consolatio* 3]

Wright, Craig, "Round Table I: Music in the History of the Universities," *Acta Musicologica* 59.1 (1987), 8–10. [A short essay that attempts to frame the conflict between the *ars speculativa* of Boethius's *De musica* with the practical knowledge required of a fine art in the later Middle Ages]

Wittig, Joseph S., "King Alfred's *Boethius* and its Latin Sources: A Reconsideration," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), 157–98. [Reconsiders and rejects the accepted hypothesis that Alfred's translation of the *Consolatio* depended considerably upon an early Latin commentary closely related to that attributed to Remigius of Auxerre; an essential article on the Latin sources of the Old English *Boethius*]

Ziino, Francesca, "Some Vernacular Versions of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in Medieval Spain: Notes on Their Relationship with the Commentary Tradition," in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, (Studies in Medieval Culture) 45 (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 83–107. [Explores aspects of two of the four Spanish translations of the *Consolatio* produced for a growing audience of laypeople eager to read Boethius during the 14th and 15th centuries; also discusses their relationship to one another and to the tradition of Latin commentary on the *Consolatio*]

III. *Other (listed alphabetically under each heading)*

A. *Bibliographies*

Albrecht, Michael von, "Boethius" in Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature: From Livius Andronicus to Boethius*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1997), pp. 1708–38. [Contains a useful selected bibliography of primary and secondary sources on Boethius to about 1990, pp. 1734–38]

Bieler, Ludwig, "Bibliographica Selecta," in *Anicii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 94 (Turnholt, 1984), pp. xviii–xxxvii. [Includes a selective bibliography that goes well beyond scholarship on the *Consolatio* to include general studies, *vitae* of Boethius, edited manuscripts, critical texts, comparative studies, commentaries, and vernacular versions of the *Consolatio*; a useful resourse, especially for articles in languages other than English]

Corazzon, Raul, "The Contribution of Boethius to the Development of Medieval Logic," in *Theory and History of Ontology. A Resource Guide for Philosophers*. Web site: http://www.ontology.co/biblio/boethius-logic-biblio.htm. [Useful online bibliography of Boethius's

logical works, including critical editions, a selection of translations, and a selective bibliography of secondary works on the logic and metaphysics of Boethius; content updated regularly]

Gruber, Joachim, "Boethius 1925–1998," in *Lustrum. Internationale Forschungsberichte aus deim Bereich des klassichen Altertums* 39 (1997), 307–83, and 40 (1998), 199–259; continuation, with addenda and corrigenda, published in Lustrum 52 (2010), 161–80. [Comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on Boethius from 1925 to 1998]

——, *Kommentar zu Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae* (Berlin, 2006). *Anhang. Systematische Literatureverzeichnis*, pp. 409–44. [Commentary includes a comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on Boethius's *Consolatio*; an essential resource]

Kaylor, Noel Harold, Jr., *The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy: An Annotated Bibliography*, (Garland Medieval Bibliographies) 7 (New York, 1992). [Thorough survey of the major scholarship on Boethius up to 1992 as well as of the works dealing with the Old English, medieval German, and medieval French translation traditions of Boethius's *Consolatio*]

Kranz, Dirk Kurt, "Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, Band XXIV, *Spalten* (2005), 259–310. http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/boethius_a_m_t.shtml. [Contains a synopsis of Boethius's life and works followed by a comprehensive bibliography on all aspects of his writings, including primary and secondary works, editions, bibliographies, and vernacular translations; a valuable online resource; text in German; highly recommended]

Obertello, Luca, "*Biografia boeziana. Bibliographia generale*" in *Severino Boezio*, vol. 2 (Genoa, 1974). [The whole of vol. 2 of Obertello's influential study is devoted to a comprehensive general bibliography, which is an excellent source of pre-1975 European secondary scholarship on Boethius]

B. *Manuscript Catalogues*

Bower, Calvin, "Boethius' *De Institutione Musica*: A Handlist of Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), 205–51. [An exhaustive list of manuscript sources before 1500, with thumbnail summaries and comments where appropriate]

Codices Boethiani, A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius, I. Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Lesley Smith (with the assistance of Joseph Ziegler), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts) 25 (London, 1995). [The first volume of a projected seven-volume census of all known manuscripts of Boethius's works throughout the world, including his commentaries on Porphyry and Aristotle as well as his translations of Aristotelian logic; a monumental and essential project that seeks to identify the best editions for future editors of Boethius's *corpus* and to establish the transmission and use of the works of Boethius]

Codices Boethiani, A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius, II. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, ed. Lesley Smith (with the assistance of Theodore Christchev, Richard Gameson, Anke Holdenried, Fiona Robb, Teresa Webber, and Joseph Ziegler), (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts) 27 (London-Turin, 2001). [Vol. 2 of a projected seven-volume, comprehensive census of Boethian manuscripts]

Codices Boethiani, A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius, III. Italy and the Vatican City, ed. Marina Passalacqua and Lesley Smith (with Valentina Longo and Sabina Magrini) (London-Turin, 2001). [Vol. 3 of a projected seven-volume, comprehensive census of Boethian manuscripts]

C. *Reference Works*

Albrecht, Michael von, "Boethius," in *A History of Roman Literature: from Livius Andronicus to Boethius with special regard to its influence on world literature*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1997), pp. 1708–38. [A comprehensive introduction to Boethius's life and dates, works, sources, models, genres, literary techniques, language, style, ideas, transmission, and influence;

contains copious, pertinent notes and a bibliography of primary and secondary sources; an excellent resource]

Cooper, Lane, *A Concordance of Boethius:* The Five Theological Tractates *and* The Consolation of Philosophy (Cambridge, MA, 1928). [Concordance to Latin concepts; a useful research tool]

Cropp, Glynnis M., "Boethius in Translation in Medival Europe," in *Übersetzung—Translation—Traduction: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung/An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies/Encyclopédie internationale de la recherche sur la traduction*, ed. Harald Kittel, Armin Paul Frank, Norbert Greiner, Theo Hermans, Werner Koller, José Lambert, and Fritz Paul [with Juliane House and Brigitte Schultz], vol. 2, (Handbücher zur Sprach: und Kommunikationswissenschaft), 26.2 (Berlin, 2007), 1329–1337. [Covers the Old English, Middle English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch translation traditions of Boethius's *Consolatio*, with a conclusion and a selected bibliography of secondary sources and critical editions]

Dekkers, Eligius, ed., "Boethius," in *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (CPL), 3rd ed. (Steenbrugis, 1995), pp. 289–94. [Provides a comprehensive list of all the Christian Latin texts from Tertullian to Bede; each work is properly identified in the 2,348 entries, many of which are further subdivided into numerous subsections: the best editions are noted, the newly found manscripts, as well as the studies on the textual transmission or on the language; concordances provide correspondences between the *Clavis* numbers and the numbering or pagination of 17 collections or lists of Latin writings; the CPL numbering is the basis for the the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* and, more recently, the electronic *Library of Latin Texts* (*CLCLT*); Boethius's works are numbered from 878–95, including an entry for the *pseudo*-Boethian works]

Magee, John, "Boethius," in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lloyd Gerson (Cambridge, 2011), Ch. 43, pp. 788–812. [The most recent and comprehensive reference article on Boethius based on the latest scholarship; provides an overview of Boethius's life and works (including a chronology), and covers the full range of Boethius's *œuvre*, including his mathematical, theological, and philosophical writings; concludes with an excellent discussion of the *Consolatio* that takes into account the complex matter of Boethius's sources; highly recommended introduction to Boethius and his works]

——, "Boethius," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge J.E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone (Malden, MA, 2003), pp. 217–26. [Encyclopedia article on the life and major works of Boethius aimed primarily at students of philosophy; includes a useful selected bibliography of primary and secondary sources]

Marenbon, John, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2005; Fall 2008 Edition). [A comprehensive entry that considers Boethius as one of the most important intermediaries between classical and medieval philosophy as well as an independent thinker; includes the following sections: 1. Life and Works, 2. The Logical Project and the Logical Commentaries, 3. The Logical Text-Books, 4. The Theological Treatises, 5. *The Consolation of Philosophy*: The Argument of Books I–V.2, 6. Divine Prescience, Contingency and Eternity, 7. Interpreting the *Consolation*, 8. Boethius's Influence and Importance, Bibliography, Other Internet Resources, and Related Entries; available online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/boethius/.

Minio-Paluello, Lorenzo, "Boethius," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2 (New York, 1970), pp. 228–36 [Biographical entry on Boethius; addresses the difficulties with authenticating and dating Boethius's works]

Raddle, Fidel, and F.J. Worstbrock, "Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruth, et al., vol. 1 (Berlin, 1978), pp. 908–28. [A succinct overview of the major issues in Boethian studies to 1978]

Stump, Eleonore, "Boethius," in *Encyclopedia of Classical Philosophy*, ed. Donald Zeyl, Daniel Devereux, and Phillip Mitsis (Westport, 2004), pp. 114–17. [Succinct biography of Boethius that describes his life, works, influence, and a chronology of his writings]

Von Campenhausen, Hans, "Boethius," *The Fathers of the Latin Church*, trans. Manfred Hoffman (London, 1964), pp. 277–313. [Overview of the life, works, and influence of Boethius]

Z[aminer], F[rieder], "Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus," in *Brill's New Pauly Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Leiden, 2003), *Antiquity*, vol. 2, pp. 702–06. [An entry by Frieder Zaminer (on the *De musica*) and Joachim Gruber from the English edition of the *Der Neuer Pauly*—published by Verlag J.B. Metzler since 1996—that succinctly covers Boethius's life, works, the history of his influence, and his musical theory]

D. *Selected Academic Journals*

Carmina Philosophiae: Journal of the International Boethius Society (ISSN 1075–4407), edited by Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., and Philip Edward Phillips, is a multi-disciplinary, peer-edited scholarly journal devoted to the study of Boethius, his age, and his influence, with articles in English and French, translations, critical editions, reviews, and review essays. Published annually, it is the only academic journal devoted solely to Boethius. All articles are indexed in the *IterGateway*, the *MLA International Bibliography*, and the *Philosopher's Index*. Web site of the journal and the International Boethius Society: http://www.mtsu.edu/english/Journals/boethius/carmina_philosophiae/index.shtml.

Medium Ævum (ISSN 0025–8385), published by the Society of the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature since 1932, is one of the leading international academic journals in medieval studies. It is published twice yearly and edited by Nigel F. Palmer, Sylvia Huot, and Corinne Saunders. Web site: http://mediumaevum.modhist.ox.ac.uk/journal.shtml.

Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits/International Review of Manuscript Studies (ISSN 0036–9772), founded in 1946, is published by the Centre Études des Manuscrits and edited by Mme A.-V. Gilles-Raynal. *Scriptorium* is a multilingual, semi-annual journal focusing on codicology and medieval mauscript studies. The publication also includes the "Bulletin Codicologique," with its own editorial board. Web site: http://www.scriptorium.be/en/quisommesnous.htm.

Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies, published quarterly since 1926 by the Medieval Academy of America (ISSN 0038–7134), is edited by Paul E. Szarmach. It was the first scholarly journal in North America devoted exclusively to the Middle Ages. It publishes essays and reviews in all fields studying the Middle Ages, a period ranging from 500 to 1500. Its primary emphasis is on western Europe, but Arabic, Byzantine, Hebrew, and Slavic studies are also included. Web site: http://www.medievalacademy.org/speculum/speculum.htm.

Vivarium: An International Journal for the Philosophy and Intellectual Life of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (ISSN 0042–7543), edited by Lodi Nauta, is an international journal dedicated to the history of philosophy and the history of ideas from the early Middle Ages to the early modern period. It publishes annually a special issue devoted to a particular theme or philosopher. Web site: http://brill.publisher.ingentaconnect.com/content/brill/viv.

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